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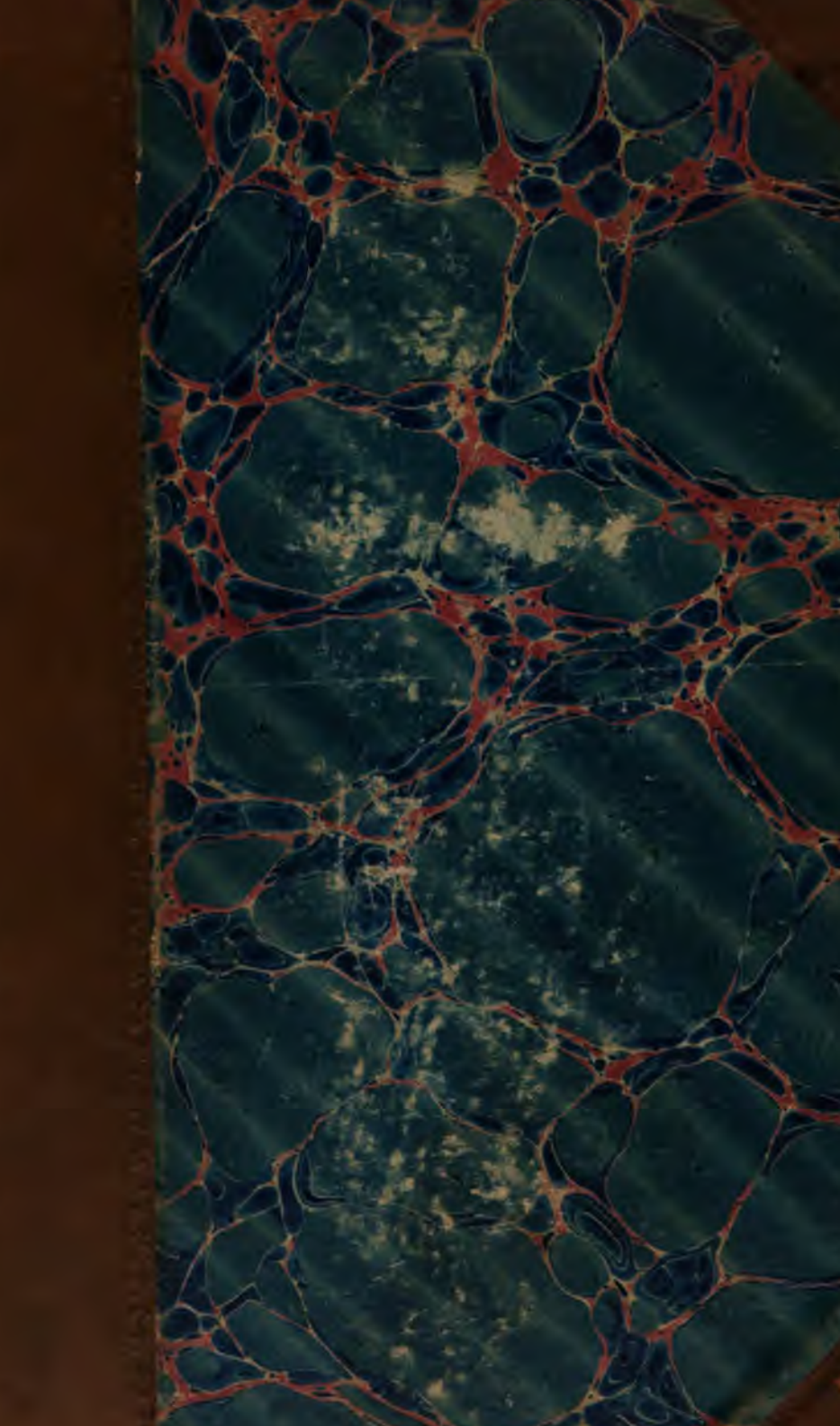
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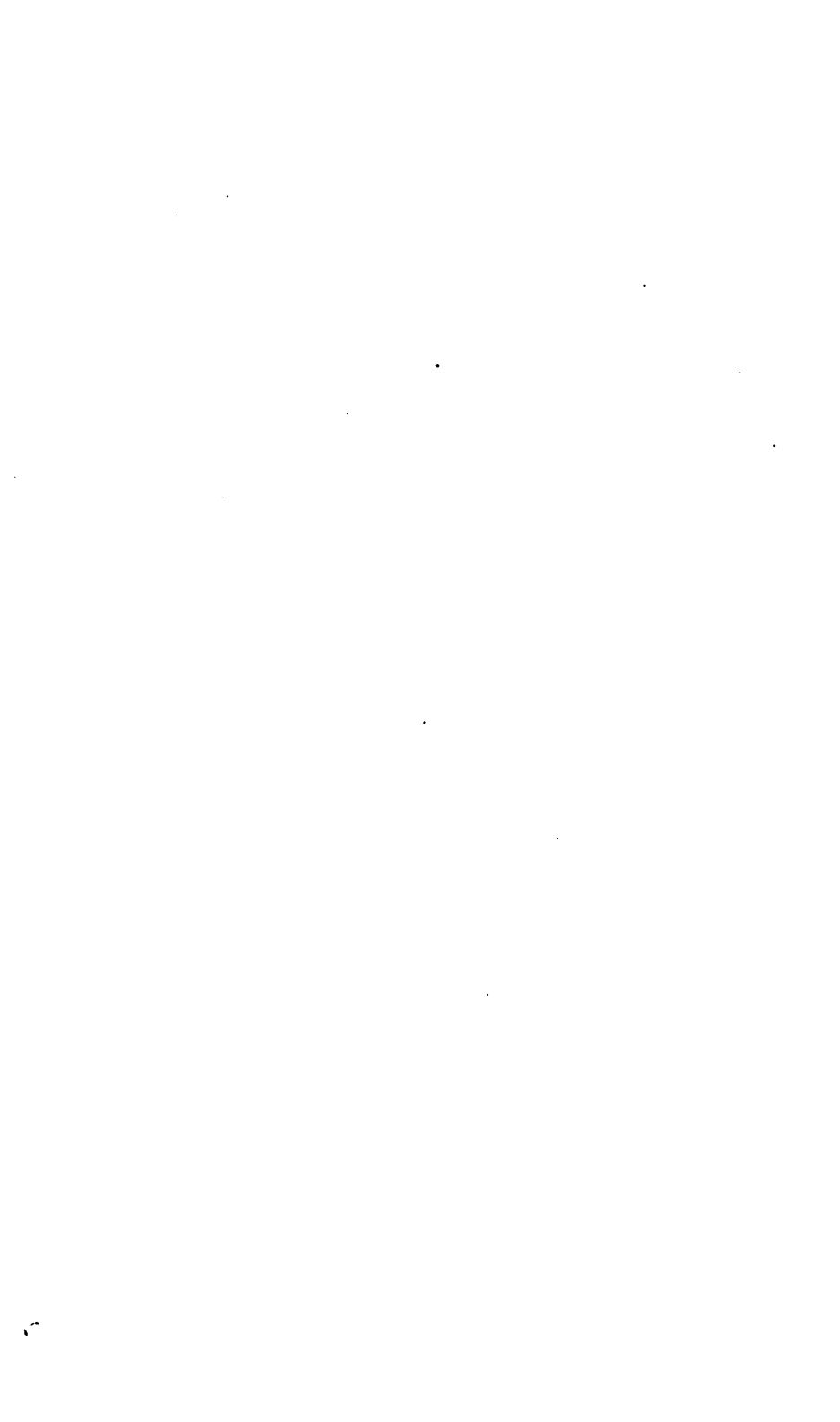
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THE

# Irish

# Quarterly Review.

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VOL. VI.

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DUBLIN :  
W. B. KELLY, 8, GRAFTON-STREET.  
LONDON : SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND CO.  
TO BE HAD OF ALL BOOKSELLERS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.  
1856.

P 234.8



*Hale fund*

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY GOODWIN, SON AND NETHERCOTT,  
72, MARLBOROUGH-STREET.

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IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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Piccadilly. 1855.
3. *Men and Women.* By Robert Browning, in two Vols.  
London: Chapman and Hall, Piccadilly. 1855.

It is with pain we feel ourselves obliged to state, that if some very great reformation does not shortly take place, in the minds of our gifted literary men, it will be found impossible to withstand the rapid and inevitable decay of poetical taste in these countries. Some years ago we were of opinion, that notwithstanding the many grave errors which disfigured the verse of our modern poets, there was still sufficient evidence therein of rational reflection, comprehensive power, and exalted beauty, to warrant us in concluding that their poetry adequately reflected the spirit of the age. *Locksley Hall*, *The Miller's Daughter*, *Oriana*, *Lady Clara Vere de Vere*, *The Lotus Eaters*, or indeed any of the poems which Tennyson published, in 1830, and 1842, or subsequently, *The Princess*, and *In Memoriam*, possessed qualities which redeemed their imperfections. On the other hand, though Bailey had given birth to the most extravagant absurdities, he had also produced some of the most eloquent passages which had been written since the time of Byron: Browning, who doubtless perpetrated such literary atrocities as *Paracelsus*, *Pippa Passes*, and *Sordello*, had made compensation by his *Blot on the Scutcheon*, and *Colombe's Birth Day*: and Longfellow, by adopting, and developing their beautiful peculiarities, had identified himself



with our Chaucer, Spenser, Goldsmith, and Thompson. It is sad to think how every one of these poets has since undone himself. Tennyson, all are aware, has almost approached the bounds which separate reason from idiocy, in his truly incomprehensible *Maud*; and we now feel bound to inform such of our readers, as do not already know the fact, that Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*, is quite unworthy of the Author of *The Psalm of Life*, *Autumn*, *The Slave's Dream*, or *Evangeline*; that Bailey's *Mystic* is immeasurably inferior to *Festus*, or *The Angel World*; and that Browning's *Men and Women*, must seriously injure the Author's reputation as a poet. If the love of mystification, and inane scribbling, confined itself to any one of our distinguished poets, the consequences would not be so injurious; but, unfortunately, all those whom we were wont to point to, as the shining lights of British poetry, have emulated each other in this course of folly, and would seemingly sacrifice, in the most reckless and demented manner, the pleasant vales, and sunny slopes of Parnassus, in order that they might breathe the atmosphere of Bedlam, and dash themselves, in spasmodic fury, against its iron bars.

The evil consequences resulting from their indulgence in this lamentable vice, have already exhibited themselves in no limited manner, in the effusions of our "Minor Minstrels," as every bookshop in the three kingdoms shows, and as the pages of every provincial journal exhibit. Where is all this to end? Have we indeed arrived at the iron age of English poetry? Is it possible that we have already seen our last great Bard, and that the massive portals of Westminster Abbey are never more to grate upon their hinges, for the reception of another tenant in Poets' corner? Is that long line at last filled up, which sparkles with the names of Milton, Spenser, Pope, Dryden, Coleridge, Shelley, Byron; of Shakspeare, and Ben Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger and Ford, Congreve, Wycherly, and Farquhar? A sad prospective indeed, but what if true? We have had already the golden age of our great Dramatist, corresponding to that of Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal in Rome, we have had the silver age of Scott, Byron, Moore, Wordsworth, answering to that of Lucretius, Catullus, Lucan, and Propertius; a little interval, and the deepening shadows of the iron age, the "*Sæculum ferri*," must descend upon us, if its advent be not retarded by the presence of some peerless luminary, whose light, like that of the Aurora Borealis, in northern

winters, dispels the brooding darkness which hangs over the earth, and cheers the pining Laphander by the benignity of its beams. Systematic freethinking, obscurity, and utter disregard of harmony, may safely be considered, as the great impediments which prevent our present poets from achieving greatness. They use the most harsh and discordant metres, they select subjects whose uninteresting nature it is impossible to surpass, they garnish them with sprigs of infidelity, and impertinent assumptions, the silliest, and most vapid ; and stretching them out as far as dulness and insipidity can extend, crown their unhallowed work, with a fog wreath, the thickest and most enduring, which quickly disperses its misty vapour over all. Voltaire, Volney, and Rousseau, were called with much reason the Philosophers of impiety; our own Thomas Paine underwent a scourging at the hands of an army of English divines and philanthropists; Schelling, Kant, and Fichte, were scouted at for their infidelity; but we doubt if it will not be found that some of our modern poets have promulgated as many dangerous doctrines, (and more imposing from their fascinating dress,) as any of those great infidel notorieties. Such habitual sinning against the doctrines of our common Christianity, must be combated, "*vi et armis.*" We all know that revolutions are not made of rose water, that desperate cases require desperate remedies, and that if a growing evil of considerable strength and magnitude, be not met and opposed by vigorous counteracting measures, "the bad may become too strong for the good." It is for this reason therefore, we would earnestly invite the cooperation of all well regulated minds, in our stern denunciation of these fashionable evils: it is for this we would gladly behold the organization of a literary crusade, by some Peter of the intellectual world, whose energies would never flag, and whose numbers would know no diminution, until the blessed flags of virtue, taste, and judgement, should triumphantly wave above the baneful principles they had supplanted. If ever there was a time in which it were seeming we should lend the weight of our opinions, and the force of our example, to crush the snake—encircled head of the foul Erinnyes of infidelity, surely it should be now, during the existence of a war, which may effect so much for the liberty of mankind.

We are all aware, how much a healthy and vigorous contemporaneous Literature contributes to render the springs of human action, in the sacred cause of truth, and justice,

buoyant and elastic; how much it tends to ennoble our feelings, refine our understandings, and purify our impulses: how it sharpens our wits to discern insidious machinations, renders us chary of our rights, zealous in their maintenance, or recovery, intolerant of errors, conservative of all that is excellent and wise: and lastly, how it causes us to sympathize with the universal world, in all that should bind man to man. Surely the knowledge of all this should be sufficient to make "the heart leap awake to its voice," and lead the mind to steady and sustained action in the proper field. We can do no more than hope for this desirable result, which, convinced of the important benefits likely to arise therefrom, we, in all sincerity wish for,—and from the bottom of our hearts.

In the pursuance of our undertaking, Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*, shall be our earliest care: judging its accomplished Author by his former poetical creations, by those philosophical beauties, which we were wont to admire with such keen pleasure, by the purity of language, and the elevation of idea, which so universally adorned them, we naturally expected that his next work would be remarkable for a manifestation of the increasing power of that fine intellect, and if possible, for the still loftier aspirings of that noble soul. We regret to state that our expectations have not been realized; but, on the contrary, have suffered deep and grievous disappointment. *Hiawatha*, in our opinion, is weak, puny and insipid; a Poem whose uninteresting pages are not redeemed by any striking beauty, utterly destitute of vigor, or manly enthusiasm, and not calculated in any way to expand the mind, or improve the understanding. Placing it side by side, with any of Longfellow's earlier volumes, for example, with that which contains *The Psalm of Life*, *The Voices of the Night*, &c., &c., we consider applicable to the former, the criticism which *Padladeen*, indeed inappropriately passed on one of our sweetest poems: namely, that, "this flimsy manufacture of the brain, in comparison with the lofty and durable monuments of genius, is as the gold filagree work of Zamara, beside the eternal architecture of Egypt." We may be informed with much speciousness, that we are not regarding *Hiawatha* in its proper light: that to do so, we should hold in mind that its Author, in writing this Poem, proposed to himself, the rescuing from oblivion,

some traditions of the North American Indians, with a view to the enrichment of his country's literature; and that this laudable motive is sufficient, in itself, to ensure for the work a favorable reception from the public. Even if the first part of this proposition were true, (a fact which we must be permitted to doubt,) we cannot bring ourselves to admit the justice of a conclusion, which is so sophistically deduced. For, conceding the worthiness of the object in contemplation, we utterly deny the existence of any conformity between that object and the manner in which it is carried out. To us it would seem essential to the success of such an undertaking, that something more than the mere traditions should be followed: that ideas calculated to awaken the interest, and excite the sympathy of an educated mind, should have been superadded to the childish narrative of the savage; and that the genius of the age should leave its salutary impress on the wild imaginings in the fable. Here was a subject to draw forth the magic pencil of description! On such a canvass what unfading colors could not be limned, what forms of novel beauty could not be raised, what phases of the mind of primeval man might not be shadowed forth? This indeed was a theme inviting the Poet to unfold still more widely the workings of that magnanimous heart, many of whose sublime emotions have been made familiar to us by the delightful Author of *The Prairie*, *The Spy*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Deer Slayer*, and *The Water Witch*. The wild faith of that primitive creature,

"Whose untutored mind  
Sees God in clouds, and hears him in the wind,"

his figurative language, passionate temperament, and romantic disposition, were all fit materials for the beautifying of the Indian Legend; and in like manner might be added, not alone with the greatest propriety, but with a certainty of conducing in no inconsiderable manner to the heightening of the general effect, pictures of that stupendous scenery, whose varied features constitute the aristocracy of nature. But Longfellow would appear to have discovered no advantage in availing himself of these resources: to our mind he has acted as if they had no existence. In form of idea, in cast of thought, and in mode of expression, his portraits of the American Indian, are as unlike what from all accounts we had supposed him, as indeed they well could be; we had

fancied him intensely imaginative, emphatically graphic in his speech, and unequalled in the exuberance of his imagery : in *Hiawatha*, he is prosaic, tautological, feeble, and often painfully discordant. But now a question may naturally arise ; has *The Song of Hiawatha*, in reality sprung from Indian Legends ? Do its materials properly belong to the Indian Edda ? Our answer is a most decided negative, which we will now proceed to justify.

In the "Beiträge zur genauren Kenntniss der Ebstnischen Sprache" ("Contributions to a more intimate knowledge of the Esthonian language"), may be seen a contribution by Carl Jaak Peterson, on the Finnish Mythology : in it he speaks of Jumala, the supreme god of the Finns, of Rauni, of Ukko, corresponding to the Jupiter of the Greeks and Romans, of Abaan-Emonen his wife, and amongst others of the celebrated *Wäinämöinen*. This *Wäinämöinen* is the hero of the "*Kalewala*," the great national Epic of the Finns. The name of the author of this singular production, (if indeed, which is questionable, it be the work of one individual) is not recorded. After living for centuries among the Finlanders, the fragments of this extraordinary poem, have at last been collected, and now present almost a perfect form. Alexander Castren, having made extensive journeys through Finland, with the most praiseworthy zeal, for the purpose of taking down the ballads, as he heard them sung by the peasants, on the long winter nights, by their blazing log fires, has given us a most excellent Swedish translation. In 1845, a French translation was published by Leuzen Le Duc ; another, in German, was printed at Helsingfors, in 1852, by Auton Schiefner, and dedicated to Castren : the latest by Dr Lonnrot, was published in 1849, and contains fifty songs, or runes, and twenty-two thousand, seven hundred and ninety-three verses. Now, it will inevitably be discovered upon examination, that Longfellow has embodied in *Hiawatha*, the entire form, spirit, and many of the most striking incidents in the Finnish Epics, and that, therefore, his new poem, is no English version, or amplification of the Indian Edda, but a simple appropriation of the prominent stories in the Finnish *Kalewala*. The resemblance between the two poems is so close, as to preclude the possibility of its being accidental ; and yet the author of *Hiawatha*, makes no further acknowledgment as to the source from whence he has taken his materials, than is to be found in his first note, where he speaks of "this Indian Edda."

Our subject will not, of course, permit us to give a detailed narrative of the plot of *The Kalewala*, but the outline which we now subjoin for the reader's examination, will, when he compares it with the frame work of *Hiawatha*, or even with that description of it, which we shall hereafter lay before him, be sufficient to shew the very great similarity which exists between them. The hero of the poem is *Wäinämöinen*, son of the daughter of the air, who let herself down from heaven into the sea, and was there wooed by the *Storm Wind*. After wandering on the face of the waters for ages upon ages, he at length reaches the land, and begins his career as a *benefactor of man*. Then follows a description of his exploits and adventures, extending through forty-nine runes. When at last *his mission is accomplished*, *Wäinämöinen enters his boat*, sails away over the sea, and is finally seen mingling with the clouds. Let us now compare the prelude of *Hiawatha*, with the following extract from that of the *Kalewala* (from the German translation), into English of the same metre, which is also that of the original:—

#### HIAWATHA.

SHOULD you ask me, whence these stories?  
Whence these legends and traditions,  
With the odours of the forest,  
With the dew and damp of meadows,  
With the curling smoke of wigwams,  
With the rushing of great rivers,  
With their frequent repetitions,  
And their wild reverberations,  
As of thunder in the mountains?  
I should answer, I should tell you,  
"From the forests and the prairies,  
From the great lakes of the Northland,  
From the land of the Ojibways,  
From the land of the Dacotahs,  
From the mountains, moors, and fenlands,  
Where the heron, the Shuh-shuh-gah,  
Feeds among the reeds and rushes."

I repeat them as I heard them  
From the lips of Nawadaha,  
The musician, the sweet singer."

Should you ask where Nawadaha  
Found these songs, so wild and wayward,  
Found these legends and traditions,  
I should answer, I should tell you,  
"In the birds'-nests of the forest,  
In the lodges of the beaver,  
In the hoof-prints of the bison,  
In the eyry of the eagle!  
"All the wild-fowl sang them to him  
In the moorlands and the fenlands,  
In the melancholy marshes;  
Chetowalk, the plover, sang them,  
Mahng, the loon, the wild goose, Wawa,  
The blue heron, the Shuh-shuh-gah,  
And the grouse, the Mushkodasa!"

#### THE KALEWALA.

These the words we have received,  
These the songs we do inherit,  
Are of Wäinämöinen's girdle,  
From the forge of Ilmarinen,  
Of the sword of Kankorimeli,  
Of the bow of Youskohainen,  
Of the borders of the North-fields,  
Of the plains of Kalewala.

These my father sung afore time,  
As he chipped the hatchet's handle;  
These were taught me by my mother,  
As she twirled her flying spindles;  
When I on the floor was sporting,  
Round her knee was gaily dancing,  
As a pitiable weakling,  
As a weakling small of stature;

Never failed these wond'rous stories,  
Told of Sampo, told of Louhi:  
Old grew Sampo in the stories;  
Louhi vanished with her magic;  
In the songs Wiunen perished;  
In the play died Lemminkäinen.

There are many other stories,  
Magic sayings, which I learned,  
Which I gathered by the wayside.  
Called amid the heather-blossoms,  
Rifled from the bushy copses;  
From the bending twigs I plucked them  
Plucked them from the tender grasses,  
When a shepherd boy I sauntered,  
As a lad upon the pastures,  
On the honey-bearing meadows,  
On the gold-blumin'd hillock,  
Following black Muurikki  
At the side of spotted Kimmo.

Songs the very coldness gave me,  
Music found I in the rain-drops;  
Other songs the winds brought to me,

Other songs, the ocean-billows;  
Birds, by singing in the branches,  
And the tree-top spoke in whispers.

Without discussing the adaptability of the metre (the trochaic dimeter), in which *Hiawatha* is written, to the subject of the poem, which we make bold to affirm, the reader of five pages, will determine to its disadvantage, we come now to the story as it is given us by Longfellow. *Gitche Manito*, the mighty, seeing the necessity of putting an end to the constant battles and dissensions, which took place between the different savage tribes, convokes a meeting of the various nations, impresses upon them the wickedness of their past lives, and having previously broken a portion of the "red pipe stone quarry" on which he is standing, and "moulded it into a pipe head," he smokes it, "the calumet, the peace pipe," and urges them to follow his example, to live in amity with one another, assuring them that he will send a prophet amongst them, who shall guide and teach them, and also toil and suffer in their behalf. Then, "the Master of Life," having received their promise that his instructions shall be attended to, ascends in volumes of smoke from his peace pipe, to, "the doorways of the Heaven."

*Hiawatha*, the prophet, sent by *Gitche Manito*, is the offspring of *Wenonah* and the *West Wind*. *Wenonah's* mother, *Nokomis*, is the daughter of the Moon, and thus is her appearance on the earth accounted for.

She was sporting with her women,  
Swinging in a swing of grape-vines,  
When her rival, the rejected,  
Full of jealousy and hatred,  
Cut the leafy swing asunder,  
Cut in twain the twisted grape-vines,

And Nokomis fell affrighted  
Downward through the evening twilight,  
On the Muskoday, the meadow,  
On the prairie full of blossoms.  
"See! a star falls!" said the people;  
"From the sky a star is falling!"

*The West Wind*, *Mudjekeewis*, proves a faithless lover, the result of which is, that *Wenonah* taking it to heart, 'dies of grief, and the old crone *Nokomis* becomes the guardian of the young *Hiawatha*. His grandmother teaches the stripping many things, he gradually becomes acquainted with the different animals, and their peculiarities, learns the names of the different signs in the heavens, and proves himself a rare instance of the precocity of genius. In time, he cultivates the acquaintance of *Iagoo* the great boaster, who makes a bow and arrows for *Hiawatha*, and literally teaches "the young idea how to shoot."

Forth into the forest straightway  
 All alone walked Hiawatha  
 Proudly, with his bow and arrows;  
 And the birds sang round him, o'er him,  
 "Do not shoot us, Hiawatha!"  
 Sang the Opechee, the robin,  
 Sang the blue-bird, the Owaissa,  
 "Do not shoot us, Hiawatha!"  
 Up the oak-tree, close beside him,  
 Sprang the squirrel, Adjidaumo,  
 In and out among the branches.  
 Cooched and chattered from the oak-tree,  
 Laughed, and said between his laughing,  
 "Do not shoot me, Hiawatha!"  
 And the rabbit from his pathway  
 Leaped aside, and at a distance  
 Sat erect upon his haunches,  
 Half in fear and half in frolic,  
 Saying to the little hunter,

"Do not shoot me, Hiawatha!"  
 But he heeded not, nor heard them,  
 For his thoughts were with the red deer;  
 On their tracks his eyes were fastened,  
 Leading downward to the river,  
 To the ford across the river,  
 And as one in slumber walked he.  
 Hidden in the alder-bushes,  
 There he waited till the deer came,  
 Till he saw two antlers lifted,  
 Saw two eyes look from the thicket,  
 Saw two nostrils point to windward,  
 And a deer came down the pathway,  
 Flecked with leafy light and shadow.  
 And his heart within him fluttered,  
 Trembled like the leaves above him,  
 Like the birch-leaf palpitated,  
 As the deer came down the pathway.

Having shewn his facetious friends, the *Opechee*, the *Owaissa*, and the *Adjidaumo*, that he has higher game in his eye than they are, he is ambitious to prove himself a crack-shot, so taking steady aim, he shoots the arrow, kills the roebuck, and carries him home, where he receives the hearty congratulations of *Iagoo* and *Nokomis*.

"Tempore ruricolæ patiens fit taurus aratro,  
 Praebet et incurvo collo, premendo jugo."

And so, Time, the great teacher, accustoms *Hiawatha* to all the hardships of the hunter's life.

Out of childhood into manhood  
 Now had grown my Hiawatha,  
 Skilled in all the craft of hunters,  
 Learned in all the lore of old men,  
 In all youthful sports and pastimes,  
 In all manly arts and labours.  
 Swift of foot was Hiawatha;  
 He could shoot an arrow from him,

And run forward with such fleetness,  
 That the arrow fell behind him!  
 Strong of arm was Hiawatha;  
 He could shoot ten arrows upward,  
 Shoot them with such strength and  
 swiftness,  
 That the tenth had left the bow-string  
 Ere the first to earth had fallen!

This forcibly reminds us of the verse,

"Queen Bess was a charming woman,  
 She knew both Latin and Greek,  
 I'm told she could solve a problem  
 In Euclid before she could speak."

With manhood comes the love of adventure, and Hiawatha, who had a pair of mittens, *Minjekahwun*, which, when he wore, he could smite rocks into powder, and mocassons which enabled him to advance a mile in every stride, determines to find out *Mudjekeewis*, and punish him for his treachery to his mother. Having crossed the Mississippi, the mountains of the prairie, the land of crows and foxes, and the dwellings of the Blackfeet, he arrives at the residence of *Mudjekeewis*,

"Ruler of the winds of Heaven."



All who have ever been at a public school are aware of the pugilistic tendencies of boys, and *Hiawatha*, now a young man, retains all the quarrelsome spirit of early youth, though his mode of fighting is more terrible, than that of those who figure "in the fisty ring." Evincing an amount of pluck, which might have excited the envy of the Tipton Slasher, he exhibits what we are assured by various writers in *Bell's Life*, is "one of the best signs," and picking a quarrel with his father, he "comes to the fight laughing."

And he cried, "O Mudjekeewis,  
It was you who killed Wenonah,  
Took her young life and her beauty,  
Broke the Lily of the Prairie,  
Trampled it beneath your footsteps;  
You confess it! you confess it!"  
And the mighty Mudjekeewis  
Tossed his gray hairs to the West-Wind,  
Bowed his hoary head in anguish,  
With a silent nod assented.

Then up started Hiawatha  
And with threatening look and gesture  
Laid his hand upon the black rock,  
On the fatal Wawbeek laid it,  
With his mittens, Minjekshwun,  
Sent the jutting crag assunder,

Smote and crushed it into fragments,  
Hurled them madly at his father,  
The remorseful Mudjekeewis.  
For his heart was hot within him,  
Like a living coal his heart was.

But the ruler of the West-Wind  
Blew the fragments backward from him,  
With the breathing of his nostrils,  
With the tempest of his anger,  
Blew them back at his assailant;  
Seized the bulrush, the Apukwa,  
Dragged it with its roots and fibres  
From the margin of the meadow,  
From its ooze, the giant bulrush;  
Long and loud laughed Hiawatha!

The combat lasts for three whole days, during the entire time of which *Mudjekeewis* retreated, fighting. At length the strife is put an end to, *Mudjekeewis* having informed *Hiawatha*, that, "he bears a charmed life." He instructs his son to go home, compliments him on his valour, and bids him slay all the monsters, magicians, giants, and serpents, which infest the hunting grounds of his people. *Hiawatha* follows his advice, and departs homeward, calling on his way at the lodge of an arrow maker, of the tribe of the Dacotahs, who has got a handsome daughter, *Minnehaha*, Laughing Water, whose beauty you may well guess, and not the arrows of her father, was the principal cause of the visit. Our hero, like a true philanthropist, proposes to himself a fast, which has for its object the amelioration of the condition of his race. For three whole days he fasted without interruption, but on the evening of the fourth, he sees a youth approaching to him, dressed in garments of green and yellow.

"Plumes of green bent o'er his forehead,  
And his hair was soft and golden."

The youth by name, *Mondamin*, informs *Hiawatha* that "he is the friend of Man," and is sent by "the Master of Life," to shew him, how by wrestling with him, (*Mondamin*), he may gain his prayer. *Hiawatha* wrestles with him for three con-

secutive evenings, and on the occasion of their third engagement, *Mondamin* tells him how he will be victorious the following evening, how he will kill *Mondamin*, and how he is to bury him in such a manner as to prevent the ravens and the worms from interfering with his slumber in the grave. *Hiawatha* obeys his instructions, and when he has killed his opponent, he buries him as he was directed, and now that his seven days of fasting had expired, he returns home. On his return, in a few days to, see that the grave of *Mondamin* was undisturbed, he is surprised to observe, a small green feather, which, "From the Earth shot slowly upward:" it turns out to be the maize crop, by means of which the Nation is to receive the blessings of plenty.

Day by day did Hiawatha  
Go to wait and watch beside it;  
Kept the dark mould soft above it,  
Kept it clean from weeds and insects,  
Drove away with scoffs and shoutings,  
Kahgahgee, the king of ravens.  
Till at length a small green feather  
From the earth shot slowly upward.

Then another and another,  
And before the Summer ended  
Stood the maize in all its beauty,  
With its shining robes about it,  
And its long, soft, yellow tresses;  
And in rapture Hiawatha  
Cried aloud, "It is Mondamin!"  
Yes, the friend of man, Mondamin!"

*Hiawatha* has two friends, "*Chibiabos*, the musician," and "the very strong man, *Kwasind*," assisted by whom we infer, he was in the first instance to refine the people by music, and in the second, to hew down the mighty forests which impeded cultivation. Anon, *Hiawatha* takes to carpentry, and having made himself a canoe, goes forth upon the waters with a view to fishing. He casts his line forth, but unfortunately catches a Tartar in the person of *Nahma*, "the King of Fishes," who swallows *Hiawatha*, canoe and all. This is, all, well worthy of Baron Munchausen, or might have happened to Gulliver in the Kingdom of Brobdignag; and we would not be surprised to hear that it has awakened no little amount of jealousy in the breasts of such men as Mansfield Parkyns, and Charles Waterton.

*Hiawatha's* first care is to discover the heart of "the King of Fishes," which, when he finds, he belabours lustily with his fists, until finally having worn out the monster, who reels and staggers in the water, he chuckles to hear its gigantic body grate upon the strand. A flock of sea gulls descending to feast upon the dead sturgeon, are entreated by *Hiawatha* to make cavities in the sides of the animal with their claws: they answer his behest, very much encouraged, (as also the squirrel

which happened to have been in the canoe at the time of the accident), by *Hiawatha's* assurance, that they shall be known for the future, under the different appellations of *Kayoshk*, anglice, "the noble scratchers," and *Adjidaumo*, "tail-in-air-up," which we suppose are equivalent to the decoration of the cross of the Legion of Honour, and the Order of the Knights Commanders of the Bath.

Then said Hiawatha to him,  
"O my little friend, the squirrel,  
Bravely have you toiled to help me:  
Take the thanks of Hiawatha,

And the name which now he gives you;  
For hereafter and for ever  
Boys shall call you Adjidaumo,  
Tail-in-air the boys shall call you!"

Again—

"O ye sea-gulls! O my brothers!  
I have slain the sturgeon, Nahma;  
Make the rifts a little larger,  
With your claws the openings widen.  
Set me free from this dark prison,

And henceforward and for ever  
Men shall speak of your achievements,  
Calling you Kayoshk, the sea gulls,  
Yes, Kayoshk, the Noble Scratchers!"

The tale would of course be nothing, without some of the "old, old story," and the Poet, (in a lucid interval), beautifully and truthfully tells us.

"As unto the bow the cord is,  
So unto the man is woman,  
Though she bends him, she obeys him,

Though she draws him, yet she follows,  
Useless each without the other!"

*Hiawatha* woos and wins *Minnehaha*, the Laughing Water, and the daughter of the "ancient arrow-maker." We incline to the opinion that this is the best part of the book, and, "the Journey Home," is, it must be confessed, rather beautifully described. A wedding feast follows, as a matter of course, where the capacity of *Iagoo*, as a spinner of yarns, is tested, and found to be magnificent. After this, affairs begin to wind up very much in the same manner, as they do in the fifth act of *Hamlet*. There is to be sure a good deal of jargon about blessing the corn fields, picture writing, &c. &c., through which the Metre acts the part of the horrid bells, beating time to the heavy rumbling of an abominable French Diligence; but as far as the characters are concerned, *θανατος μελαινος* is now the order of the day. Owing to some fatality, possibly akin to that of Samson's losing his hair, the "very strong man *Kwasind*," finds all his strength ineffectual, and is literally clubbed to death. *Pau-puk-keewis*, an exquisite of the first water, a sort of primitive Beau Brummell, and a decided bore into the bargain, is obliged to make his exit, and the celebrated musician *Chibiabos* is also removed from the scene. Shortly after the disappearance of these worthies, we are introduced into the interesting company of ghosts, who, unlike the

majority of ghosts, have an inordinate passion for eating and drinking whatever they can lay hold of. The next chapter conveys the sad intelligence of a famine, to which dire visitation, poor "Laughing Water," falls an early victim. Here in like manner, it pleases Longfellow to be again himself; the following passage reads all the better for the sea of trash which surrounds it.

O the long and dreary Winter !  
O the cold and cruel Winter !  
Ever thicker, thicker, thicker  
Froze the ice on lake and river,  
Ever deeper, deeper, deeper  
Fell the snow o'er all the landscape,  
Fell the covering snow, and drifted  
Through the forest, round the village.  
Hardly from his buried wigwam  
Could the hunter force a passage;  
With his mittens and his snow-shoes  
Vainly walked he through the forest,  
Sought for bird or beast and found none,  
Saw no track of deer or rabbit,

In the snow beheld no footprints,  
In the ghastly, gleaming forest  
Fell, and could not rise from weakness,  
Perished there from cold and hunger.  
O the famine and the fever !  
O the wasting of the famine !  
O the blasting of the fever !  
O the wailing of the children !  
O the anguish of the women !  
All the earth was sick and famished;  
Hungry was the air around them,  
Hungry was the sky above them,  
And the hungry stars in heaven  
Like the eyes of wolves glared at them !

But lo ! the scene shifts ! A change comes o'er the spirit of the Author's dream, and the White Man, the herald of civilization, descends upon the stage.

From his wanderings far to eastward,  
From the regions of the morning  
From the shining land of Wabun,  
Homeward now returned Iagoo,  
The great traveller, the great boaster,  
Full of new and strange adventures,  
Marvels many and many wonders.

And the people of the village  
Listened to him as he told them  
Of his marvellous adventures,  
Laughing answered him in this wise :  
" Ugh ! it is indeed Iagoo !  
No one else beholds such wonders !"

He had seen, he said, a water  
Bigger than the Big-Sea-Water,  
Broader than the Gitche Gumee,  
Bitter so that none could drink it !  
At each other looked the warriors,  
Looked the women at each other,  
Smiled, and said, " It cannot be so !  
Kaw !" they said, " It cannot be so !"

O'er it, said he, o'er this water  
Came a great canoe with pinions,

A canoe with wings came flying,  
Bigger than a grove of pine-trees,  
Taller than the tallest tree-tops !  
And the old men and the women  
Looked and tittered at each other ;  
" Kaw !" they said, " we don't believe it !"  
From its mouth, he said, to greet him,  
Came Waywassimo, the lightning,  
Came the thunder, Annemecke !  
And the warriors and the women  
Laughed aloud at poor Iagoo ;  
" Kaw !" they said, " what tales you tell us !"

In it, said he, came a people,  
In the great canoe with pinions  
Came, he said, a hundred warriors ;  
Painted white were all their faces,  
And with hair their chins were covered !  
And the warriors and the women  
Laughed and shouted in derision,  
Like the ravens on the tree-tops,  
Like the crows upon the hemlock.  
" Kaw !" they said, " what lies you tell us !  
Do not think that we believe them !"

*Hiawatha*, however, who has seen in a vision the approach of the White Man, assures his people of the truth of *Iagoo's* story, and proposes to give the strangers a hearty reception. In good time the traveller and his retinue arrive.

O'er the water floating flying,  
Something in the hazy distance,  
Something in the mists of morning,  
Loomed and lifted from the water,  
Now seemed floating, now seemed flying,

Coming nearer, nearer, nearer.  
Was it Shingebis the diver ?  
Was it the pelican, the Shada ?  
Or the heron, the Shuh-shuh-gah ?  
Or the white goose, Waw-be-wawa ?

With the water dripping, *gashing*  
 From its glossy neck and feathers?  
 It was neither goose nor diver,  
 Neither pelican nor heron  
 O'er the water floating, flying.  
 Through the shining mist of morning,  
 But a birch-canoe with paddles,  
 Rising, sinking on the water,

Dripping, *gashing* in the sunshine,  
 And within it came a people  
 From the distant land of Wabun,  
 From the farthest realms of morning  
 Came the Black-Robe chief, the Prophet,  
 He the Priest of Prayer, the Pale-face,  
 With his guides and his companions.

Like Moses, who died when he had reached the *promised* land, *Hiawatha*, his mission over, prepares for his departure, leaving the White Man to perfect what he has begun.

On the shore stood *Hiawatha*,  
 Turned and waved his hand at parting;  
 On the clear and luminous water  
 Launched his birch-canoe for sailing.

From the pebbles of the margin  
 Shoved it forth into the water;  
 Whispered to it, "Westward! westward!"  
 And with speed it darted forward.

Thus *Hiawatha* vanishes; as Longfellow tells us—

Thus departed *Hiawatha*,  
*Hiawatha* the Beloved,  
 In the glory of the sunset,  
 In the purple mists of evening,  
 To the regions of the home-wind,

Of the Northwest wind *Keewaydin*,  
 To the Islands of the Blessed,  
 To the kingdom of *Ponemah*,  
 To the land of the Hereafter!

This sketch we have drawn, will suffice to give the reader a pretty good idea of the plot of *Hiawatha*, and of the general character of the poem. He will not have failed to observe the great similarity between it, and the outline of the *Kalewala*, or *Kalevala* of the Finns. *Wainamoinen's* parents, "The Storm Wind," and the "Daughter of the Air," are marvellously like those of *Hiawatha*, namely, "The West Wind," and the "Daughter of the Moon." Again, the former commencing his career as a benefactor of man, reminds us forcibly of the promise of *Gitché Manito* at the commencement of *Hiawatha*, that he would send a prophet amongst the people, who would guide, and teach, toil, and suffer, for them: the exploits and adventures of the two heroes follow, and finally, both depart from the earth in a boat, and ascend to heaven. The extracts we have given are, to our mind, very fair instances of the poetry of the book, and we shall now leave the readers to draw their own conclusions, merely expressing our sincere wish, as ardent admirers of the genius of Longfellow, that if it be his intention to employ his valuable time, in carrying out the laudable and patriotic design of perpetuating the traditions of his country, he will, in the first place, take his materials, such as he finds them, at home, and secondly, that more character, vigor, and subjectivity, may be evidenced in the next offspring of his muse, than are visible in his so called, Indian Edda, *Hiawatha*.

In his new poem, the Author of *Festus* appears to us to have earned very little credit, beyond that which he deserves for the excellence of its name. The hero is indeed a mystic in the true sense of the word, and the whole book is the very essence of the most unintelligible species of mystery.

*Festus*, notwithstanding the magnificence of its language, was extravagant enough, Heaven knows ! but *The Mystic* fairly distances its antecessor, in obscure ideality, and incomprehensible symbolism. If the former was pantheistic, its Author was at least honest, and did not conceal the fact, but "*The Mystic*" is such a slippery gentleman, that his theological ideas elude your grasp with the activity of a spectre. No sooner have you congratulated yourself, upon at last discovering the colours which he has hoisted on the top gallant of his suspicious looking craft, than he either takes them down with the rapidity of lightning, and runs up others in their place, or like the Phantam Ship, in "*Der Fleigender Hollander*," disappears altogether from your ken. Our opinion of *Hiawatha* was not a very favorable one, but what can we say for *The Mystic* ? Or rather how can we express in language sufficiently strong, how heartily we condemn its unparalleled absurdities ? It is, (always excepting *Sordello*,) the most purposeless production we have ever beheld, and in like manner the most preposterous. *The Mystic*, good reader, is intended, we suppose, to represent the career of a divinely instructed soul, which "lived a threefold life through all the ages, and had seven different births, appearing under distinct attributes each time."

"Seven times his soul

Commingleing, leavened with its light the world."

He passes a thousand years as an oak, a million of suns in "the sea's arms," the same period of time among "the insect race," a myriad among the birds, and thrice that term among "all four footed tribes of nature," thus fully verifying the doctrine of Pythagoras. His first life is spent among the animals of the creation, every one of whom, from "the Ox Thunder begotten," to "the goat, sacred to sin in all rites," he cross examined with the dexterity of a *Nisi Prius* lawyer. After the case for the prosecution, or the defendant's, as the case might be, had closed, he departs for the mansions of the Gods, where he is conducted, by good demons, who protect him against the onslaughts of bad demons. Arrived at "the

Heaven-wedding pyramid," we are told with seeming gravity, that our hero, "fainted in perfection!" "Angels and ministers of grace defend us!" What are our poets about? The opening lines contain a very fair idea of the nature of the composition—

Who holds not life more yearful than the  
hours  
Since first into this world he wept his way,  
Erreth much, may be. Called of God,  
man's soul  
In patriarchal periods, cometiclike,  
Ranges perchance all spheres successive;  
and in each,  
With nobler powers endowed and senses  
new,  
Set season bideth. So with him, it seemed  
Of whom I speak, the initiate of the light,  
The adopted of the water and the sun.  
Time's sand-dry streamlet through its  
glassy straits  
Flowed ceaseless; and he lived a threefold  
life  
Through all the ages; yea, seven times his  
soul  
Commingling, leavened with its light the  
world.  
First in the feasts of life, and the sun's son,

Through all God's homely universe he  
roamed  
Lordly, and spake to earth the lore of stars,  
The mother-tongue of Heaven our Father-  
land.  
Born to instate mankind in veriest truths,  
By nature symbolled in gem, bloom, and  
wing;  
To give to all the hope of bliss reserv ed,  
And ultimate certainty of angelhood,  
He, like a river which through gulleys, rocks  
And deserts runs its purifying race  
To Ocean's thrice regenerative depths,  
Chose thorough all probations his own path,  
And voluntary trode the downward way;  
For they whose eyes by spirit-fire are  
purged  
Move ever up the reascent to light,  
On a celestial gradient, paved with wings;  
Disrobed him of all privilege, and alone  
Suffered the dignities yearned for by the  
mass  
But that he might ennoble servitude.

Very soon after this disclosure we are enlightened as to the endowments *The Mystic* received at his birth, and it is curious to remark here, the great likeness between a passage of Bailey's, and one of Calderon's, in "El Purgatorio de san Patricio."

*From Bailey's Mystic.*

He at his birth the starry stamps received,  
For every limb held commune with its god,  
And planetary gifts plenipotent;  
The moon dispensed him riches, and the sun  
Mind-wealth, that so before his dazed eyes  
The splendid spectrum of immortal fame  
Perpetual danced; soul compulsory power,  
The god of psychopompous function, round  
Circling the sun with four-fold source,  
love's star.  
The joys that come with beauteous shapes  
and eyes  
Dewy and blue; courage the god-star red:  
Supremacy and justice they who held  
Successive, if usurped away, o'er the skies.

*From Calderon's 'El Purgatorio de San Patricio.*

Sospecho,  
Que todos siete planetas,  
Turbados y descompuestos  
Asistieron designales  
A mi infeliz nacimiento.  
La Luna me dio inconstancia  
En la condicion, ingenio  
Mercurio mal empleado,  
(Mejor fuera no tenerlo).  
Venus lasciva me dio  
Apetitos lisonjeras,  
Y Marte animo cruel;

(Que no daran Marte y Venus ?)  
El sol me dio condicion  
Muy generosa, y por serio,  
Si no tengo que gastar,  
Hurto y robo cuanto puedo ;  
Jupiter me dio soberbia,  
De bizarros pensamientos ;  
Saturno colera y rabia,  
Valor, y animo resuelto  
A traiciones ; y a estas causas  
Se han seguido los efectos.

*Jornada I.*

I suspect that all  
The planets seven, in wild confusion strange  
Assisted at my most unhappy birth.  
The fickle Moon gave me inconstancy,  
Mercury gave me genius ill employed,  
(Far better not to have received the gift !)  
Lascivious Venus gave me siren passions.  
And ruddy Mars a hard and cruel mind.  
(What will not Mars and Venus jointly  
give ?)  
The Sun conferred upon me rank and  
state,—  
Which to support I scrupled not the means;  
Jupiter gave me pride and lofty thought;  
And Saturn blended in my complex nature  
Rage, anger, valour, and a ready mind ;—  
And fitting fruits have grown from out  
these lusts.

*'Dramas of Calderon,' by D. F. M'Carthy.*

After his second birth, he employs his time in leading men to do good, or in fasting, and in abstract contemplations of the Divinity.

Time's arid rivulet through its glassy gorge  
Lapsed ceaseless; and again, by Gunga's  
wave,  
(O! life and bliss assuring fount of heaven,  
The life-flowings divine of Deity,  
How mighty, how mysterious is thy name!)

He, of a damsel, sacred to the god  
With fellow maidens sporting, whom a cloud  
Of sunset glory clasped, and circumfused  
With vital brilliance, dropping—next was  
born.

During this portion of his career, we learn to our great astonishment that:—

“The spirit,  
Inured to meditate alone on God,  
Pleasure no more can please, finds scant delight  
In fragrant fields, *grows discontent with Heaven.*”

After his third birth, he sees the destruction, and rebirth of things, and warns man of their appearance. His presence this time is thus described—

Born of the tree blood-sapped, which, on  
the steep  
Of knowledge, thrice, by vital wind, impreg-  
ned,  
Buds forth her life, the mother of the world,  
Upon the royal rock four-faced, he dwelled,

The tripod mountain, with its jewelled feet  
Long while; the orient side of silver pure;  
Beryl, the brow which over-awes the sun,  
When, abdicating Heaven, he calls the stars  
To attest his end imperial; the dead north  
Of glowing gold, the south of ruby paled.

The fourth time he comes into the world, he appears to have been engaged in the very ridiculous and preposterous occupation, of proving how infinity becomes finite.

Reason supreme him made innately wise,  
The stars prophetic and the holy moon,  
Interpreter to time of things eterne,  
Maker of rites and sacred festivals.  
And the invisible heavens the giant world  
Through him instructed; him O! star of  
earth  
Thou saddest, wisest, eldest of all lights!

The formless origin of things, and how,  
Proceeding from itself, the infinite  
Finite becomes: returning thitherward,  
The finite infinite, wher-by the parts,  
O'erleaping the interstitial net of death,  
Regain that continuity of soul  
Which ones them with the boundless and  
divine.

Fifthly, that is to say, after his fifth birth, *The Mystic* seeks and finds Death, grapples with “the white monster,” smites him, and takes three drops of black blood from his heart, with which he proceeds “to purge the eye of wisest man.” Here is a piece of news for us.

Of the celestial vine, ten thousand branched,  
Which stretcheth o'er the skiey roof of  
earth  
Heaven's holy tree, whereon the luminous  
fruit  
Of soul unborn, in glittering clusters hung,

One by one dropping into mortal moulds,  
A golden shower, he tasted; and by stealth  
Plucked from the pomegranates of Paradise,  
Unknown to crowds, the secret fruit of life,  
Star-orbed, immortal, ripe with solar seed  
The single seed, deathful yet mastering  
death,



And knew himself divinified; for he,  
With lots and holy honey-suckle crowned,  
As well the bruised theangeline, which gives  
Prophetic sense, as juice of aglaophant,  
That subjects to the eye the invisible world,  
And hom sweet herblet of immortal life,  
Sipped, till transmute he stood, star-  
headed; felt

His eyes irradiate with an inward light,  
And recognized his angels where they  
wheeled,  
Like mated falcons round their creanced  
young,  
Saluting him in rapture, man of men,  
Sole son of life, the crown and heir of time.

He then gains admission into the company of certain "Mystics," "luminous, divine," "the first created witnesses of God," who, among other things, show him the "magic rose," from whose fragrance he gains knowledge of the past. Birth the sixth having taken place, we find that he has been made a present of the skies as a mantle, that he sits down to play a game of hazard with the Sun, fleeces him as well as ever a greenhorn was fleeced in a sponging house, "and plays such tricks before high heaven," as ought to make the "angels weep," though he would lead us to infer, that they were delighted with his gymnastics. Here is a glimpse reminding us very much of Hogarth's "Rake's Progress."

Thus conversant with gods, immortal, he  
The pure perfection whence he fell regained,  
Gifts pleni-solar, and prae-astral powers,  
Prophetic, and mnemonic of all time,  
With added wisdom of all ill and good.  
The gates of death he passed and doubly  
lived,  
The gates of life, whereby the blest ascend;  
Then drove his dragon chariot round the  
world,  
Lashing with lightnings till they sweated  
fire.  
Gambling with golden dice, he of the Sun  
Won thrice his light; of ocean, deep by  
deep,

His boundless realms; of earth her count-  
less lands;  
But their own bade them take again, while  
he  
One moment merged in that leviathan  
womb,  
And through the starry tabernacles borne,  
By seven bright maids immortal, (gleeful  
they  
At the lost brightness refund) from the  
depths  
Of heaven's sideral river drew and drank  
The lymph divine of light, the dew of life.

The seventh transformation shews him eagerly endeavouring to discover "Truth," in pursuit of which he forsakes all luxuries.

For thrice nine years,  
Through fits of silence, loneliness, fasting, toil,  
He fought the foe of spirit and subdued.  
The thrice thinned juices of the all-healing  
plant,  
With moon-dews mingled and eye-brighten-  
ing charms

The unseen to see, himself invisible;  
Honey, and berries red of the eerie wood,  
Oakcorns and apples, roots and wheatn  
cates,  
His fare and bever formed for twice an age,  
With amber flowing mead at mooned feasts.

We will allow the author to relate his eighth appearance:—

Initiate, mystic, perfected, egypt,  
Illuminate, adept, transcendent, he  
Ivy-like, lived, and died, and again lived,  
Resuscitant. On high his nest he wove  
In the strange tree whereof man first was  
made,

Whose roots reach down to hell, whose  
topmost bough  
Waves its bright leaflets in the airs of  
heaven,  
And communed with the universal life,  
Beloved of lightning for its kindred birth,

That vivifies its veins; until possessed  
Of all that could be known, the whole he  
knew;

Cropped where they grew the flowers of  
learning, massed  
In meadowy beds, and bright with fragrant  
dew.

The above may be taken as a fair instance of the mysticism, pedantry, and purposeless nature of this truly incomprehensible Poem : take him again :—

Empowered in turn by these with chariest  
charms,  
The sun, from dawn to night-noon, he out-  
eyed  
From the peaked mountain which com-  
mands the world,  
And earth's penumbral pinions, by her side  
Quivering; with him he leaped in joy of  
life  
Immortal proven, hand in hand, through  
air ;  
In sign whereof on that most holy day,

Heaven's globed flower whose perfume is  
the light,  
Rose from the polar-north perpend, and  
not  
With slow initial motion from the west,  
As theretofore, in ages lost to time,  
Ere coal-palm leaved, or pristine pine, now  
tomb'd  
In earth's sepulchral centrals, had put forth  
The mystic life-cone, fern her feathery stem.

And yet *The Mystic*, contains passages of much beauty, evidencing the great genius of their Author, but only adding tenfold to the censure, he deserves, who, gifted with such powers, has turned them to such a bad account : the following, but for a few conceited words, deserves the highest praise :—

Up shining streams and over odorous lakes,  
In golden boat or silver, pearly oared,  
Dimpling the wave, he sped : or, dashing  
high  
The fragrant foam ; and now his limbs im-  
bathed  
Amid immortal nymphs, serenely pure,  
Like living lilies floating on the tide,  
In love with their own shadows, as they lay  
Beneath the cooling moon. From sacred  
trees  
Ambrosial fruit and gem-wrought raiment  
tinct  
With the sun's infinite aureole, he culled ;  
And walked resplendent with his meteor  
eyes

Thrice round the dragon king, world-lived,  
who saw  
The first, and will the last of gods survive ;  
So vast and vile a monster, heaven and  
earth  
With thunderous groans and lurid blushes  
hid  
Their starry heads, when God, in words of  
fire,  
Asked them his generation.—Hell-begot,  
Hell-born, they said, we know no more of  
him.  
Yet sought he not illumination thence,  
But due confession of divinity ;  
For, in the radiance of a frame divine,  
In natal and celestial light he stood.

And here :—

Blessed with all visions holy and divine,  
Communion holding only with the wise,  
Silent in light (the radiant lizard loves  
And lives in light, himself all constellate)  
With Truth he joyed (as when the moon,  
disguised  
Like naked nymph, her limbs of light re-  
vealed  
To him, enamoured, on the Latmian hill,  
Whose touch was inspiration, whose  
embrace

Delfic, seemed absorption into heaven :)  
Abstinent of all matter, every cause  
Of mental perturbation, base desire,  
Eradicate and razed, the lunar ark  
Of pure regeneration awed he viewed ;  
Beheld the eternal husbandman of heaven,  
Who sowed with star-seed all the wilds of  
space,  
Scattering the worlds broad-cast upon his  
way ;  
And to that tilth celestial set his hand.

The next Poem, *A Spiritual Legend*, which has for its plot, the construction of the World, by the Angels, is a mere list, of all natural objects, and pedantic expressions. The most wearisome minuteness of detail is one of its prominent characteristics : let us take one example—

The angels scooped the lesser seas and lakes;  
Baltic, and Midland, soundless; and that womb  
Of nations, on whose life-devouring shore,  
Far jutting into the black and bolsterous deep,  
Sebastapolla, key of empire, stands;  
The pool Mæotic, worshipped as a god  
By Scythic hordes, and Amazonian dames  
Militant, jealous of the dexter breast;  
And Caspian, deep below whose silvery wave  
God's Eden hideth, and the hallowed glebe;  
Aral, Van, Baikal, holy lake, most vast  
Of mountain meres; and Tahtar Kokonor;  
Ladoga shoal, deep Leman; isleted  
Lomond, subterraneous of access;  
And many an iceless and unfathomed pool  
On mountain crest, or cowering at the foot;  
Ontario, Winnebago, and the Slave;  
Yutah's; hard by where the polygamous sect  
(Misled by one self-unctioned, not anoint,

Nor golden oil of genius had, nor truth,  
Who, from the brook the lines of lacquered lead  
Sham angel forged, dug out; who, after, fell  
Shotted with three times Caesar's trickling wounds—  
Ill-doer he, ill-done by; bide their hour,  
Dreadless; the great Saline; and Aztek,  
bowed  
With floating pleasaunces, where sailed the swans  
Of sway symbolic; Amuca, golden banked;  
Or Titicacca, from whose sacred shores,  
Long ages lapsed, the scions of the sun,  
Manco Capac and Mama Oello, stepped,  
Ancestral, to the sceptre of Beron;  
Nyassi; Ngami; Mrima; Zana, and that  
Lake of the gods, whence Nile, or white or blue;  
And wide Nigritian Tschad, still unexplored;  
All these, and countless more, the angels made,  
While kind they were to earth, and dear to God.

We would venture to state, that there are more evidences of pedantry in this one poem, than in a hundred volumes of cotemporaneous literature we might name. *A Fairy Tale*, with all respect to the Author, is a very bad one, and we remember fifty, told to us in our infantine days, far better than this of Mr. Bailey's; the whole story seems to be that of a young lady, who having voluntarily joined a band of fairies, remains in their society for so long a time, that when she returns again to her paternal residence she can find no trace of any of her family, but beholds the castle in ruins, and the place altogether deserted.

In the remarks we have made relative to this new volume of Bailey's, we would not wish to be considered as denying any merit to the poetry it contains: there it a prodigality of language, a lavish profusion of the most gorgeous images, and a sustained elevation of style, throughout everything that issues from this Author's brilliant pen, which strongly typify a most luxuriant imagination, and a mind endowed with lofty contemplative capacity. What we condemn is, the pompous display of learned words, the perpetual mystery apparent, and the meaningless tenor of his themes. *The Mystic*, does not

contain a dozen passages with which human nature can sympathise, which have any relation whatsoever to mundane affairs, or which even by allegorical construction, can be said to point a moral which is applicable to man. Our argument is, what is such poetry fit for? If it cannot please, or improve us, what on earth can it do? It becomes a nuisance to society, and should be disowned as such. If then Mr. Bailey is desirous of holding a place among the poets of his country, let him commence by committing "The Mystic," to the flames, and then set about correcting his faults energetically, just in the same manner, as one would endeavour to overcome a bad habit: by so doing he has a fair chance of obtaining a respectable position; if he do not achieve something considerable in the way of reformation, he himself may outlive his poetry.

"Men and Women," by Robert Browning, a work in two volumes, containing fifty poems, is now lying before us, and constitutes a subject for more melancholy reflections than does that of any other of the three, we have chosen for notice on this occasion. Longfellow in *Hiawatha* has evidenced a departure from the dignified and philosophical character of his former poems, but his late production is not the unmistakeable manifestation, of obstinate adhesion to false principles of taste and structure; Bailey's *Mystic*, is a still more ludicrous exaggeration than *Pestus*, but we never had such an opinion of the creative power of the Author, as to entertain the hope that his genius would endow our literature, with material gifts from its salutary idiosyncrasies; Browning, however, whom we still look upon as a poet of much originality, power and reflection, whom we regard as the possessor of attributes enabling him to confer considerable benefits on his countrymen, in the improvement of their intellects, and their hearts, has given, in his late volumes, to our very great regret, but too great a profusion of instances to demonstrate the dogged pertinacity with which he clings to vices, which would swamp in their fatal vortex the giant mind of Shakspeare himself. Obscurity is the evil genius that is working the ruin of this poet: Browning is, pre-eminently, the King of Darkness; like Charles Lambe, whose passion for "Roast Pig," was of that violent kind, that he confessed himself ready to give up anything to his friends, save and except that beloved dish, so Browning, (but with much less reason), appears equally as resolute in maintaining possession

of his darling hobby, which is never permitted to be absent even from the most trifling conceptions of his brain. The poet's imagination is of that lofty order which stamps the impress of high intellectuality on all his thoughts, and his power of language can invest those thoughts with the most brilliant dress; but he is defeated in all his undertakings by this foul demon which ever marches by his side, and snatches the wreath descending on his brow. Mistaking the allegorical meaning of the Owl of Minerva, he would seem to have supposed that a somnolent and gloomy visage, and a love of darkness, were the striking traits which recommended that bird to the Goddess of Wisdom; never jogging his memory to call back the fact, that it was the power of "seeing in darkness," to which the "Bird of Night" is indebted for his appearance on her shield. But Browning has other faults, all more or less disfiguring, and constantly exhibiting themselves. In the two volumes now before us, there are sufficient crudities, contortions, and dissections of the language, to ruin the reputation of fifty poets: in almost every one of the poems they contain, concatenated verse, transposed sentences, direct inversion of grammatical rules, substitution of one part of speech for another, and obsolete or self-coined words are constantly visible. Besides these sad facts, the subjects of the poems themselves are the most tasteless, and the most unmeaning it is possible to conceive: the Author would appear to have sedulously searched the most dusty shelves of the most antiquated book cases; to have taken therefrom the most musty tomes, and like a veritable book-worm of the Dominie Sampson school, to have selected the most trifling quips and quiddities of the schoolmen for public parade, and as fit stalking horses, for his ponderous and drowsy amplification.

The first impression a perusal of these poems necessarily makes, is, how an Author who can create such beauties, can perpetrate such literary atrocities. It is a problem impossible of solution, unless we suppose that Mr. Browning has arrived at the conclusion, that to be ridiculous is to be great; or that the only way to make his books sell, is to distinguish them by some peculiarities, which at the cost of everything rational and consistent, will establish his name as a caterer for the morbid curiosity of the public. If indeed we reflect upon the great pervading taste which exists for anything that

smacks of notoriety, we may be inclined to consider this latter motive a more sagacious one: in the same way as we give credit to Madame Tussaud, for the ingenuity with which her "Chamber of Horrors," with its interesting inmates, was devised, or as we applaud the inventive capacity of the manager who drew crowded houses to witness the performance of a lap-dog, when the glorious Siddons played to empty benches, and the genius of Kemble could not even fill the pit. But will the poet who respects his own intellect, who is conscious of the duty he owes his kind, who knows the more solemn debt he owes his God, for the gifts which he has conferred upon him, willingly barter the splendid promises of noble and enduring fame, which belong to him who can stamp the impress of wisdom, and beauty, on the workings of his mind, for such ephemeral admiration, as the buffoon, the conjuror, or the mountebank can command? We would prefer to think that the errors of Browning arose from any cause but this: for abstracting altogether the pecuniary character of the proceeding, he who panders to a vitiated public taste, is not alone quite unworthy to wear the poet's bays, but must inevitably bring upon himself the most thorough contempt of every honest mind. Now to substantiate our charges: the following extract is taken from an early part of "an epistle containing the strange medical experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," and beyond all doubt, the doctor's experience was "passing strange."

My journeyings were brought to Jericho,  
Thou I resume. Who stoulish in our art  
Shall count a little labour unrepaid?  
I have shed sweat enough, left flesh and  
bone

On many a flinty furlong of this land.  
Also the country side is all on fire  
With rumours of a marching hitherward—  
Some say Vespasian cometh, some, his son.  
A black lynx snarled and pricked a tufted  
ear:

Last of my blood inflamed his yellow balls;  
I cried and threw my staff and he was gone.  
Twice have the robbers stripped and  
beaten me,

And once a town declared me for a spy,  
But at the end, I reach Jerusalem,  
Since this poor covert where I pass the  
night,

This Bethany, lies scarce the distance  
thence

A man with plague-sores at the third de-  
gree

Runs till he drops down dead. Thou laughest  
here!

'Sooth, it elates me, thus reposed and safe,  
To void the stuffing of my travel-scrip

And share with thee whatever Jewry yields.  
A viscid choler is observable  
In tertians, I was nearly bold to say,  
And falling-sickness hath a happier cure  
Than our school wots of: there's a spider  
here

Weaves no web, watches on the ledge of  
tombs,

Sprinkled with mottles on an ash-grey back;  
Take five and drop them .. but who knows  
his mind,

The Syrian run-a-gate I trust this to?

His service payeth me a sublimate

Blown up his nose to help the ailing-eye.

Best wait; I reach Jerusalem at morn,

There set in order my experiences,  
Gather what most deserves and give thee  
all—

Or I might add Judea's gum-tragacanth  
Scales off in parer flakes, shines clearer-  
gra'ned,

Cracks 'twixt the pestle and the porphyry,

In fine exceeds our produce. Scalp disease

Confounds me, crossing so with leprosy—

Thou hadst admired one sort I gained at

Zoar—

But zeal outruns discretion. Here I end.

This shews us that Jericho after all is not the place to send a bore to: what think you, reader, of the next extract, representing a phase in the character of an Epileptic patient?

Should his child sicken unto death,—why,  
look  
For scarce abatement of his cheerfulness,  
Or pretermision of his dally craft—  
While a word, gesture, glance, from that  
same child  
At play or in the school or laid asleep,  
Will start him to an agony of fear,  
Exasperation, just as like! demand  
The reason why—"tis but a word," object—  
"A gesture"—he regards thee as our lord  
Who lived there in the pyramid alone,

Looked at us, dost thou mind, when being  
young  
We both would unadvisedly recite  
Some charm's beginning, from that book  
of his,  
Able to bid the sun throbwide and burst  
All into stars, as suns grown old are wont  
Thou and the child have each a veil alike  
Thrown o'er your heads from under which  
ye both  
Stretch your blind hands and trifle with a  
match  
Over a mine of Greek fire, did ye know!

*Instans Tyrannus*, is too perfect a piece of preposterous nonsense, if we may use such an expression, to authorize us in merely giving a portion of it for those uninitiated in the mystic rites, of which Mr. Browning is the "Fons et Principium:" it will be a task, we fancy, something like the cleansing of the Augean stable, to comprehend it.

Of the million or two, more or less,  
I rule and possess  
One man, for some cause undefined,  
Was least to my mind.

I struck him, he grovelled of course—  
For, what was his force?  
I pinned him to earth with my weight  
And persistence of hate—  
And he lay, would not moan, would not  
curse,

As if lots might be worse.

"Were the object less mean, would he stand  
At the swing of my hand!  
For obscurity helps him and blots  
The hole where he squats."

So I set my five wits on the stretch  
To inveigle the wretch.  
All in vain! gold and jewels I threw,  
Still he couched there perdue.  
I tempted his blood and his flesh,  
Hid in roses my mesh,  
Cholceat cates and the flagon's best spilt—  
Still he kept to his filth!

Had he kith now or kin, were access  
To his heart, if I press—  
Just a son or a mother to seize—  
No such booty as these!  
Were it simply a friend to pursue  
"Mid my million or two,  
Who could pay me in person or pelf  
What he owes me himself.  
No! I could not but smile through my  
chafe—

For the fellow lay safe  
As his mates do, the midge and the nit,  
—Through minuteness, to wit.  
Then a humor more great took its place  
At the thought of his face,

The droop, the low cares of the mouth,  
The trouble uncouth  
"Twixt the brows, all that air one is fain  
To put out of its pain—  
And, no, I admonished myself,  
"Is one mocked by an elf,  
Is one baffled by toad or by rat?  
The gravamen's in that!  
How the lion, who crouches to suit  
His back to my foot,  
Would admire that I stand in debate!  
But the Small is the Great  
If it vexes you,—that is the thing!  
Toad or rat vex the King?  
Though I waste half my realm to unearth  
Toad or rat, 'tis well worth!"

So I soberly laid my last plan  
To extinguish the man.  
Round his creep-hole,—with never a break  
Ran my fires for his sake;  
Over-head, did my thunders combine  
With my under-ground mine:  
Till I looked from my labor content  
To enjoy the event.

When sudden . . . how think ye the end?  
Did I say "without friend?"  
Say rather, from marge to blue marge  
The whole sky grew his targe  
With the sun's self for visible boss,  
While an Arm ran across  
Which the earth heaved beneath like a  
breast  
Where the wretch was safe prest!  
Do you see? just my vengeance complete,  
The man sprang to his feet,  
Stood erect, caught at God's skirts, and  
prayed!  
—So, I was afraid!

Browning sometimes takes off the buskin of Melpomene, and puts on the motley of Thalia: however, he does not always succeed in unlocking "the gates of joy," as the following will evidence; it places us in that curious situation (so beautifully expressed in Mrs. Sigourney's *Death of an Infant*,) in which we know not "whether to laugh or weep," to laugh at the unequalled absurdity of the passage, or to weep at such a ruthless disregard of all the promptings of reason, and all the whisperings of taste.

*Est fuga, solvitur rota!*

On we drift. Where looms the dim port?  
One, Two, Three, Four, Five, contribute  
their quota—

Something is gained, if one caught but  
the import—  
Show it us, Hugues of Saxe-Gotha!

What with affirming, denying,  
Holding, risposting, subjoining,  
Al's like . . . it's like . . . for an instance  
I'm trying . . .

There! See our roof, its gilt moulding  
and groining  
Under those spider-webs lying!

So your fugue broadens and thickens,  
Greatens and deepens and lengthens,  
Till one exclaims—"But where's music  
the dickens?  
Blot ye the gold, while your spider-web  
strengthens,  
Blackened to the stoutest of tickens?"

*Bishop Blougram's Apology*, is as odd a discussion on Philosophy as ever was heard, and the author does well to inform us that it was an after dinner argument: we defy any one to say that having read it, he has gleaned anything tangible, or that he considers it possible to deduce any definite conclusion therefrom. Another melancholy instance of perverted talent, is presented to us in a Poem called, *Old Pictures in Florence*, where indeed we discern the "Membra," but unfortunately the "disiecta membra Poetae." Being Christmas times, it brings vividly before our minds the gyrations, somersets, "extraordinary leaps," and other excellencies of the Clown in the Pantomime, and never was there an instance of physical pliability of limb, in the person of any respectable Acrobat, since the days of the renowned Grimaldi, which could stand comparison, in its own way, with the intellectual kalysthenics this poem displays: take this example—

Not that I expect the great Bigordi  
Nor Sandro to hear me, chivalric, bel-  
lieuse;  
Nor wronged Lippino—and not a word I  
Say of a scrap of Fra Angelico's.  
But are you too fine, Taddeo Gaddi,  
To grant me a taste of your intonaco—  
Some Jerome that seeks the heaven with  
a and eye?  
No churlish saint, Lorenzo Monaco?

Could not the ghost with the close red cap,  
My Pollajolo, the twice a craftsman,  
Save me a sample, give me the hap  
Of a muscular Christ that shows the  
draughtsman?  
No virgin by him, the somewhat petty,  
Of finical touch and tempera crumbly—  
Could not Alesso Baldovinetti  
Contribute so much, I ask him humbly?



Margheritone of Arezzo,  
 With the grave-clothes garb and swad-  
 dling barret,  
 (Why purse up mouth and beak in a pet so,  
 You bald, saturnine, poll-clawed parrot?)  
 No poor glimmering Crucifixion,  
 Where in the foreground kneels the  
 donor?  
 If such remain, as is my conviction,  
 The hoarding does you but little honour.

Or,

We'll shoot this time better game and bag  
 'em hot—

No display at the stone of Dante,  
 But a kind of Witan-agemot  
 ("Casa Guidi," quod videas ante)  
 To ponder Freedom restored to Florence,  
 How Art may return that departed  
 with her.

Go, hated house, go each trace of the Lo-  
 raine's!

And bring us the days of Orgagna hither.

How we shall prologuise, how we shall  
 perorate,

Say fit things upon art and history—  
 Set truth at blood heat and the false at a  
 zero rate,

Make of the want of the age no mystery!  
 Contrast the fructuous and sterile eras,  
 Show, monarchy its uncouth cub licks  
 Out of the bear's shape to the chimera's—  
 Pure Art's birth being still the republic's!

They pass; for them the panels may thrill.  
 The tempera grow alive and tinglish—  
 Rot or are left to the merciless still  
 Of dealers and stealers, Jews and the  
 English!  
 Seeing mere money's worth in their prize,  
 Who sell it to some one calm as Zeno  
 At naked Art, and in ecstasies  
 Before some clay-cold, vile Carlino!

Then one shall propose (in a speech, curt  
 Tuscan,

Sober, expurgate, spare of an "issimo")  
 Ending our half-told tale of Cambruscan,  
 Turning the Bell-tower's altitissimo.  
 And fine as the beak of a young beccaccia  
 The Campanile, the Duomo's fit ally,  
 Soars up in gold its full fifty braccia.  
 Completing Florence, as Florence, Italy.

Shall I be alive that morning the scaffold  
 Is broken away, and the long-pent fire  
 Like the golden hope of the world unbuffed  
 Springs from its sleep, and up goes the  
 spire—

As "God and the People" plain for its  
 motto,

Thence the new tricolor flaps at the sky?  
 Foreseeing the day that vindicates Giotto  
 And Florence together, the first am I!

A poem called *Popularity*, furnishes us with another  
 gem, which we lament to state, bears a disagreeable resemblance  
 to a paste diamond, inasmuch as it assumes the brilliancy of  
 truth, without having the slightest claim to merit the distinction.

Mere conchs! not fit for warp or woof!  
 Till art comea,—comes to pound and  
 squeeze

And clarify,—refines to proof  
 The liquor filtered by degrees,  
 While the world stands aloof.

And there's the extract, flaked and fine,  
 And priced, and saleable at last!

And Hobbs, Nobbs, Stokes and Nokes com-  
 bine

To paint the future from the past,  
 Put blue into their line.

Hobbs hints blue,—straight he turtle eats.

Nobbs prints blue,—claret crowns his cup.

Nokes outdares Stokes in azure feats,—

Both gorge. Who fished the murex up?  
 What porridge had John Keats?

But what can surpass this?

ANOTHER WAY OF LOVE.

JUNE was not over,  
 Though past the full,  
 And the best of her roses  
 Had yet to blow,  
 When a man I know  
 (But shall not discover,  
 Since cars are dull,  
 And time discloses)

Turned him and said with a man's true air,  
 Half sighing a smile in a yawn, as 'twere,—  
 "If I tire of your June, will she greatly  
 care?"

Well, dear, in-doors with you!

True, serene deadness

Tries a man's temper.

What's in the blossom

June wears on her bosom?

Can it clear scores with you?

Sweetness and redness,

*Eadem semper!*

Go, let me care for it greatly or slightly!

If June mends her bowers now, your hand

left unsightly

By plucking their roses.—my June will do  
 rightly.

And after for past time  
If June be refulgent  
With flowers in completeness,  
All petals, no prickles,  
Delicious as trickles  
Of wine poured at mass-time,  
And choose One indulgent  
To redness and sweetness:

Or if, with experience of man and of spider  
She use my June-lightning, the strong insect-rider,  
To stop the fresh spinning,—why, June will consider.

And, still, Browning has written passages of poetry which, for eloquent beauty and comprehensive philosophy, Tennyson himself can hardly equal! *In a Balcony*, like most of this author's plays, owns many beauties; the language is often akin to the sublime, and that peculiar delicacy of insinuation, and transparency of colouring, which he has so often evidenced, are here sufficiently abundant. However, there is no interest in the plot, without which it is impossible any play can become popular, even in a literary sense. *Saul* has many fine passages, but why so miserably monotonous? Here at last the heart of the poet breaks out—

#### A SERENADE AT THE VILLA.

THAT was I, you heard last night  
When there rose no moon at all,  
Nor, to pierce the strained and tight  
Tent of heaven, a planet small:  
Life was dead, and so was light.

Not a twinkle from the fly,  
Not a glimmer from the worm.  
When the crickets stopped their cry,  
When the owls forbore a term,  
You heard music; that was I.

Earth turned in her sleep with pain,  
Sultrily suspirated for proof;  
In at heaven and out again,  
Lightning!—where it broke the roof,  
Bloodlike, some few drops of rain.

What they could my words expressed.  
O my love, my all, my one!  
Singing helped the verses best,  
And when singing's best was done,  
To my lute I left the rest.

So wore night; the east was grey,  
White the broad-faced hemlock flowers,  
Soon would come another day;  
Ere its first of heavy hours  
Found me, I had past away.

What became of all the hopes,  
Words and song and lute as well?  
Say, this struck you—"When life gropes  
Feebly for the path where fell  
Light last on the evening slopes.

"One friend in that path shall be  
To secure my steps from wrong;  
One to count night day for me,  
Patient through the watches long,  
Serving most with none to see."

Never say—as something bodes—  
"So the worst has yet a worse!  
When life halts 'neath double loads,  
Better the task-master's curse  
Than such music on the roads!"

"When no moon succeeds the sun,  
Nor can pierce the midnight's tent  
Any star, the smallest one,  
While some drops, where lightning went,  
Show the final storm begun—

"When the fire-fly hides its spot,  
When the garden-voices fall  
In the darkness thick and hot,—  
Shall another voice avail,  
That apace be where those are not?"

"Has some plague a longer lease  
Proffering its help uncouth?  
Can't one even die in peace?  
As one shuts one's eyes on youth,  
Is that face the last one sees?"

Oh, how dark your villa was,  
Windows fast and obdurate!  
How the garden grudged me grass  
Where I stood—the iron gate  
Ground its teeth to let me pass!

*The Statue and the Bust*, a poem in the terza rima metre, is remarkable for wonderful fidelity in the narrative of an Italian story, and, notwithstanding the dulness of the translator here and there, there are few, be they old or young, who

will not experience some pleasure in this curious tale. The lines below, taken from a quaint piece called, *A Grammarian's Funeral*, are so true, and so artistically told, as to entitle them to pass into a poetical Apothegm—

That low man seeks a little thing to do,  
Sees it and does it :  
This high man, with a great thing to  
pursue,  
Dies ere he knows it.  
That low man goes on adding one to one,  
His hundred's soon hit :  
This high man, aiming at a million,

Misses an unit.  
That, has the world here—should he need  
the next,  
Let the world mind him !  
This, throws himself on God, and unper-  
plexed  
Seeking shall find Him.

In these passages Browning evidences his capacity to create the beautiful, making it evident that its appearance is not the result of accident, but design. This is the very fact which excites our indignation : it is nought but the poet's laziness, or love of notoriety, or greed of gain, by conforming to a vicious taste, which fills his books with so much garbage. We have not so many Poets now-a-days, that we can afford to suffer any of the gifted band, to waste their genius in the indulgence of such ungraceful oddities, or in its prostitution to such unworthy ends ; in the name of Apollo, and the nine Muses, let Browning, even at the eleventh hour, register a vow of reformation, and take as a motto for the title-page of his next collection of poems, the following aphorism of the ancient critic—"Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare fulgorem."

Were we asked to point out the causes, to which we would refer the existence of those errors we so strongly reprehend, we fancy the task, notwithstanding its unpleasant nature, would be easy of accomplishment. We should not hesitate to impute it, in defiance of all that has been said in favor of Science, to the dull and gross materiality of our social life, and to the superficial spirit which predominates in our world of letters. In vain does the Novelist search the columns of our journals, or draw on the memories of his acquaintances, for materials wherewith to sketch a tale of modern disinterestedness, nobly natural, sublimely simple, or of chivalry, generously heroic ! These belong to a past age, they are not to be found in this. Where is the ingenuous candor, the kind heartedness, the wit, the humour, the hospitable feelings of our fathers ? We answer boldly, they have vanished with the dust of those who have gone before us ; they are no longer here.

Fifty years ago, slow poisoning was not so rife ; murders such as those of Rush, and Kirwan, and the Mannings, had not been committed ; pamphlets called, " Infanticide made easy," were not published. But our subject is not one which admits an enumeration of these horrors, whose rapid growth amongst us have disgraced our age, and make us tremble at the depravity of man. What a deplorable falling off in all the branches of literature has taken place during the last half century ! Our Drama, which we were wont to reverence so much, as possessing such stores of imaginative beauty, such mental galleries of historical, and self-created portraits, drawn on the broad page of nature, with brushes dipped in its own unfading colors ; containing such noble examples, such lessons for imitation, or avoidance, " To point a moral, or adorn a tale," such models of virtue, conjugal affection, heroism, judgment, eloquence, self-restraint, piety, and justice ; a massive treasury of everything admirable, instructive, wise, as a living art, has almost ceased to exist.

Operas, as flimsy and as vapid as the minds of many of their admirers, receive the unqualified homage of millions, while the only theatre (in that city which can boast of such a number,) appropriated to the performance of the divine Dramas of the immortal Shakspeare, can scarcely command a respectable attendance. The wit of Congreve, the humor of Fielding, the ingenuity of Massinger, have long since been forgotten : while the puny Burlettas of the French Stage are received as the result of inspiration : finally, the naturalness of Goldsmith, and the matchless sparkle of Sheridan's dialogues, are lost sight of in the agile movements of some eminent danseuse, in the glare of an Extravaganza, or in a wonderful display of Chinese lights. Eloquence, in like manner, has well nigh departed from the Senate, and the Forum : the matured preference for matter-of-fact language, has shut out all opportunity of appealing to the human heart, and he who addresses himself best to the selfish feelings of our nature, is now the best orator. If Pitt, Fox, or Burke were at present in existence, we doubt (unless for its novelty) whether a speech by any of the three, on some great subject, such as the restoration of Polish Independence, would attract as large an assemblage as a display of Cochin China hens ! Our great prose writers are never sought after, unless to fill up the empty shelves of a book-case, and the class of readers, who had they been men, twenty

years since, would have read Addison and Johnson with avidity, are altogether ignorant of their writings; and consider themselves profound masters of the English language, if they have waded through a few volumes of Alison, and the essays of Macaulay.

It were superfluous to demonstrate the evil tendency of all these unhappy circumstances, upon the character of contemporaneous poetry, which is naturally more affected by the existing state of things than any other art; and it only remains for us to shew, "how from this nettle danger" we may "pluck the flower safety." Our poets should combat the degeneracy which is everywhere apparent: they should shew that if they have been gifted with great capacities, and noble impulses, they can act consistently with the teachings of the one, and the callings of the other; thus proving that they are the natural guardians, and perpetuators, of all that adorns and enriches the language of their country. Great and manifold as are the short comings of the time, there is one redeeming trait in the sad aspect it presents: in all the superficiality of art, and social materiality we have hinted at, there is ever apparent an earnest longing for, and seeking after a higher state of humanity.

Steeped in error though we be, we do not, like *Pliable*, in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, abandon all our courage in the Slough of Despond: we still hope on, and in that lies our safeguard. Let our poets use this instrument which they have at their command, as the means to wean us back from the desert into which we have strayed so far, to the green plains, and breezy hills our fathers loved. The spirit to which we allude, is visible in every department of science, in every walk of art, in the mechanic's work-shop, the warehouse, the manufactory, and in all it can be used to the best advantage. This course adopted, by those to whom we have referred, a bright transformation shall take place, and they who were heretofore the ignes fatui of the mind, leading it away from the right path, to plunge it in destruction, will become to it, as the star to the wise men of the East, guiding it in safety, to enjoy the presence, and the influence, of wisdom, truth, and beauty.

N. J. G.

## ART. II.—THE ILLUSIONS OF LITERATURE.

*La Comtesse de Mauléon.* Par Louis Reybaud. Paris : Lévy Frères, 1853.

A gentleman, easy in his circumstances, and not embroiled in law-suits, gets tired of his state, he is only a unit in the crowd ; he aspires to make his name famous, to be on the tongues of men, in the leading articles in newspapers. He puts on a red coat, and sticks a feather in his head, to be the easier distinguished by the enemy : he rushes on the bayonets, or into the cannon's mouth ; and meets sudden death, or is disabled for life. And he gets his reward : he is spoken of among his neighbours for half a year, and forgotten by a grateful nation in three days. A young lawyer foregoes repose, family endearments, and necessary relaxation, for thirty or forty years, and becomes the DESIRED among attorneys, and an object of envy to the idle frequenters of the court. He has obtained renown such as it is, and an impaired constitution. His days are filled with labor and never-ceasing, anxious exertion to obtain a victory, perhaps with a bad cause, and against a practised opponent. His nights are periods of unrest or suffering : he has won fame, but is unfitted to enjoy it.

Is then the candidate for literary eminence more unwise in his generation than such as these ?

He merely exercises his faculties on pleasant or unpleasant studies, for the production of a book to be read or a drama to be witnessed : the book is unread, or the drama unsuccessful, and his labor is lost and his mind soured. After a fair proportion of efforts, if he can tell the world something it knows not already, or if he can make it look on things well known and familiar, through some medium giving them a new color or appearance, his end is obtained : his works are in the hands of thousands with whom he thus hold interesting communion ; a grateful and pleasant influence is reflected back on himself ; and he is the object of the good will of the multitudes whom his works interest or entertain.

Moralists will say that a person so circumstanced must be no less than a saint, if such attention and interest do not cherish

self-conceit to an unhealthy extent in this, the happiest, phase of literary reputation. How undesirable such an acquisition must be, when the productions are of an unhealthy character, we need not pause to consider, but we may surely bestow some sympathy on the many who, in their peaceful country retreats, dazzled by the glowing pictures presented to their minds in the works of their favourite writers, feel disgust at the commonplace tiresome society in which they merely vegetate, and sacrifice everything for an introduction to the gods and goddesses of the literary life of the metropolis. An unsophisticated youth in the pit of the theatre, admiring the heroes and heroines of the stage, as they move about in their fine draperies, and breathe nothing less than the noblest sentiments, and afterwards finding these heroes squabbling over a pack of cards in a tavern, or the heroine's lovely lips employed on unworthy petty scandal, is very disagreeably brought down to little, shabby, common-life miseries. So will it be with our worshipper of genius, if he expects to see his favorite authors and authoresses moving with dignified steps, and ever giving utterance to noble remarks, profound truths, or witty sayings, as in the scenes of a genteel comedy.

In our last paper we got glimpses of the shifts, privations, and struggles of our pioneers of literature in their fitful struggles for artistic or literary distinction. In our present, we will be introduced to a more genial and higher sphere in the same world; and find the acquisition of a respectable status there, and a connection with the established denizens, still incapable of conferring happiness, when the mind is not well regulated, and when literary fame is looked on as the only good for which it is desirable to live.

None can be a better guide for our purpose in this survey, than our old friend Louis Reybaud. He has a thorough knowledge of the literary coteries of Paris: the secrets of the Editor's sanctum are no secrets for him: he has the privilege of looking in on the pythonesse of the feuilleton while occupied in her trivial household concerns; and goodnaturedly feels for the young aspirant, groping through the pitfalls and thickets that invest the little elysium of the literati. Under his guidance we get into a purer atmosphere than when we were led by the torch of Murger, through the outer caverns and unclean purlieus of the Bohemian suburbs. Now we are sensible of being with a guide whose thoughts are profound and just,

whose wit is bright and keen, whose morality is pure, and whose heart is in the right place.

The readers of the IRISH QUARTERLY have no need that we should enlarge on the keenness of our author's penetration, his facility of detecting shams, and divesting pretension of its borrowed garments; and on his sound judgment in pointing out the advantage of pursuing more useful, though less shining occupations than art or literature, when the true and strong vocation is not vouchsafed. And oh! how much misery would be spared us here, if every one could at an early age, discover his vocation, and enter on it betimes, and vigorously act in accordance with it. Then would we not see artists striving to paint with spade-handles for brushes, and mechanics endeavoring to pick locks with goose-quill pens.

We have training schools for crossing-sweepers, and free instruction held out for the encouragement of pickpockets: why are not our youth sent for a year or two to a college whose professors' chief duty would be to find out the bent of each pupil's disposition, and the peculiar pursuit for which his abilities and powers are best fitted, to make him pass through life, with comfort to himself and benefit to the community?

When this greatly needed college shall have been some years established, visitors will read with much profit and complacency, divers testimonials, carefully framed and hanging in the great hall, arranged in no particular order, but doing the part of votive tablets—testimonials to the heads of the establishment from players, engineers, inventors of incombustible cloth, novel writers, self-adjusting-plough wrights, attorneys, and statesmen; all expressive of gratitude for their training, by which they are now supporting their families in comfort, and adding to the income-tax.

Our old favorite, Alphonse Karr, makes one of his characters obtain first class prizes in all his university studies. The solemn owl who presented his last and crowning premium, gravely pronounced, that now his future was to be one scene of usefulness and enjoyment: he was fit for anything. The talented but useless hero on being obliged to exert himself to obtain a position in society, is ignorant of what he should do; he has literary tastes, but no penchant for any profession in particular,



and falls from bad to worse till he becomes a burden to himself and all who feel an interest in him.

Louis Reybaud, as is known, has filled some stations of trust under the French Government, and has full knowledge of the secret springs by which the engines of the press are set in motion. He tells us that he heard the outlines of the present story in the penetralia of a newspaper office, the narrator being the *Great Nepomucene*.

However difficult it might be to penetrate to the sanctum of an editor, this worthy found all doors open before him : his air, gesture, and mode of walking imposed on the clerks ; and no one ever thought of asking his right or title to the privilege. Some understood him to be a celebrity, others a capitalist ; all bowed before him. He had a pinch of the best snuff for the treasurer, a delicate piece of flattery for the office clerk, and a princely smile on his lips which the other subalterns could not resist : thus he was at home in the office of every journal.

"But who was this favored personage? No one knew. A certain obscurity hung over his antecedents ; and he disappeared one morning without leaving his address. The only relic left was his name, *The Great Nepomucene* ; and, after all, was this a real appellation, or a political or literary allusion, a trap set for posterity? Mystery on mystery ; I have no desire to penetrate them. However, if the name could escape memory, the hat would remain ; for Nepomucene had a hat as well as Napoleon ; a hat of character, irritating to the sight, and the most aggressive that hand of hatter ever turned out. You might not have known the man, but not to know the hat was impossible. It still lives in the minds of all, with its low crown and its many cornered brim. It will long remain in the memory, an abuse of form, and one of the greatest impertinences of plastic art. So in his hours of pride, Nepomucene called it *his monument*.

So much for the man. He was not of any journal, but he had the freedom of all : he took special care never to write, but still he gave the tone to those who did. Without him, no great success was possible ; he would not suffer it. In the cafés and divans he would explain, on being plied with a few glasses of the right sort, how such and such renowned scribes were indebted to him for their fame ; and by what curious processes he had raised some wretched productions to the skies. Was any eminent writer mentioned in his presence, 'it is I,' he would say, 'who raised him to his present position.' Speak to him of self-wrought reputations, he laughed in his sleeve at the idea ; and when pressed, he would relate, apropos to certain celebrities, bits of scandal that would set a college of bonzes a laughing."

Being determined on literary rule and influence, he had begun by having the utmost confidence in himself, and thus inspiring it into others: so by degrees, his single admirer enlarged to a full court, and 'his hat became the centre of opinion.' No sooner did he appear in a theatre, than he was surrounded by a group of familiars. In an unsettled question, 'What is the opinion of the *Great Nepomucene*,' was the first thing asked; and then the lovers of ready-made judgments who happened to be within hearing of the oracle, propagated the fiat to the long-eared world without.

One day in a select literary re-union, and in the enjoyment of the agreeable sensations arising from a generous lunch, he was holding forth on the number of successful aspirants whom he had advanced to fame; but he was suddenly taken back by recollection of the only check he had ever received.

"'Ah, gentlemen! you look for excitement in dramas, in romances: here is an occurrence from real life, where the heart left its fragments on the brambles, and shed its life-blood drop by drop along the high way of the world. Alas for the inconsistency of the most philosophical and selfish amongst us! Here am I, an old stager, as sentimental as a gun-flint, and who have assisted with dry eyes, at the most showery melo-dramas, at the most dishevelled hair, and the most gasping agonies of modern art; yet I feel my old eye-lids moisten at the memory of this event; but I was more than an eye-witness, I was a deeply interested personage in the story.

'Nothing more simple than the early part of the occurrence: it might be one of Berquin's stories. In the mountains of Quercy, beside Gourdon, and nigh the ruins of a once celebrated abbey, lived a worthy woman, widow of an officer who had perished in the service of his country. She now had but one care and one pleasure, to bring up her son in the esteem of the world, and in the fear of God. Her only fault, if it was one, was looking too high for him: so she spared no expense to give him a suitable education. Her resources were limited, a piece of land, and a small pension; but she multiplied them by economies and, alas! by privations also. She got him taught Latin, Greek, dancing, fencing, and playing on the violin, so that he might be accomplished as well as learned. At twelve, he could handle his bow after a fashion, but to secure the accomplishment, his mother had lived for the last nine years on milk and chestnuts. \* \* \* \* \* So our young hero at last returned from Toulouse, invested with the privilege of wearing a robe, and snatching a criminal from the gibbet."

Now that *Madame Merival* has her advocate ready made,

she cannot think of shutting him up in the petty provincial bourgs, Figeac, Cahors, Agen—bah ! she has a soul above these hamlets : to Paris he must go ; there only can be find a theatre worthy of his acquirements. In an unlucky hour *Nepomucene* is mentioned by some neighbours who have seen him in Paris on friendly terms with influential people. His family were of that part of France ; so the poor widow's imagination begins to seethe ; by going back four or five generations, she convinces herself that if the great *Nep.* was not *Lucien's* uncle, he ought at least turn out his cousin, the removes being more or less distant. And now his influence is exaggerated by the Paris-visiting gossips : ' *Nepomucene* is the man—it is he that has the long arms—he only, sends the rain and the sunshine—he is gossip and crony with the ministers—his knife and fork are laid at the King's table—*Vive le Grand Nepomucene.*' Had *Nepomucene* then appeared in the neighbourhood, his horses would been removed and his chariot drawn by the brawny arms of the rustics, but he suspects that he should in return bestow several *Bureaus de tabac* (in promises).

So our selfish Parisian receives a letter from the self-denying widow, announcing her intention of consigning *Lucien* to his care on the strength of their relationship ; and congratulating him on the credit his pupil will surely confer on him. The patron is vexed enough by the threatened boon ; he can forgive the fall of a tile on his head, but that a man should descend on him unawares was not to be borne. He is going to return a civil but denegatory answer, when glancing at the postscript, confusion ! he finds that his pupil is on the road, and will be under his charge next day. In due time he arrives, and is so chagrined by the cool reception he meets, that he is on the point of taking leave.

"Our connexion was about being dissolved ; a singular circumstance prevented it. The young man had under his arm, a basket from which issued odours, about whose nature or origin I could not be deceived, and the chamber was filled with the perfume : it was a packet of truffles sent by Madame Merinval. Oh you widows ! nothing escapes your penetration : well you know our feeble points : poor sainted mother, I forgive you ; but the accessory saved the principal. According as the odours expanded, I returned to better feelings ; my native air seemed to environ me. The young man was already

on the lobby, but I detained him on some pretence, and we entered into conversation. \* \* \* \* From this first interview I entertained presentiments of his horoscope very different from those of his mother, and alas too well verified in the sequel.

'A conscience and pure morals,' cried I as he departed to his lodgings, 'a dangerous baggage—he cannot possibly succeed.'"

The association so disagreeable at first becomes dear to the old gentleman. Before, his reign was solitary ; now he has a thurifer to burn incense on the altar of his vanity. Then *Lucien* has as many gold pieces sewed in his waistcoat as will last for a year ; moreover he is artless and goodnatured, a handsome *brun*, talented and patient of study, and calculated to reflect credit on his mentor.

Our young aspirant having changed his everlasting country garments for the products of a Paris Schneider, and being pretty comfortable as to his lodging and meals, his now strongly attached patron submits him to a moral analysis, and finds to his great chagrin that poor *Lucien* is afflicted with an extravagant veneration for literary celebrities of every kind ; false gods and genuine deities being equally the object of his adoration. The drudgeries of the law he will not submit to ; writing political articles for the journals, is his aim, and he diligently exercises himself in preparatory exercises on the current topics of the day, comparing them with the leaders of the chief papers, and naturally giving the preference to his own. *Nepomucene* had much influence with the powers of the press, but to get his protégée appointed on the staff of a periodical, he found to exceed his powers. Every office had its complement, and when he insinuated his wishes, he met with the same civility which is shewn by a dog in possession of a bone, when an acquaintance approaches him with his nose on the *qui vive*.

On *Lucien* repeating his earnest desire to look on the princes and princesses of glory, and to form their acquaintance ; and requesting his patron's mediation—

" 'Lucien,' said I, 'beware : you form an ill regulated wish ; you desire to drink of the cup of disenchantment. How do you figure to yourself your ideals of these people ? adorned with a profusion of graces, endowed with supernatural gifts. You paint them on your mental canvas, lyre in hand, laurel crown on forehead, and their figures draped in antique robes ; or perhaps, with head inclined in

meditation, graving with stile on page of iron, salutary and everlasting maxims. These are the creatures of your dreams; unhappy youth, why not allow them to exist! Apply not to the countenances of these noble images, the vulgar mask of reality. You have demi-gods; why look for mortals—mortals who are never found without alloy. Viewed from near, Genius himself is deprived of rays. Approach your literary magnate: you expect to see rays darting from his eyes; what do you find? a pair of spectacles, perhaps a false front on those brows instead of lambent flame; not speaking of a squint in the eyes, a snub nose, or one high shoulder: these little inconveniences occur to the gifted as well as the vulgar portion of humanity. Conquer your curiosity; it will only lead to disappointment: antiquity was right in perching its heroes on the clouds."

By such exhortations I sought to cool the heated brain of my friend: without self-flattery, I may say that wisdom herself made use of my voice: well, well; I must avow that I did not meet with the success which I deserved. He pressed for introductions, I temporised, and hence, a series of little snares laid, and ambushes contrived.

One evening as we were strolling through the arcades of the Rue Rivoli, a female passed before us: it was only the apparition of a moment, from the carriage to the door of a hotel; nevertheless Lucien pressed my arm, uttered a cry of joy, and exclaimed, 'The Countess of Mauleon.'

He had just pronounced a name celebrated on more than one account. I saw in the matter, only an accident of his abiding malady; nevertheless I asked where he had seen her. My question seemingly embarrassed him a little; and he made use of a subterfuge in asking me in turn, if he had said that he knew her. 'Without doubt,' said I, 'we do not name people on sight without previous knowledge.' 'Bah!' said he, 'it is pure instinct.'"

The road to political eminence being closed, and the pursuit of law being distasteful, nothing remains but the thorny path of letters; and *Nepomucene* gives him his own ideas on points connected with this career.

"If possible be yourself; if you cannot, then follow the great writers: these are the two divisions of my discourse. Have genius if you can; if not, have talent at least: God gives one, the other we can obtain of ourselves.

In your provinces, my friend, you are partial to tinsel and Dutch metal; it is a peculiarity of primitive people: the Indian encumbers his nose and lips with rings; the Negro doats on glass beads; every one pursues his own penchant here below. You are fond of what sparkles and multiplies coloured images: take care; the sight is injured by excess of glitter and refraction."

Honest *Nepomucene* then alludes to the revolt against the monarchs of the ancient regime of letters conducted by Victor Hugo and the other Romanticists, which may be found in the early career of *Jerome Paturot*,\* and alludes to their short usurpation; and mentions with pity, the decadence and old age of the once effervescing mad spirits. Some have become reasonable and returned to the ancient standards, others have remained old boys, and their case is hopeless. He then mentions the system of a neutral party who by borrowing a strip of noble language from one, a colloquial style of wit from another, &c., have got on a new vesture for which though they owe nothing to any one in particular, they are in debt to the whole world. Next he directs his attention to the literature of the Regency.

"Are you curious in matters of the toilette? there you will find the patch, the hoop petticoat, the red high-heel shoe, pearl powder and what not. In other styles you have all nature at your command; the sun, the moon, the elements, twenty comedians of the first class, a full chorus, eight scenes newly touched up, and sixty tunics in real Tyrian purple. You need put no stint to your fantasy: cameo profiles, figurantes after the antique, frescoes of Herculeanum, Etruscan vases, trophies of arms, leopard skins, crested helms, all the *bric-a-brac* of the historic ages beginning with Nabuchodonosor. But with the Regency, venture on none of these properties, none whatever. Two personages and two screens; behold your resources: make the most of them you can. After all, the receipt is extant: nice little words, nice little phrases, nice little intrigues, nice little dénouements: leave the rest to chance and the skill of the comedians."

The lecture continues, and the various high and by-ways of art are thrown open; and after passing the various schools in brief recapitulation before *Lucien*, he suddenly asks him to which of them he inclines; and the inattentive pupil half awaking from a reverie, involuntarily announces to his astonished tutor, his intention of entering the school of the *Countess of Manteon*.

This second mention of the too celebrated Countess, between whom and George Sand we are inclined to detect a likeness, inquiets the poor guardian, and by dint of affected sympathy, and a promise of revealing his own early follies some day, he induces *Lucien* to enter on a general confession.

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol., III., No. 11, p. 497.

"I was sixteen at my return from Cahors to my mother's house, and during the four months between my humanities and law studies, there was a complete void in my occupations. It was too much for an unquiet spirit like mine, on which labour alone could impose a salutary restraint. From submission to a strict regime I passed at once to an independence the most absolute. This contrast surprised and troubled me: it seemed as if the ground was going to glide from under my feet, and I was stretching out my hand to find some chance support.

In the first week I was drunk with liberty; I climbed the mountain at morn, and did not return till night; as if I wished to recover in one day, the air, the azure, the songs, the verdure, and the sunlight of the last six years. Then this liberty began to weigh on me from its very excess. My body found healthy employ; my soul began to lack nourishment; I began to regret my mental chain, and would have voluntarily resumed it: such is the human heart; it follows those things which it finds to be slipping away from it.

I should find out some occupation at any price; want of exercise hung on me like a funeral pall. Our house adjoined the presbytery, and the good Curé used often come and chat with my mother. He guessed at my complaint, and offered me the only remedy in his power, permission to make use of his library. 'The contents,' said he, 'are not very amusing, but they are calculated to instruct us how to make use of God's gifts in this life, so as to merit his rewards in the next.' Sacred or profane, what did I care? It was an employment, a study. I welcomed the favor as a boon from heaven. Next day I was in the middle of the old books, and up to my eyes in theology; I did not understand all I read, but I had a book in my hands, and was satisfied. So the thing went on till I made a singular discovery one day when the Curé was on duty. I was on a scrutiny among the shelves to discover something more diverting than *The Works of St. Anselm*, or *The Summa of St. Thomas*, when in a corner I discovered carefully papered up, two volumes nicely bound, and having all the appearance of intruders—a romance in fact. You are not to form an unjust opinion of the good clergyman, my cousin; these were spoils he had wrested from the demon, and having been overlooked, they were lying there on their road to the kitchen fire.

When the work touched my hands it seemed as if I was handling fire; when I read the name of the author, I felt something analogous to an electric shock. For fear of being interrupted, I carried away the fatal work,—fatal but immortal. I carefully kept it concealed, happy to touch it, and anticipating the enjoyment of the forbidden fruit; alas, we are all veritable children of Eve. When I found myself really alone, I began with eyes and ears on the strain, for fear of detection. I read on, line by line, page by page, and then commenced again, as you would drink some exquisite liquor, drop by drop, to enjoy the full savor and perfume. Twenty times I renewed the delightful task, till at last, every word remained on my

memory as if burned in with a red-hot brand. Thenceforward my solitude was peopled, my time filled up, my brain fully furnished. I even had extacies in which the heroes of the book figured : in my dreams I saw them smile on me, glide behind the hedges as I walked, and go before me up the mountain side. They formed a cortege sufficient to fill my thoughts, and from which I would not for worlds be separated.

Now from the personages of the romance, my thoughts naturally strayed to the author who had given them life and form. My dear cousin, if the benches of the Faculty of Toulouse could speak, they would betray the injustice done by my engrossing pre-occupation to the Pandects of Justinian. Even during the most interesting causes, I had little attention to spare from the very illegal object that lay in the bottom of my hat. I had now devoured, and ranged in the compartments of my brain, twenty volumes of phantoms, who always appeared to me in my sombre hours, and made the charm of my solitary existence. You ask me if I had known the Countess of Mauleon and where I had seen her ; I have never seen her any place in my life, and yet I know her intimately. Out of all the beings animated by the breath of her genius, I have composed an essence, and that essence is herself. She has the grace of this, the port of that heroine ; the eyes of one, the ebon locks of the other. Here and there I have collected the charms which she has painted, to attribute them to herself ; the beauties budding and blowing under her pen, to present her the gracious offering. This is how I know her, it is this that brings her name to my lips on every occasion ; this is why I recognised her when she passed us. Now you have the solution of the enigma : was I not right in calling it a school-boy's fantasy ?

'Say rather a poet's ; we must cure you of it, it is a malady of the country.'

'Cure me, dear cousin ! why cure me of my only happiness ?'

I did not push the inquisition farther, but I was sufficiently alarmed by my discovery. The head of my pupil was susceptible of a fermentation greater than I could have imagined. There were perils, and of different kinds in his path. I knew the divinity in whose honour he had been burning his solitary and unmarked incense for three years. I knew how she would treat her worshipper if he ever approached her altar, and on what footing she would receive his homage. These forebodings caused me much trouble. I should procure him some distraction, turn his attention to, and fix his interest on other objects ; you will shortly see how I succeeded."

*Nepomucene* proceeds to say, that he looked on his patient in the light of those mariners of old whom the syrens allured, and reduced to death by inanition when they did not drown them outright ; but how to stop *Lucien's* ears against the great



syren's song is the task. He is of solitary habits, and duped by the creatures of his own imagination; his veneration for literary celebrities is extravagant; the proper cure for this must be an admiration directed to himself: it is the doctrine of cure by semblables in all its grandeur. We never see writers sincerely admiring their fellows; they reserve the precious article for themselves.

"To make amends they shew great attention to the dead, and this for two reasons equally judicious. First, they have nothing to dread from the vicinity of their pens, and secondly, the objects of their praise are not in a condition to profit by it."

It is hard if after securing so many literary reputations, I should fail in this one on which I have set my heart: but wherefore fear? a check to me indeed! You shall arrive, my Lucien, at the summit of literary eminence, without a halt, and to the sound of clarions. Nothing shall be wanting, and brass instruments shall be provided, regardless of expense. You shall have six benches of chevaliers hired expressly to applaud, and twenty crowns (*provided by the management*) descending on your head at once. You shall have six recals in succession, and four swoonings in the pit, confided to well dressed persons. You shall see, my dear Lucien, if my arm is heavy or not."

He now looks at his pupil's papers, and passing over several pretentious efforts, he fixes on a slight dramatic sketch, which he makes him retouch and enlarge; and after a world of trouble, he gets it accepted at a theatre on the Boulevards, songs being interwoven by a hack of the establishment.

"My first trouble was with the actress who was to play the principal part. All depended on her; let her take her role with a bad grace, with negligence, or ill humour, all was over: we sunk into the river of Lethe, where so many fine things are lost, from the humble vaudeville to the proud opera. Cost what it would, we must enlist her in our cause, push her to excess—excess of zeal, excess of the toilette; dazzle her with the merit of the work, and inaugurate its reception by a dress of a novel and tasteful character. A new dress for a piece in one act! When you put an actress to the expense of a new gown for a performance you enchain her; there is a unity of interest between you; a new robe! Nothing more sovereign; she must appear in it thirty times to have her outlay replaced.

Being sure of the actors, I had still to disarm and seduce the press. Nothing more easy; your newspaper critic for the most

part, is easy and goodnatured ; his ferule often comes down without touching the obnoxious fingers. Besides I had had the forethought to scatter green-room reports abroad, which had found their way everywhere. In twenty quarters there were questions of a new piece destined to effect a revolution in art. A young genius had come up from the south, with his portfolio, crammed with the most original and finished productions. From his rich bouquet he had consented to detach one simple and modest flower. When pressed, the name of the piece and of the theatre so happy as to obtain it, were given ; but the name of the writer was enveloped in the most complete mystery. The human spirit is accessible to fables : this report had the completest success, and its echoes were innumerable among the lazy and inquisitive public. I was not content with public seductions, I practised personal ones and with great success. I visited the distributors of praise or blame. To interest them, I had only the one note, but it threw enchantment over each. 'The Author belongs to your school,' said I to the first. 'The Author has drawn inspiration from your works,' was my confidential remark to the second. To the third by way of variety, 'The Author looks to you as the true organ of public opinion : he sets little store by the judgments of the rest.' I made exception with none ; I repeated this song to every critic : what advantage in making any one jealous or discontented."

With such preparation how could the piece be damned ? It had a wonderful success, but to *Nepomucene's* great chagrin, *Lucien* was more annoyed than gratified by the adulation he met with from all quarters. So his patron takes the resolution of letting the *Chevalier Rigobert* loose on him.

This 'great unknown' had got a name by acting as fourth collaborateur in an occasional vaudeville got up to celebrate some such event as the three July days. The merit of the poetry can be judged from the specimens subjoined—

Célébrons notre Souverain ;  
Son nom est gravé sur l'airain !

Or—

Ohantons, chantons, notre bon roi ;  
Il a nos cœurs et notre foi.

Or this—

Vive, vive notre monarque !  
Qu'il soit respecté de la Parque.

Dating from the execution of these precious bits of rhyme, he never ceased to persecute the Government till he obtained

the Cross of the Legion of Honour. His claims were cogent : ' his three fellow-labourers were décorées ; why should not he ? ' The powers were tired out, and granted his request ; and he became the *Chevalier Rigobert*, first of the name, and unprivileged to transmit his title. And oh, what a world of care he took to keep his literary merits before the public ; to admit the sun and the air to his sickly hot-house plant at the proper season, and to cover it carefully at the approach of frost !

" In places where he was on a familiar footing he entered in a hurry, speaking before the door was closed behind him : ' what ! nothing said of my books or myself for three long weeks ! Not a line quoted, not one word : do we live in Tartary ? ' At other times he would take the man of influence aside, and accost him in a feeling and melancholy tone : ' My dear sir, what can I have done to you ? ' ' Me ! Chevalier ; nothing, at least nothing that I know. ' ' Ah ! surely I have ; behold, I cast myself at your feet, I'll make any reparation in my power : speak. ' ' Reparation ! Chevalier : what need of any, seeing there is no wrong done ? ' ' Ah ! I see you are implacable ; but why have you attacked me with such acrimony ? ' ' I attack you ! I have not even mentioned your name for two years. ' ' That is the very thing I complain of, and every day you speak of my collaborateur X ; and now you say you have no spite to me : ah, you hypocrite ! "

So *Rigobert* is just the man to inoculate *Lucien* with a due appreciation of public favor, He has the entrée in many influential circles, *Nepomucene* is not always at leisure to chaperon his protégée, and so a very desirable connection springs up between the experienced dunce, and the inexperienced man of genius.

Soon after the acquaintance took place, the world was astonished to see in a certain feuilleton, a sketch replete with genius, grace, and ability, and subscribed with the name of *Rigobert*. How had *Rigobert*, the sapless, fallen on a fresh living vein ? was the question. Had he, in the silence of his study, and safe from the eyes of justice, opened an artery in some young and innocent writer, and by drinking his blood infused life and vigour into his own spent frame. Still the fact was destitute of proof, till *Nepomucene* meeting him, and hypocritically complimenting him on his triumph, requested to see the piece, as he wished earnestly to submit it to *Lucien* for his imitation. Seeing the evident terror which this pro-

position struck into *Rigobert's* heart, he said no more, but guessed at once that it was some forgotten piece of *Lucien's* which the old pirate had purloined. Not willing to create an enemy for his pupil, but at the same time to punish the thief, he cunningly secured his appearance before a select company of known literati; and in spite of his doubtings and denials, at last forced him to acknowledge *Lucien* as the author. 'And after all,' said he 'what harm? Is he not a man without a name, and what's more, a fool?'

"Between *Lucien* and myself now ensued one of those strifes in which stratagem is brought to aid natural strength, and where the tactics consist in avoiding an engagement.

This role was the same as played in old times by *Xenophon* at the head of his 'ten thousand,' and by *Fabius* when guarding the approach to Rome against the conquering Carthaginians. It consisted in tiring out the enemy, in turning him aside from his object, and in enveloping him with wiles and ambushes. At all hazards *Lucien* pushed on towards his idol; while I fortified the outworks of the besieged temple with *Chevaux de frise* and impenetrable gabions. Mars defend the right!"

As a last resource, *Mentor* brings to his aid the *Canonees Eulalie St. Epinac*. This lady was born a poetess. Her mother saw in a dream, just before her birth, Apollo himself, lyre in hand, descend from Pindus, and scatter violets on her cradle; *Euterpe* executing variations on the harp, and *Clio* pronouncing a discourse: and all concluding with a rondo in the Ionian measure.

An eglantine was found marked on her body at birth; and before she was four years old, she had daubed her face and clothes with ink three times every day, and had almost poisoned herself on one occasion with a bottle of best japan fluid. At a very juvenile period she began to communicate her inspirations to the world. Hers was rather a precocious muse. The name of one piece was '*What is Love*;' another looked more suspicious, its title ran thus, '*Life for two*;' another took a still more decisive part, being addressed to '*To the object of my dreams*;' but *Nepomucene* requested his hearers not to look for more harm than really existed: *Eulalie* merely clothed undefined longings in a sort of definite drapery.

She now began in the evenings to inflict recitations on her mother, and the servants at their spinning wheels ; and as her audience understood the poetry as well as they did *Sanscrit*, their admiration was without bounds. Finally she came to Paris, published her collection, and acquired a certain degree of consideration with the public.

"Now it should seem that with a fair share of renown and a respectable name, she would have her choice of husbands ; however, this expectation was not realised. A little court had formed round her, but no one stepped from the ring to offer her his hand : nothing, no proposal either spontaneous or formal ; homages in abundance, but no offers. Among the really serious well wishers, some recoiled in terror of the young and eager swarms of admirers who made her cortege ; others wishing to judge her by her works, read her poems one by one, and were frightened at the amount of sighs which she had already exchanged with the moon, the stars, and other objects still more suspicious. It seemed dangerous to take charge of a woman who had made declarations to so many animated beings ; and they naturally asked themselves if after such extravagant expenditure of sentiment, she could have preserved any thing agreeable at all to say to a husband : these natural but wrong suspicions kept them from offering proposals."

Having arrived at the mature age of thirty, unwedded, she became a canoness\* to spite the tasteless crowd who should have interfered in time ; and lived on a small hereditary pension, and on the premiums annually awarded to poets and poetesses, under the names of *violets* and *eglantines*, by an old foundation which has existed in Toulouse from the time of the troubadours. She is now settled for life in a suite of two rooms, where she occasionally holds a little court of poets young and old.

*Nepomucene* adopting the system of counter irritation, determines that *Lucien* shall become a star of her little court, and be weaned from his attraction to the *Countess of Manson*, who is a special object of hate to the good canoness : he pays her a visit to prepare the way.

"The palace of the poetess consisted of two rooms and a kitchen on the entresol. The chief ornaments were four portraits of the presiding divinity in oil, crayons, &c. Here her fingers swept the harp strings ; there her hand rested on a virgin sheet of paper ; now she plunged her quill in the ink-stand, and lastly she contented

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\* The vows of this half secular community not being as stringent as those taken by regular nuns, the kind reader will permit our poetess a little sentimentality.

herself with an absence of all attributes. To vary the furniture of the scene, a robe lay on one chair, and a slipper on the floor; instances of seemly negligence, and serving to strengthen the local color."

*Eulalie* at her visitor's entrance is cooking her dinner in her small adjoining kitchen, and invites him to take a seat in that sanctuary, as she must jealously watch her pot till the due turn is given.

"Never was I affected so by any spectacle; at the end of a Jewish patriarch's life it would not have escaped my memory. Armed with a big iron spoon, the divine *Eulalie* skirmished with that dexterity conferred by habit alone; plunged it into the boiler, drew it forth, and tasted the contents by gingerly touching its edge with her lips.

Sometimes even, in the heat of conversation, she used it as a music baton, and flourished it about to the imminent danger of my vestments. \* \* \*

'Yesterday, my friend, I had a servant; I have been obliged to dismiss her without drum or trumpet. You cannot keep a domestic now; she will turn out so exacting, so argumentative, so hardened in vice. This one for instance, a cow-herd from her shed, from the middle of cocks and hens, with cow-dung in her sabots, and straw in her hair:—this one knowing nothing, never having seen service but with muleteers, a machine, a turn-spit;—eh, well! what do you think she complained of? I'll give you a thousand guesses.——She complained of the diet.' 'Oh, frightful!' 'You may well say so; I had a mind to cram her with clover on the spot; but that is not the worst; a new vice has crept in among servants; they are corrupted to the core; we will be devoured infallibly by the harpies. What do you think? they insist on being regularly paid.'"

Her astonished visitor asked could such wickedness be possible; and while insisting on its naked verity, she brandished her spoon with such recklessness, that he was obliged to make a brisk retreat to avoid its dripping contents. The culinary operation being over, she requests him to step into the salon while she puts herself to rights. She makes him endure a pretty long wait, and then enters in radiant guise, to compensate for her neglected kitchen undress. *Nepomucene* explains his wish for the admission of *Lucien* to her conversations, and to his surprise she asks the color of his friend. He rejoins by hoping that she did not imagine he could think of presenting her a negro; adding that *Lucien* was a

handsome *brun*. She cries out that she has already eight of that complexion on her hands, and says that if he were a *blond* of Scandinavia something might be done. He observes that there are *bruns* and *bruns*, but she still persists in demanding a Swede or Russ. He then intimates that his friend is a poet; that once in accord, their lyres would sound in unison, and lend each other mutual support, but this unlucky suggestion is the worst move of all.

' "So, so; one coxcomb more on my hands, as if I had not enough already. Whence do you come, my friend? have I to do at last with an enemy? I begin to entertain serious doubts of you, your offers sound so strange. A poet indeed! you might as well offer me a serpent to be warmed in my bosom. A poet to deprive me of my living! to steal my eglantines, and reduce me to a dry crust! Ah! Nepomucene; ought I to expect this from you."

Foiled in all his side attacks, he now makes a direct charge, and tells the naked truth; *Lucien's* senseless admiration for the *Countess of Mauleon*, and his earnest wish to save him from coming within the sphere of her fascinations.

"Eh, my dear friend, why did you not say so at first? The Countess of Mauleon indeed! Oh you cannot be aware how I detest her. An observer of your power not to know that it is always a pleasure for one woman of letters to mortify another!

'You ask me to enter into your design. Why, my friend; I would cheerfully pay for the privilege. I will take your young friend in hands. He is dark 'tis true, but we will repaint him: besidea, the Countess doats on *bruns*; let her come: I'll pull out half a dozen of her teeth, sooner than give him up to her; Countess of Mauleon indeed!'

'Bravo! Eulalie. You are really superb;' and in truth she looked for the moment like the handsomest of the Eumenides.

'It is because I hate her so cordially: there is no word in the language strong enough to express what I feel towards her. A woman who has had such success, a woman whose works sell; and I, to pardon such a thing!'

'You are right,' said I, stirring up the fire of her resentment, 'it is unpardonable.'

'It might be borne, if she possessed talent; but one should be purblind, bandy-legged, hump-backed, and all skin and bone, like that idiot, THE PUBLIC, to find in her the shade of an idea, of a sentiment, of any beauty whatever; and yet her books are printed, are sold, and find publishers to push them, and imbeciles to read

them. Misery! and what does this prove but that we are all going to the dogs?’

‘So you accept your part, Canoness?’

‘Accept it! Ay, with four hands, if I had them. Let me have the rooth, foxy or brown, who cares? I should not have looked to shades: he will be an instrument of revenge on the Countess. Do not mingle in this business, you would strike too light. Send the young man of any color heaven pleases. I’ll be revenged for all I have ever suffered in enduring her praises. But in talking I have forgotten my simmering pot: now you must go. Oh! Vengeance, Vengeance! what a morsel for a king!’”

Now is our young hero, day after day, plotting, fasting, walking, and watching at corners, and under gateways, to catch a glimpse of his idol; to follow where she has passed, and to look on these privileges as the greatest on earth. His guardian, seeing the state of things, hurries forward his first appearance in *Eulalie’s* salon, where, in presence of her four portraits, and young, aspiring, hoping poets, and old, unprinted, despairing ones, and at the round serge-covered table in the middle of the apartment, he is to favor the presiding goddess, and her little court, with a specimen of his poetic powers. *Nepomucene* detests poetry, and on this occasion only, he will submit to the infiction.

“‘Must I acknowledge my shame; own to my cowardice? well, if it must be so, let it be. I spent an hour beside myself; I took pleasure in the recital. I resisted at first, then gradually gave ground step by step, then gave way to complete enjoyment. It was that Lucien sung his passion in true accents, such as go to the heart whatever be the form of the language. In a series of fragments, he painted the state of a soul attracted to unknown divinities; and moulded the feelings in a shape taken from the spirit of his dreams. A little of *Pygmalion*, a little of *Venus Aphrodité*; grace, languor, murmurs of the waters, murmurs from the sky, the hues of the solar prism, the perfumes of earth and air:—all these floated in the chaunt. Behold the cause of my defeat, of my utter discomfiture. Me sensible to the seductions of verse! Ye gods of good sense, gods of prose, give me your pardon.’

If this poesy produced such an effect on one of the ‘prophane,’ judge of the emotions of the ‘initiated.’ It was but one cry and one extasy during the recital. At every instant, Lucien was interrupted by the marks of an involuntary admiration. Such testimonies were too vivid not to be sincere: besides, there prevailed in these fragments, such an elevation of feeling and thought, such vigour, and such brilliancy, that we felt ourselves bound, and hurried along, despite of every obstacle, and by an irresistible impulse. But you should have seen poor *Eulalie*. Her eyes flashed, and her lips breathed out a visible triumph. She had reason to be proud in reality: it was an



epoch for her salon, now become the cradle of an illustrious name. Oh ! to see her movements, her gestures, her agitation !

'Oh ! divine, divine,' she cried : 'divine,' they all repeated in chorus ; 'a great poet is born,' she added ; 'yes indeed, a great poet,' cried the juniors with enthusiasm : 'a great poet,' repeated the unpublished seniors in a lower key, as became those who had felt the thorns of the art.

The assembly was dissolved and the youths would have constructed a bier to conduct the Laureat in triumph to his lodgings. The Canoness did not shrink from any excess : she had fished from the depths of a press, two or three perfumed handkerchiefs, and was not happy but while wiping the moist and heated brow of the poet. I am sure she would have proposed a foot-bath in addition, and herself as the hand-maid, but that this ceremony seems to belong exclusively to ancient manners."

We would now seem to be in a fair way to secure our young poet from the songs of the syren *Countess*, but the scheme, though well contrived, proved nought. A mad philosopher who has the entrée in the salons both of *Countess* and *Canoness*, fastens himself on *Lucien* to induct him into his system ; and the victim puts his head willingly into the snare, for by conversing with *Trinachon*, he can hear about his idol and her doings. A card of invitation is at last presented to *Lucien*, who of course, now walks on air ; but the same card being forgotten on the sofa in *Eulalie's* salon, and coming under her eyes, infuses fright and grief into her excitable and loving heart. She is now enraged at *Lucien* for his ingratitude and weakness ; against his patron for not having infused better principles into him ; and against *Trinachon* for seducing him into the enemy's camp. Poor *Trinachon* was a very unconscious instrument in the transaction. His system was, that we were all mistaken as to the proper offices of the feet and head. In order that honey should be collected from the leaves of trees, and wine flow without ceasing from all the public fountains, we had nothing to do but elevate our feet in the air, and use our heads as organs for walking. Hearing that a young poet had arisen, he pounced on him to secure his services as high priest to his new cultus, and the invitation to the *Countess's* party fell out without any selfish or treacherous design on the part of the system-monger. *Lucien* patiently listened to his ravings to get a word or two about his divinity, and *Trinachon* rejoiced in the acquisition of an important disciple.

On the very day before the much longed for party, *Lucien*,

gazing on the *Countess's* hotel from the corner of a street, is struck by the pole of a carriage, and carried home senseless. The *Countess* and *Trinachon* are in the vehicle at the moment of the accident. She is naturally troubled at the mischief, and interested about the handsome young poet; makes frequent enquiries at his lodgings during his confinement, and though *Nepomucene* and *Eulalie* were his unwearied nurses while his life was in jeopardy, the ungrateful youth forgetting their devotion, makes use of his returning powers in the first instance, to wait on, and thank the *Countess* for her solicitude. His devoted nurse takes this proceeding in very bad part, she thus opens her mind to *Nepomucene*—

“ ‘ You cannot blame me for entertaining suspicion ; the thing is not natural. Here is a dame who wishes to demolish the young man, and pound him into fragments ; who sets her carriage at full speed to exterminate him ; breaks two of his ribs, and introduces the carriage pole into his reins ; and would have extinguished him but for the intervention of Providence. Well ! all this is fair and above board : I love open warfare of the sort, but what does my young hero ?—does he launch an omnibus against her ?—does he oppose pole to pole, wheel to wheel, horse to horse ? Not at all : this is only done in Corsica : our young poet is a chevalier and a Frenchman. He returns the thrusts of the pole with flourishes of his hat : he adores this she-devil who sought his life : when a name is on his lips it is hers. \* \* \* But shall we endure this ignominy ? No. Shall we have the trouble ; she the profit ? Oh ! Nepomucene, when I think of it, I feel that I have nothing human about me : I am become a tigress, a wolf, a chacal : I think I could devour the traitress without repugnance. Shall she bear away the fruits of our labours ? No, it would be odious. I'll brave the laws if it must be ; I'll set the code at defiance ; I'll affront the *Gens d'armes*. If I must tell you all, Nepomucene, I will descend to poison, poison of the lowest kind,—ay even to ratsbane.’ \* \* \* A new date now marked the life of Lucien : his career began, mine ended. He had nought to stay his conquering steps : I, nought to do but seek the shelter of my tent, and staunch my wounds. I had lost my Cannæ ; he had crossed his Rubicon.”

A fine description is now given of the little Elysium composed of the hotel and gardens of the *Armida* of our tale, but we prefer some account of herself. Reybaud, for obvious reasons, gives the heroine a genealogy different from the one adopted in the *Mémoires de ma Vie* lately published, but the reader will be under no doubt as to the identity of the two ladies. A painter immortalized by Cervantes, when commencing a sketch, dashed down colors and shades at random

for a while; then withdrew to a distance, and sought to discover in the chiar-oscuro, some resemblance to an object in nature; having discovered a likeness, he put in a few finishing touches and wrote underneath, for instance, "*This is a fox.*" In opposition to this process, our artist makes a finished portrait and puts a feigned name underneath. Having mentioned her as sprung from a warlike race, he proceeds—

"She had this martial spirit even from childhood. Under the show of an angel she concealed the tricks of a demon; and a will of iron under the appearance of extreme sweetness. What shone out in her particularly was a need of action, which nothing could satisfy; she should comprehend all at the first view. If you gave her a book, she would go to the last pages after reading the first few words; a toy, she could not rest till she took it to pieces. She felt no greater delight than in destruction. Years brought a little moderation to her movements; but still the destroying spirit was at work, and stormed the more for being obliged to remain inactive in the depths of her heart; as the lava of the volcano rages in the breast of the mountain, before bursting its crater."

Our young prodigy marries, and is tired of the arrangement from the wedding day. *Nepomucene* requests his hearers to draw any consequences they please from this fact, as they will be in no great danger to go beyond the truth. The *Count* is not a man to be disturbed with small domestic troubles, but his outline is touched in the picture with a very misty brush. The *Countess* assumes the most perfect liberty of action from the beginning; but the revolt against legitimate authority is not conducted in a vulgar style nor in bad taste; not at all.

"Seldom has nature re-united under the same envelope, so many rare qualities; a charm so evenly sustained, a tact so exquisite, a genius so true, a power of art so sure of its own strength. She looked at objects as no other person would; and found colors wherewith to depict them, which were worthy of the greatest painters. Every view, material or moral, was imprinted on her mind in the freshest and truest outlines and colors; and at a future epoch were produced as if they had been the object of her study only an hour before. She as yet had no presentiment of her destiny, and doubted her powers; hence tumultuous sensations and ideas which, rising to the surface in disorder, destroyed each other. They formed materials, however, for future creations. At last her vocation was revealed; and obeying her martial instincts, she marched direct to glory, and attained her object at the first effort. \* \* \* She at once secured the public ear, and being of the number of spoiled children to whom so many things are pardoned, she at last did what she pleased with her audience. She had clients

by thousands, the young who are always led by novelty; the women in whose breasts her complaints woke ten thousand echoes, all the spirits disturbed or in a state of revolt; finally, the critics who willingly raise such writers to the clouds, to have the pleasure of casting them down when they please. \* \* \* Her salon became the centre of genius, rank, and distinction, which she ruled with ease by virtue of her matchless grace and talent.

Imagination with her was more lively than feeling. So she watched the emotions of her own heart, and the hearts of others, as subjects of study for future pictures and sketches. She cultivated the society of great painters, statuaries, musicians, dreamy poets, and dashing writers, to borrow color from this one, a bold and vigorous style from that, harmony, form, and adjustment of draperies, from the others. \* \* \* Her real empire lay over the stormy or serene worlds of the imagination, where fancy creates or destroys at will; flings in her lights or spreads thicker darkness. \* \* \* Besides her skill in the outline, color, and drapery of the outer world, she had sounded the mysteries of the heart, and examined the folds and recesses of its passions. It was an open book which she read at sight with ease, and interpreted with unerring truth. \* \* \* But she could not be content with exercising her powers in the fields of fancy and feeling, so full of verdure and flowers, and pleasant paths, and peopled with happy images, or even those thunder-stricken rocks, which occasionally throw gloom on the landscape. No; she aspired to patronise Trinachon and such as be with their mad systems; and she quitted these pursuits in which she was supreme, for those where success was unattainable. So she exchanged the outward lovely human form for the dry bones and corded muscles; and trucked her fairy robe for a doctor's gown. Every system-monger seized on her, and had her ear by turns. With one set, she fired out Heaven with blasphemies, and heaped tirade on tirade to alevate her defiances still higher: with another she dived into the metempsychosis, and patronised ghosts and mid-day visions. It was not the fault of the Trinachons that she did not descend to those morasses from which ascent is impossible.

Thus had she successively reflected the influences by which she was beleaguered. From the poets she had passed to the romancers; from the romancers to the artists; from the artists to the philosophers; from the philosophers to the creators of worlds turned inside out. She was in this last stage, when Lucien was thrown into the *melée*, and traversed her systems in a sort of comet-like orbit."

*Nepomucene* accepts an invitation to a pretty crowded reunion at the *Hotel Mauleon*, in order to see upon what footing *Lucien* is received. *Lucien* he cannot find after strictest search, but *Calypso* dazzles and captivates *Mentor* in spite of his ægis.

"This evening she was absolutely radiant, and filled the salon with her presence. She attracted every one's attention, and extorted

the admiration even of the most rebellious. No one could be less disposed to submit to her fascinations than myself; I had too many causes of grief against her, and these of a really legitimate kind. No matter: I was overcome, and obliged to give up my arms, vanquished by her grace. Among so many fine women present, she alone bore the stamp of acknowledged grandeur. Others might be regular in feature, pretty, beautiful, charming, she alone was grand. Among the rich and fashionable costumes, she was dressed with enchanting simplicity: you would have said that a goddess had descended from her altar to mix for a while with mere mortals.

When I entered, the concert had begun, and the virtuosos were relieving each other at the piano. Every one knows what intolerance reigns on occasions when talent of the first order is in question. Movement or circulation is strictly interdicted; an involuntary sound, a whisper, brings indignant and furious looks from every side. The exercise of the natural functions is abolished; even breathing is only tolerated under certain conditions. All this is detestable to me. I do not hate music, even when pushed to its ordinary excesses; but I admire its bona-fide amateurs and endurers, who, for three mortal hours, between the heated air of the salon, and the icy breeze from without, and all the while standing upright, are pressed, crushed; a butt to digging elbows, and those swayings one side and the other, which inflict vertigoes on the toughest heads. If this be pleasure it must be owned that it is a dearly bought one.

Why should I remain? the artist at the piano was one of those the wavings of whose long hair give duly every vibration of the keys, and thus serve for most accurate melometers. I had nothing to learn; I had his mode and repertory by heart."

*Nepomucene* makes his escape to the grass-plot for a little fresh air, and on his return, when he finds the rancour of the music abated, he detects *Lucien perdu*, behind a curtain, watching every movement of the *Countess* as if life depended on the scrutiny. He secures his guardian's arm for a promenade, in order to keep himself in countenance, and *Nepomucene* gives a sketch of a few Parisian art-sovereigns as they successively approach the fauteuil of the *Countess* to offer homage.

We give our readers permission to apply the proper christian and family names.

"Eh! that blond with the metal buttons: prostrate yourself at once; that is the Baron *Fanfare*, who would not be appeased with less than twenty-eight editions of any of his works. One is cited as having run through sixty-four editions in three days; there appeared one per hour, day and night; you could not turn without having five in full chase after you; when you awoke you had ten additional ones on your hands."

'He ought to be contented with his fame.'

'Not he, till he would be translated into all known languages, including the dead ones. From the Samoieds to the Iroquois his

look should be a household word: from Norway to the isles of Oceanica. Such was his determination, and he succeeded: what will not an iron will accomplish? At first there was only one or two versions: now he walks abroad with thirty-two at his heels, and three of these can only be read by himself. People say that he has bought up the editions himself and paid the translators: sheer envy. He figures in the Magyar, and, let me ask, where did he find the translator? \* \* \*

'This is *Count Melchior*, the phoenix of statuaries, who has chiselled more lean heroes, and erected more blocks of marble than all the other artists in France. \* \* Whenever, either in Paris or the provinces, you see a great man looking cross, and exposed to the air, with an arrogant and morose mien; weak on his legs, and appearing on bad terms with himself and his neighbours; you may safely say 'that is Count Melchior' without a mistake. Moreover, if the drapery is clumsy, and the hair in disorder; if the collar of the coat sits awkwardly, and the pantaloons fit as the Fates please; if the whole figure wants grace, harmony, and distinction, you may repeat in a still more assured tone, 'that is Melchior at all events.' He despises detail, loves rude outlines, and thinks it a point of honor to depict nature uglier than she is. By these demerits he has captivated the public, and, if they chose to applaud, why should he aim at a purer and higher style of art?'

This evening the Countess was sustaining a siege of celebrities. Scarce had Melchior withdrawn when the Painter *Maximus* took his place. She had laughed with the others; with him she was serious. \* \* \* No one could hold his head more grandly, or exhibit in his whole deportment such dignity. His features, mode of expressing himself, gesture, and accent, were peculiar to himself. Lucien was at rest while the others entertained the Countess; but the attentions of Maximus filled him with uneasiness, and he asked with eagerness for information concerning him.

'This is another prince of art: a few colors spread on a canvass with one brush only, and lo! he has won immortality; but you must gaze on the chef d'œuvre from a distance; if you don't, the effect will be lost: viewed near it is dirty, blotchy, rugged; far off it is sublime. I suppose you to be nigh one of his canvases, say a yard or two away. Very good: you cry it is a field of beet, and very indifferent plants they seem: the root tops might be better, and it is not easy to make out the leaves. This artist has mistaken his vocation; he has not a good hand for vegetable portraits. Wait, wait, you are mistaken. At six yards it is a battle field, at eight a sublime *melée*, at eleven you can easily distinguish the plumes on the casques, and the foam on the bridle bits. The brickly tones have become brilliant, and the dirty ones like the surface of a mirror: now the field of beet has disappeared. These are the miracles of perspective, and the triumphs of those who paint with a long brush.' \* \* \*

In the centre of the salon we observed a shabbily-dressed group whose members were not sparing of gesticulation. They spoke together in a loud key, as is usual with persons of pretension. Far from seeming offended, the Countess took all in good part; smiled at their loud laughter, and applauded their coarse jokes."

On *Lucien* enquiring, in a rather contemptuous tone, who these unseemly guests might be, *Nepomucene* requests him to speak low for fear of bringing their wrath on his head.

“Do you wish, madman, that they should cut you in slices, chop you into mince meat, and put you in a bottle of spirits to be preserved? Rash youth! these men would devour you alive without even the ceremony of plucking: several of them have not yet dined.’ ‘You are joking, cousin.’ ‘You are quite mistaken; I never jest on people whose commons are short and uncertain: it would be terrible sport. Do not look too attentively in their direction; they are like tinder at taking offence; and if one opens on you, the whole pack will join their throats in a moment. Beware! You would be surprised to behold personages of rank and influence bowing before them. Ah, ha! these are the lords of pen, ink, and paper, and powerful enough to sink you perches below the surface of the earth if you dare offend them. And then their lives are so wretched! for one that has wherewith to live, fifty are starving. See what furious looks they are darting towards us: I knew we would have them on our hands. Gently, gentlemen! you are all powerful writers, and honest critics. Be pacified; we have not the slightest intention of interfering to stop your supplies.’”

*Lucien* fancying that he has been neglected by the *Countess* during the evening, prepares to depart in dudgeon, and *Nepomucene* lauds his resolution. They have to pass near the spot occupied by the lady, and she simply utters the cabalistic word ‘remain’ in a low tone so as to be heard by our youth only.

“I urged him gently to the entrance, and he moved as leisurely as was possible, cudgelling his brains for a decent pretext to shake me off. To every excuse he hazarded, I had a suitable reply: none seemed reasonable to me, and I objected to the whole, still getting him toward the fatal porch. The poor wretch was now beside himself; he was covered with a cold perspiration, and wriggled under my arm like an eel. Finally I took pity on him; I received his last sorry excuse as valid, and left him to his destiny. He made his escape, bounding for joy, and I gained the entrance, laughing in my sleeve at the punishment I had made him endure.”

On coming out, *Nepomucene* is joined by the indefatigable and heart-sore *Eulalie*, who had come to the soiree to render her own misery more decided. She relates to him as they return, by what means she had made the irruption into the enemy’s camp.

“I had not the slightest hope of an invitation, nevertheless I did not delay my preparations for a moment. I drew out my deep blue gown, my jacket with gold cords whose effect is irresistible, my necklace and ear-rings of pearl, (best imitation), my embroidered handkerchief, my fan of the purest mother-of-pearl composition, and my

shippers of real satin. Thus caparisoned and armed at all points, where did I first direct my steps think you? 'To the Hotel Mauleon I suppose.' 'By no means, my friend. I am none of these impudent people who force their entry; I know the usages of good society. I visited Trinachon, the great Trinachon, the favored of the Countess. He was dressing when I arrived, but I could not stand on trifles, and he was at the time in one of his darkest *lunas*: I do not believe that he was sensible of my presence. I aided his efforts at decency; adjusted his cravat, and gave his coat a touch of the brush of which it had great need. I then deposited him in the fiacre, and so we arrived without accident at the Hotel.

When we arrived, I made my debut in triumph, hanging on his arm.' 'But the Countess?' 'Ah! the poor Countess: it was refreshing to witness her perplexity. She came up to us, stiff as a pike, and looked from one to the other: lost labour, a genuine check-mate. Trinachon's feet were in the clouds; he spoke no word, I courted to the very floor. She returned to the charge, and enveloped us with a still more haughty regard: Trinachon preserved his immobility, and my reverences were lower than before. At last, to loose us from this dead lock, she pointed out a seat in a small side apartment, the impertinent dame! Ach! what a shabby entertainment! you took notice of it, I suppose.' 'Scarcely indeed.' 'That was not my case; I saw all, I tasted all. Refreshments indeed! nothing but rinsings; and the punch, warm water; as if rum and sirop were not to be had at the grocers'. It is a general rule, my friend, that where the punch lacks body, the house is badly managed. And the lighting—bah! those little lampions that seemed to chase each other, and strive which should give least light! I think that the liveries were borrowed; at all events I noticed more than one pair of cotton gloves. And it is with such frippery that we think we can play the great lady, and allow ourselves insulting airs: oh! it cries for vengeance: if the punch had even been strong!' "

*Bulalie* out of her slender salary, has hired an Auvergnat porter, whose station is nearly opposite the *Countess's* house, to keep a watch on *Lucien's* entrances and exits; and he, like a conscientious agent, and one who wishes to make the temporary employment a permanent one, is not sparing of ingenuity in making his returus interesting. *Lucien* at first paid his visits at the ordinary hours; afterwards, when the usual guests had departed, and finally the commissionaire could not look on him in any other light than as a member of the family. *Nepomucene* had latterly observed a studied elegance in dress about his rebel son, and well knew that to preserve a *recherché* appearance he was obliged to live on a dry crust; every new pair of gloves was balanced by a domestic privation, but *Lucien* appeared the happiest of men.

"All these circumstances taken separately were of weight; but



united, they deprived me of every hope for the well being of my unfortunate pupil.

Shortly after, things got worse, the countess published a new work, and the flimsy veil was removed. \* \* \* I have mentioned that she was in the habit of seeking for studies in the tumultuous struggles of her own heart: she also had her heroes and living models at her command. Nothing more simple or easy than the process. She had under her hand, an animated being: she could count the throbbings of his heart, and the pulsations of his arteries; there was no trait, no gesture, no word, no accent, no movement of his features, no impulse, no cry, no joyful sound, no complaint, that could escape her. These were her property, her domain, and she enjoyed them without participation. Had she need of a situation? She could create it at her own convenience. She could excite wild joy or deep grief in her subject, in order to paint them more exactly. She could cast this soul from one extreme to the other, conduct it from Elysium to Tartarus in order to furnish a more truthful picture of the heart's fluctuations. Such are the advantages of acting a part: certainly they were only on one side, but victims were never wanting for the experiments.

It was now Lucien's turn; there was no mistake about it: he was the hero of the new book. All were there except the name and place; She even selected for the scene of action, a site which could be associated with ease to the souvenirs of Merinval. She had sketched in, the mountains of Quercy under another name. There was nothing wanted; neither the hamlet, nor the presbytery, nor the figures of Madame Merinval and the good Curé. In this frame and among smiling friendly faces, the two walked hand in hand by the sides of thorn hedges; and under the old forest trees, over beds of moss.

Oh gods and goddesses! What beautiful things they said to each other, and what delightful invocations they made to nature. What irresistible arguments they discovered in favor of marriages made in the open air, and engagements not binding! With what vigour they cudgelled our prejudices and social slaveries, so contrary to the free development of the affections; and how clearly they established, that the true mode of celebrating heart-unions consisted in taking the sun or moon as witness to the sanctity of our vows.

Well they proved the vanity and disgrace of more serious contracts; and bitterly they lamented the lot of those females who have the cowardice and littleness of soul to submit to them. It was a veritable state of independence put within reach of all mankind, and particularly recommended to the initiated."

When *Nepomucene* encountered his friend after the publication of the book, he hinted to him that he had been used as they use well made corporals at the life academy; in fact that he had figured in a *pose*, and *Lucien* fled from his presence in the reverse of a good humour.

*Nepomucene* gives his hearers no further information than

what has been dealt out already as to the domestic life at the *Courtess's*. Consequently the most fastidious reader need not fear piquant nor indiscreet revealings. In this point our Author deserves our very earnest praise, as he has not pandered to vicious or low tastes in any of his works that have come before us. Many writers pretending to disgust youth with vice, have produced the opposite effect, either by evil propensities inherent in themselves, or by a mistaken mode of proceeding:—not so with Reybaud. He represents his female demon as fascinating and irresistible, and makes only moderate use of censure or hard words; and yet the general effect is not attraction, but terror of falling under the influence of such a being.

*Lucien* bestows little of his tediousness on his old friend; but one morning he enters in a disturbed state, and after considerable hesitation, he announces that he must request his good offices as second, for either *Marimus* the beet-root painter or himself must kiss the sod.

*Nepomucene* seeks out *Rigobert* to act as the other second, and finds him with twelve small slips of paper before him; these are refreshers which, on the one subject—*Rigobert's own honour and glory*—and a little varied, he is about to dispatch to the different influential journals. *Nepomucene* acquaints him with the object of the visit, and *Rigobert* having no idea separate from seeking public applause, and being thoroughly incredulous as to the chance of a real duel in the present state of the world, rubs his hands in glee, walks backwards and forwards, and at last shouts out in joy, ‘oh, the happy idea! oh, how well imagined!’

“ ‘Well imagined! What do you mean? Do you suppose that people imagine such things? I am sorry to say it is only too serious.’ ‘Do you take me for a school boy? Oh! it is only a healthy morning exercise.’ ‘I tell you the life of a man is at stake.’

‘Do you imagine, my friend, that any one is killed in a duel nowadays? Can you quote an example?—a hostile meeting is only a healthy exercise.’ ‘I wish you would condescend to believe that the present business touches the life of a fiery young man; and that I am under the most extreme anxiety on his account.’ ‘Bless my soul! What fire is in your every gesture, and how well you simulate anxiety! It is in vain for you to refuse my praise; it is most divinely conceived.’ ‘I will really be offended if you continue in this vein, it shews very bad taste.’ ‘My dear friend, you could not have acted more to the advantage of *Lucien*; you have anticipated his fame and glory by ten years; you have created

an enviable position for him ;—enviable even to such old stagers as myself. Oh ! What a delightful piece of excitement the day after the duel ! I fancy myself present. ‘Have you heard the news ?’ ‘No.’ ‘Little Lucien has been on the sod.’ ‘Indeed ?’ ‘Yes, he has fought : he nearly received four bullets and six sword thrusts.’ ‘Noble boy ! real heart of chivalry ! Soul of bronze !’ and so on, and so on. Now he has won a new position, he has his brevet of courage, his fame will fly abroad on the wings of two hundred journals ; it will encircle the globe ; and you wonder that I should be in raptures at the invention.

‘An instant now for business. We will have a formal account of this affair to draw up. You may say ‘tomorrow will be the proper time ;’ Ah my friend ! tomorrow will see us under the influence of our feelings, and there will be no time for the little delicacies of form or style. Besides, it is probable that there will be a *déjeuner* in question ; and then good bye to presence of mind. Let us compose the *OFFICIAL* at once : sit opposite, and give *me* the aid of your talents.’ ‘Write an account of a fact before it occurs !’ ‘Bah ! they all are attended with the same circumstances ; for instance :—

‘A *rencontre* took place this morning in the wood of Vincennes, ‘between the celebrated painter, Maximus, and Lucien Merinval. ‘After the exchange of two pistol-shots, the seconds declared ‘that honor was satisfied on both sides.’

‘Now, Nepomucene,’ said he, fixing his eyes on me with much solemnity, ‘how do you wish to figure in this affair ? Speak to me with entire sincerity. Use my pen as that of a true friend ; everything may be introduced into the paper in company with this celebrated duel. Shall I give you a warlike pose or paint you as the conciliatory genius of the meeting ? May I enumerate your hereditary and personal titles ?’

‘You will oblige me, chevalier, by not mentioning me in any manner whatever.’

‘Affecting instance of discretion ; I must strive to imitate you. I might abuse this godsend to my own glorification ; I will now not even use it legitimately ; so I will only add—

‘Among the seconds, figured the Chevalier Rigobert decorated ‘with various orders. The name of this gentleman enjoys a ‘European celebrity.”

The *Countess* gets wind of the duel, and by her strenuous interference (as we may suppose, for the particulars are not told), she brings about a hollow reconciliation. *Rigobert’s* chagrin and rage surpass all bounds when he hears the news. Such an opportunity lost for establishing *Lucien’s* fame, and for getting his own composition accepted by the journals. Rather than lose this triumph he would fight *Lucien* himself. Finally he was appeased by a solemn engagement that *Lucien* should get up another duel somehow, and an opportunity be thus given for repaying *Rigobert* for his preparations, and what was worse, his disappointment of a triumph.

There was now a fall in *Jusien's* life, but his happiness, such as it was, had a short duration. A young Swedish nobleman feeling the instinct of song unconquerable, offends his father, gives up the privileges of birthright, and comes to Paris where the most flattering reception awaits him.

"Everything combined to render him as happy as applause and admiration could make him. He was descended of a great race; he was from the land of fog and ice which Ossian has peopled with his terrible divinities; he united in his own person the perfections of the northern race, the beautiful fair hair, the transparent pearly skin, and the limpid blue eyes, it was the union of grace and vigour, the grace of the bard, the vigour of the hero. You may judge of the enthusiasm caused by his visit to Paris: this city does nothing by halves, where it stands godfather it does not spare the sweetmeats. From salon to salon, the aspirant found his renown expanding, till at last his empire was established over all minds and hearts: happy but transitory epoch, occurring but once, and bitterly regretted when the season is past."

At first he only appeared in the reunions of the old nobility, his last protest of high birth.

The *Countess of Manleon*, we may be sure, did not lose much time till he became a willing guest in her select parties. He felt himself there entirely at ease, for the mistress of the mansion knew how to preserve the discipline of the best society in her reunions, while there was much liberty of speech and opinion in many minor matters. Her reception of *Count Rosario* excited no particular scandal; she merely went out with all Paris to hail the new sovereign, reserving to herself the right to turn her allegiance elsewhere when she felt disposed.

Some time after *Rosario's* arrival, the *Countess* got up a charitable concert, in order to present to the public her new favourite, who could not possibly refuse on account of the laudable motive.

"We all know what ingenious stratagems raise recruits to assist at these pious and heavy entertainments. Wherever you go, snares are laid, and if you escape one you surely fall into another. At these seasons suspect the entire world and everything in it, the ladies particularly, they are patronesses; their smiles,—concert tickets are hid behind them. 'I have reserved two for you,' says one of these syrens, shewing two rows of the finest teeth in the world: 'expense, forty francs;' three for every tooth shewn. Perhaps you keep the chimney corner during the epidemic: alas! the penny-post is in existence for the secure dispatch of this afflicting commerce; your loss will be the same, and you will be a

smile or two the less ! No use in too much precaution against the plague ; meet it with your face uncovered. \* \* \*

I was one of the early comers, and yet the Countess was beforehand with me : *Lucien* was not far away, he seemed weary and sad. I had not seen him for some time, and was disagreeably affected by the change in his countenance. The appearance of ruddy health had quitted it, and the fresh color he had brought from his mountains had vanished : the expression was sorrowful, and the cheek pale ; he seemed another being altogether.

The house was now filling fast, and in a short time every seat was occupied, and the Countess highly delighted with the success of her charitable speculation, looked back over the assemblage with a radiant expression on her face, greeted her friends, and sent her attendants from time to time to put different parties more at their ease : she had made it a point that the whole thing should be a wonder and a success. \* \* \* I will not dwell on the pieces performed before Rosario appeared on the platform. At the long wished for sight, the hall was filled with such thundering acclamations, that I trembled for the stability of the building ; it required the silence that immediately ensued, to reassure me. He sung, and the eyes and ears of the vast assemblage were fixed on him as by magic. It was said that his voice possessed the powers of every known instrument of music. Whoever has not heard this man cannot form a conception of the resources or power of the human voice, its all-pervading influence, and the mysterious ways by which it penetrates to the heart. Of all instruments yet invented, none can approach the expression of that which nature has conferred on man : on this evening no one entertained a doubt on the subject.

The first piece which was chaunted by Rosario was taken from an Italian opera ; he did wonders with it, but it was in the second that he surpassed even himself. It was a national hymn of Sweden which he had got arranged for his voice, and in which the local spirit prevailed, and hid the technicalities of art. Nothing could exceed the vigour which he infused into this melody, the national traits which he wove into its composition, and the color with which he invested it,—a color martial and tender at the same time. In the rhythm, at once warlike and pastoral, might be recognised the child of the North, cradled by the Valkyriar, those tutelary spirits of the Icy pole who with one hand put the dying warriors out of pain, and with the other pour out for them in the halls of Odin, celestial draughts of beer and mead. The song scarcely occupied a quarter of an hour, but it was a period thoroughly filled ; perhaps the audience could not have endured their excited feelings for a longer space. \* \* \* While Rosario sung, the Countess's eyes were riveted on him, and her existence seemed as if suspended from his lips. On her countenance you might distinctly trace the expression of the passions or feelings he sought to rouse. Was the theme warlike ? the stern sentiment took possession of her face. Did his voice express sweet or calm images ? the glad smile dwelt on her lips. No shade of sentiment or feeling in the strain, but was reflected in the mirror of her fine countenance ; she seemed to exist and to breathe only as the artist wished.

While she surrendered herself to her emotions with the most complete abandon, it was pitiable to look at poor Lucien. If I had to represent the deepest grief, I need only copy the woe stamped on his countenance. His eyes wandered from the singer to the Countess, and from the Countess to the singer, as if to catch hidden treason in its transit from one to the other. When he saw how complete was her absorption in Rosario, and her forgetfulness of himself, his features were convulsed with rage, and my heart bled at the picture of his wretchedness.

At last the torture was stayed, the entertainment was over, and I supposed that the Countess would have left the concert room attended by Lucien.

I was deceived: she passed into the adjoining room to compliment Rosario, and relieve her pent-up emotions. Lucien did not know how to keep his countenance at such a flagrant desertion. He took my arm, saying, 'You must see me home, dear friend; O heavens! how I suffer.' . . .

Thus, what Eulalie and myself had foreseen was accomplished. Scarcely had the myrtle wreath been placed on his brow, when the leaves began to decay under the blighting breath of an odious rival. Had he been given up to researches in antiquity like myself, I could have laid my finger among the leaves of history on two or three examples from which he ought to derive comfort; witness Elizabeth of England, and Catherine of Russia. These Queens of Nature proceeded just on the same system as the Queens of Art: they indulged their little caprices and changed their favorites. Thus he would have found himself kept in countenance by noble and distinguished men, without the inconvenience of being sent to Siberia or getting his head chopped off. But Lucien would not take comfort from looking on the matter in this light: he considered such meditations as incapable of bringing balm to his wounded heart: you and I would have acted differently. We have lived in contact with ancient sages, and know the value of the fair ones of the present day, and we would have used the maxims of one to counteract the evil influence of the other. The recipe is simple and effective. If the inconstant fair one says, 'Good day to you,' you have only to say 'Good day' in return, and all is over. Ah! how coolly and unconcernedly you and I would have pronounced 'Good evening' or 'morning,' as it might be. But poor Lucien had not cast his baggage of illusions into the trench: his heart, his imagination, his whole life was set on obtaining and securing the affections of the being who now threw him from her like a withered flower, and the defeat was more than his imaginative and sensitive nature could survive."

Roused by despair at last to make an effort, he entered the *Hotel Mauleon*, and had a scene with its mistress. Whether through caprice or a slight return to the former feelings, she would not hear of a rupture; and a truce was signed; but soon after our sensitive and much to be pitied hero (The reader is not to waste any portion of his valuable sympathy on

the invisible and inaudible *Count of Mauleon* on any account), finding a relapse in process, flies from the Hotel, has his place taken for his native hills, and is on the point of starting when the entrance of a servant with a note in hand, and wearing the *Mauleon* livery, sends the diligence to the South without being encumbered by the weight of the prodigal son. The *Countess* feeling the privilege of desertion to be her own peculiar property, will not share it with *Lucien* or any man of woman born :—she of course might discard him, he should not desert her.

*Rosario* quits Paris for Italy, and now happiness is so secure that fate may do her worst. However, some ominous-looking little vapours are not wanting to chequer the otherwise unclouded sky.

"In the sketches published at this time by Madame *Mauleon*, the theme was Italy, and nothing but Italy, that darling of the sun.

Farewell our Quercy, with its goats suspended from the rocks ; the Countess's fancy had flown elsewhere.

Our sombre groups of chestnut trees no longer gave her pleasure ; she yielded the choice to orange and citron trees, with their delicious perfumes. I blame her not : the Apennines are as fine mountains as those of Auvergne, and the Tiber is somewhat more spoken of in history than the Lot ; still, the sudden change in taste was suspicious.

Another symptom more alarming now exhibited itself. She began to lay down the world and its treasures at the feet of artists, particularly singers. She made them a race apart, endowed with all perfections and all virtues ; they were the flower of the human race, the essence of animated nature. Providence had exhausted itself in producing them, and then reposed from its labours. Outside this class, all humanity served but as back-ground and foil. This was the theme ; I will not dwell on the developments, as they might not suit the prejudices of readers of the ordinary notions in moral opinions. Among this privileged race she selected her hero. He was a proud youth you may suppose, and one who treated princes and kings with little ceremony. He did not hesitate to speak his mind to any son of Adam, and no one attempted a reply. Moreover he was a *bon-vivant*, no woman-hater, the adored of a whole bead-roll of Marchionesses, and not knowing what to do with such an *embarras de richesses*. How could it be otherwise, where there was such grace, talent, wit, command of voice, dignity, force, all centered in the same subject ? In pagan times, there was here stuff enough for a demi-god, perhaps of a fully qualified denizen of Olympus. Nowadays, people look on such a paragon as scarcely a complete man."

We hasten to the only close such a tissue of folly and ill-regulated feeling could have. *Lucien* is pathetically informed

one fine morning, that so much of the lady's time is to be taken up that day with necessary family business, visits of lawyers, &c., that she cannot see him till next day.—Next day arrives, and with it a note to our swain.

"I leave Paris, Lucien: seek not to rejoin me, enquire not why I quit you, nor whither I go, it will be a useless trouble. To every thing there are natural bounds which ought not to be passed: I feel convinced that we have attained these limits. I bear with me a kind recollection of you; it is the only essential thing. You are young; as you advance in life you will judge me as I wish to be judged, and not on the same footing as other women. Leave me the hope that on my return to Paris I will find a friend the more."

'ANGELE.'

We will not inflict on our readers, the sorrow, rage, and despair of *Lucien* on receiving his congé. It would have been in the ordinary economy of a feuilleton to have his body exposed at the Morgue a day or two afterwards: however it did not so happen. He pursued the false one, but a fever arrested his progress, and though he did not die, 'he, at least, was exceedingly sick' for a long time. By removal to his native air, and by the care of his mother, *Nepomucene* and *Eulalie*, he was restored to society at last, fell into an inheritance, married a virtuous and beautiful country girl whom we are sure he did not deserve, and *Eulalie* was welcomed to an abiding home in his chateau, a consummation which she really deserved.

The *Countess* did not reap the full amount of felicity she expected. A short time after her arrival in Italy, *Rosario* deserted her society for that of one who was neither a genius nor a beauty.

It is only justice to refer to the improved tone of the latter writings of the Lady, whose features appear plainly enough through the thin disguise thrown over them by our Author. Whoever reads *Francois le Champi*—*Le Mare au Diable*, *Mont Revêché*, or *Les Maîtres Sonneurs*, will enjoy the beauty of style and truth of feeling, the sound judgment in everything connected with art, and the management of the story such as distinguished her early writings, without any of the detestable offences against the true interests of society, by which they were sullied.

As our present Author's design may be so well gathered from the extracts, and as his peculiar powers and qualities, as a writer, have been displayed at such length in former articles, further observations on these heads seem unnecessary.



We have glanced at some of his novels of the ordinary sort, where sketching of character, and the excelling qualities of such a work as the one under review, were subservient to the interest of a mere story. But we prefer him as the caustic and close, though good natured observer, *Jerome Paturot*, or *Nepomucene* the Aristarch.

The reader cannot fail to be struck by the boldness and strangeness of the plan of the present story, where a well-known and accomplished writer is presented, and endowed with such selfish and unamiable traits of character.

### ART. III.—JOHN BANIM.

#### PART VIII.

CLOSING DAYS OF LIFE. DEATH. PENSION GRANTED TO HIS DAUGHTER. DEATH OF HIS DAUGHTER. PENSION GRANTED TO MRS. BANIM. MEETING CALLED IN KILKENNY TO ERECT A PUBLIC TESTIMONIAL TO BANIM. RESOLUTIONS AND NAMES OF COMMITTEE. TESTIMONIAL ERECTED. CONCLUSION. APPENDIX.

At the conclusion of the last published portion of this Biography of John Banim we left him, with the shadow of death around him; the mind was waning—the tree was dying from the top—the stage was darkening as the curtain fell. Yet life was about him, and he longed for life. Those who watched by his bed in these days tell us of the time, in memories bright and gloomy—those “bitter-sweet” recollections which have in them as many smiles as tears.

One friend, not his brother, who lived in daily intimacy with Banim during these times—who knew his phases of thought, his modes of composition; who watched the clouds and sunshine of his mind, has written, at our earnest request, the following narrative of Banim’s last months of life:—

“*February, 1856.*

My Dear Sir,

In consenting to your request that I would supply you with some written recollections of the late John Banim, I have had to overcome a great deal of reluctance which I very naturally

felt when reflecting on the extreme delicacy of such a task, and the readiness with which many people take offence in matters of biography where none is even remotely intended. Your urgent importunity and my own desire to oblige you, however, have prevailed in the present instance, but I must observe *in limine*, that I greatly fear you will be disappointed, if you calculate on finding much or any at all of what I have to say worthy of being transferred to your pages.

I had some notion of putting what I had to say into the shape of a consecutive narrative; but considering there was so very little incident in the life of Mr. Banim after his return to his native city, and during the period of my intimacy with him, that the history of one day might well be regarded as embracing this whole term, I feared I should produce a rather dull chapter, and, therefore, concluded it would be better to throw the substance of my recollections and observations under the headings suggested by a reference to your first note to me respecting the points on which you were desirous of obtaining information.

First, then, as to his

#### MODE OF LIFE AND HABITS.

My acquaintance with the Author of the 'O'Hara Tales' began in the latter months of 1836, about a year after his return to Ireland. He was then residing in Wind-gap Cottage, which does not require to be described by me, as, if I rightly remember, it has been fully noticed in a former chapter. Here, sheltered from the public gaze, and safe from intrusion, he received only such visitors as he chose, and at such times as he thought proper to admit them. Though his limbs had now, for some time, refused to obey his desire to move, his mind was still vigorous and active, and enabled him, under an incredible amount of bodily suffering, to continue his literary pursuits, indulge his natural tastes, and labor to form those of his daughter.

He seldom arose in the morning earlier than eleven o'clock, and, if the weather at all permitted, had himself conveyed from his bed-chamber to a Bath-chair in the little enclosure that fronted the drawing-room window. The chair was provided with pillows and cushions which it was Mrs. Banim's or Mary's special duty to see properly arranged, as the organ-

zation of his poor frame had become so sensitive that even a crumple was sufficient to cause a momentary agony. After a few turns round the circular bed of flowers which occupied the centre of the garden, he would order breakfast—a morsel of thin, dry toast, a rare egg, and a cup of tea. This despatched, the chair would be again put in motion, and the exercise continued for an hour or so, when he would have himself placed under the shade of either of the two trees which stood at opposite points of the enclosure, and devote the intermediate hours between that and three o'clock to writing or the care of his flowers, of which he was so passionately fond, that he frequently insisted on being carried out at night to ascertain by the light of a lanthorn what progress his favorites were making. He bestowed particular pains on the culture of a rose unique, which was afterwards affectionately transferred, by his daughter's hand, to the turf under which he rested, and, when last I visited his grave, was the only mark by which it could be distinguished from the narrow dwellings of the humbler dead around.

When three o'clock approached the business occupying him, whatever it might be, was immediately laid aside, orders given to have the horse put to the little 'machine' in which the pillows and cushions had been previously arranged with the same care as the adjusting of the chair required in the morning, and, accompanied by his wife or daughter, or some other esteemed friend, for he feared going out alone, he would proceed on the drive which, at this period of the day, he never under possible circumstances failed to take. This exercise seemed to be essential to his existence, for, if anything occurred to debar him from its enjoyment, he could not resume his occupation for the remainder of that day, but became dull, peevish, and uncomfortable, making every one about him share more or less in his unhappiness. On returning from his drive another process was to be gone through before undertaking the labor of dining—the table had but little pleasures for him for years before. An extraordinary chilliness invariably seized his whole body, particularly his lower extremities, on the cessation of the rapid motion of the carriage. To get rid of this disagreeable sensation he used to submit himself to a particular operation which he humorously termed 'champooing.' A field-laborer who lived close by was generally called in, by whose rough, horny hand he had himself briskly pinched from head to foot

for a full half hour, when his natural warmth would begin to return, and the business of the dinner become practicable. The champooing was regularly repeated before retiring to bed at night, and before leaving it in the morning.

Whenever the little carriage was disabled, which was a circumstance of frequent occurrence, or that a horse could not be procured—he had not always one of his own—recourse was had to the Bath-chair as a substitute for the drive, and, accompanied by Mrs. Banim and Mary, who occasionally lent it an impulse from behind, some friend of the other sex having generally volunteered to place himself at the front, the scheme sometimes succeeded exceedingly well, while it almost as often involved its peculiar difficulties and even perils. When once equipped, if there was any spot sufficiently near commanding a prospect which he once admired, or presenting a natural beauty with which in youth he had been familiar, an endeavour was made to reach it, every practicable route being sought, and none considered too circuitous to avoid the public road, and escape the public gaze. Many were the obstructions which the unfortunate chair had, in such excursions, to encounter; many an intricate way was entered without ever reflecting on the possibility of effecting a return; and often and often the limbs of the poor invalid had to repose on the grass till the chair had been carried over obstacles there were no other means of surmounting. His eagerness on one of these occasions to reach a spot on the banks of the Nore, endeared to him by some early recollection, was near having a fatal termination. The spot alluded to was to be gained by descending a gentle slope, as it appeared to him, at the base of which the stream flowed smooth and deep; none of the party present apprehended the slightest danger in gratifying his desire, and the chair was at once, and without reflection, turned in the direction indicated. But a very little progress, however, had been made when the motion of the little hand-carriage became too rapid for the control of the ladies who were to act as a drag in the rear; and had not the gentleman in front, by a sudden twist of the guiding wheel, and by dexterously placing his own person right in its way, succeeded in arresting its onward movement before it had acquired its full impetus, no human power could have prevented his being precipitated into the river, whereby the ‘stubborn Nore’ would have obtained with posterity the melancholy interest of having afforded Banim a grave.

It would be impossible to describe the terror that, for the moment took possession of him, heightened, as it was, by the consciousness of his inability to help himself; but the arrangements for effecting a return were no sooner completed than he commenced jesting at the probable catastrophe from which he had escaped, and ridiculing Mrs. Banim and Mary for their weakness in having yielded to womanly fears on the occasion.

There was another circumstance, too, connected with his excursions productive of no small inconvenience to Mrs. Banim in the way of domestic arrangements, but which her 'hereditary generosity' enabled her patiently to support. The roads, and green lanes in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny, in the latter of which the little carriage of our poet was frequently seen to pause on summer evenings, abounded at that time, at all events, in specimens of human misery which a sensitive heart, however well acquainted with the devices of mendicant hypocrisy, a species of knowledge in which he considered himself deeply skilled, could scarcely help commiserating. Whenever anything in the appearance or the story of one of these unfortunates seemed to speak of better days, or deserve a better fortune, he or she, or they—sometimes the case would comprise a whole family—had orders to follow the carriage or the chair home to Wind-gap where, when their comforts had been attended to, lodgings would be procured and, if the subject was a fitting one, an effort made to procure a service or some kind of permanent employment. Some act of theft or ingratitude was generally the return for his excessive kindness; still, the very next day, a tale of woe would find as ready entrance to his heart as if he had never erred in his judgment of the narrator of one. Amongst the guests here alluded to was a deaf and dumb boy, of about fifteen years of age, who had been discharged, or else had made his escape from the Glasnevin Institution. Picked up one summer evening in the usual way, as Banim was enjoying his customary exercise, he was, of course, directed to come to Wind-gap, where his quick intelligence, docility, and eagerness to make himself useful, soon rendered him a general favorite. For nearly a month he presented himself regularly at the cottage, at the hour its master was wont to make his appearance in the garden. His face would beam with pleasure whenever Banim began to interrogate him, or invited him by means of slate and pencil or the telegraphic movement of his fingers, to draw the chair

or water the flowers. He disappeared, however, like a young wolf, when he was thought to be quite domesticated, and without any apparent reason. He is mentioned here merely as an instance of the changes men's opinions often undergo with respect to the theories of their earlier days. The 'Revelations of the Dead Alive' shews what a sceptic Banim was in the doctrines of phrenology, and his sincerity in the ridicule of that science at the time the above mentioned work was published; at this period, however, so firm was his creed in the soundness of its principles, that he never left this boy at the cottage when going out to drive, without placing him in charge of the man who was employed to do the 'cham-pooing,' as he apprehended some dreadful consequences might result from an opportunity being presented for gratifying the animal propensities which he fancied were indicated by his cerebral conformation. Here are facts to illustrate his

#### LOVE OF KIND.

which, far from being confined to his own immediate friends, was for ever displaying itself in some one or other species of action, having for its object the moral or social improvement of so much of the humbler classes, collectively or individually, as came within the scope of his influence.

In close proximity to Wind-gap Cottage stood a newly erected schoolhouse, a fine, spacious building, and at the time, perhaps, superior to any provincial structure of the kind in the kingdom; it was the work of Michael Banim's untiring zeal in the cause of education. He spared neither time nor labor in collecting subscriptions, soliciting donations, or superintending the tradesmen engaged in the work. Indeed, in his eagerness to complete the undertaking, he made considerable advances from his private means, which were never repaid him. The National System was then in its infancy, and by no means popular; Michael Banim was, however, amongst the first to perceive its advantages, and entertained sanguine expectations of achieving the happiest results to the children of the poor of his native city from a combination of those advantages with the free character of 'Father Connell's' charitable institution. With this view the idea of a National Free School, to supersede the theatre of 'Mick Dempsey's' labors, to be still governed by a committee of the society which had been founded for the support of the honored seminary, which, it is hoped Banim's page has now immortalized, the members whereof (comprising

every respectable individual in the community) still met occasionally and paid their small quarterly subscriptions ; and to differ only from its predecessor in the enjoyment of a government grant, was conceived and executed.

The result of Michael Banim's labors was not *what he* expected. The building being pronounced fit for occupation, the Committee met, and, through improper interference, from private motives, an incompetent person was elected to take charge of the new School, in opposition to the wishes and advice of the gentleman who had originated the plan, and done so much to carry it out and secure its success. Michael Banim, of course, ceased to take further part in the proceedings of the Committee ; the members of the Society began to refuse subscriptions, on the ground of the support to be derived from the Board of Education, and to declare off altogether ; few or no pupils made their appearance, on account of the prejudice that existed regarding the National System, and finally the Board of Education withdrew the gratuity, not recognising the claims of a school, in which no effort was made to promote the objects

- for which the Board was instituted. Such was the condition to which ' Mick Dempsey's' once flourishing realm was reduced on Banim's return to Kilkenny. He regretted the disappearance of the old thatched roof under which the shivering limbs of so many poor children were made to experience annually the blessings of Father Connell's charity, and that of many another benevolent spirit long after the pulse of that commiserating heart had ceased to beat. The handsome edifice which replaced it was but a poor compensation, in Banim's opinion, for the good that had departed with it, and in the general apathy that prevailed with regard to the matter, he resolved to take upon himself the task of reviving the Society, and of turning the fine new school-house to some practical account at least, if the ancient utility of the old one could not be restored. For this purpose he put himself at once in communication with the Education Board to request a renewal of the connection, and with the local clergy to secure an attendance of pupils. Both these objects attained, he succeeded in interesting Mr. Keoghan, one of the Catholic curates of the parish, and a gentleman for whose zeal as minister, and acquisitions as a scholar, he had the greatest esteem, so much in the furtherance of his views that the latter readily consented to accompany him on a questing excursion amongst the quondam subscribers. On a fixed day,

accordingly, the carriage was ready at an hour much earlier than usual, and Mr. Keoghan being punctual to his appointment, both gentlemen proceeded on their mission; the following day was devoted to the same object, and a sum was collected far exceeding all expectation. Banim's glee was great on the evenings of both these days, he and the clergyman congratulating themselves over a glass of sherry (which being plentifully diluted with water formed his favorite beverage) on their eminent success, and laughingly relating how, by judiciously flattering the wives, they succeeded in obtaining both arrears and current subscriptions, when the surly husbands would persist in obstinately refusing payment of either. Alas! for the mutability of human things, the good Father Keoghan was carried away in a few months after by a malignant fever caught in his attendance on a patient at the County Fever Hospital, Banim is scarcely remembered in his native city, while few, if any, know if there ever existed such a body as the once famous 'St. John's Parochial Society.' But to return. One week after Banim had formed his resolution the school was in efficient working order, and had an impetus communicated to it which bore it beyond the chance of again sinking into the condition from which his efforts had raised it. Nor did his solicitude in regard to it stop here; many an hour was snatched from other important business in order to pay a visit to the school. On these occasions it was necessary that the chair and cushions which he used at home should be sent before him, by which there was given timely intimation of his approach—a circumstance which frequently caused him to allude to his infirmity in terms of mingled pleasantry and sadness, and to observe how lucky it was for both teachers and pupils that they need be in no apprehension of ever being taken by surprise. And yet he would sometimes express himself on these and other occasions so as to lead one to think that he did not, at least at that time, quite despair that such might one day be the case.

Having taken possession of his chair in the school-room he would summon before him the various classes in turn, explain the subjects of the different lessons, lecture on the elements of Grammar and Geography, in the latter of which he would use his clenched hand with great effect as a substitute for a globe, when it was necessary to explain why the figure of the earth was usually represented by two circular pictures, &c., and communicate all sorts of knowledge in such popular



language, and in a manner so fascinating, that the little students were always sorry when his visit terminated. He bestowed many marks of favor and encouragement, too, on such of the boys as exhibited marks of talent. There was one in particular for whose future way in the world he was resolved to interest himself, but chancing, during an evening drive, to surprise him in the act of lighting a collection of straw which he had heaped on an unfortunate hedgehog, for the purpose of forcing the poor animal into a state of activity, and thereby furnish pastime to a crowd of associates, he abandoned all his kind intentions towards him, and save reading him a severe lecture on his cruelty, never again noticed him in any of his subsequent visits to the school, which were only given up when increasing feebleness rendered it impossible to continue them longer.

Besides the improved system of education which he was the means of introducing into the school, he had in contemplation another project for still further elevating the taste of the generation then springing up around Wind-gap Cottage. It was, the establishment if possible, of light theatrical performances, in connection with the school, somewhat after the fashion of educational Institutions of loftier pretensions. The practicability of the scheme was often gravely discussed, and its success considered certain. The musical and dramatic talents of the artisans of the 'faire citie' had been celebrated even before the time of Moore's theatricals there, and I may safely add were sufficiently noticeable at this time at least to be considered characteristic. From those, in conjunction with the pupils attending the school, he reckoned on being able to form a tolerably efficient company; the school-room he pronounced admirably adapted for the purposes of a theatre; and one of his own short pieces, which required but simple scenery and moderate artistic skill, would afford suitable material for a first attempt. The rehearsals and other details were to be an affair of personal superintendence, and the recovery of a little even of his former strength was all that was required to put the design in immediate execution. This he kept fondly promising himself was some time or other to return; the hope of renewed health, while capable of hoping, never completely deserted him; it was a vain expectation, however, and so the experiment was destined to remain untested. The same cause prevented him from giving to the world a work, the plan of which had been conceived some years before, and for

which considerable materials had been collected ; it was to have been entitled the ' Lies of History,' and dedicated to his daughter.

When discussing his theatrical project, he would lay it down as a maxim, that a high, moral style of drama was a test of a country's greatness ; that it fostered the seeds of nationality and matured its fruits ; that it should be regarded as amongst the most powerful instruments of refinement and order ; and that to cultivate and spread a taste for it was a task becoming every man truly desirous of regenerating his country or protecting her independence. His impressions in this respect seemed founded on grounds furnished by his own special case ; for questioning his daughter, one day, on the subject of her school exercises, and looking through the little pile of books from which she had been preparing her various lessons, he expressed some surprise at not being able to discover amongst them the one which of all others he most wished to see in her hands ; and to her request to be informed to what particular book he alluded, he replied that it was the old ' Scott's Lessons,' or ' Speaker,' as that once popular treatise on Elocution was more generally called, adding that the study of the dramatic selections comprised in it, had taken into view the whole circle of his youthful discipline, by far the largest share in the process which formed his mind. Indeed the ' rival near the throne' of the realm of theatrical recitation, whom James Charles Buomahon (Buchanan, for he was a real character, as I need scarcely say almost all Banim's were,) the Master of the English Academy, suspected he was one day to encounter in person of the young hero of ' Father Connell,' was no other than little John Banim himself. It was little John Banim's forefinger of the right hand that used to define with such exactitude the orb of Norval's shield ; his little head that was wont to drop as naturally asleep on the form in the old school-room, as if it were the genuine royal couch on Bosworth field, and then express by such unmistakeable signs the mortal terror that had disturbed his slumber ; and it was from his little fist when personating Will Boniface ' the imaginary ale' was quaffed with the smack and relish that were accustomed to draw tears of laughter from the good old priest, and throw the rough but warm-hearted housekeeper, who had never in the course of her life seen anything approaching a veritable actor, into a fever of delight, forcing her to vent her approval in terms so near the line in Shakspeare

—‘he does it as like one of those harloty players as ever I see,’ that a listener unacquainted with her unromantic nature *might* easily be betrayed into the belief that she actually *meant* a quotation from the bard.

He was not, however, by any means so much of a *visionary* as to allow a theory, no matter what it might have for its object, or how large a share of his attention it might *claim*, to interfere materially with his serious occupations; indeed it was only under the most favorable circumstances as to *health* and leisure, that he purposed his present plan should be *worked* out. Whilst the chance of such a happy state of things *was* becoming every day more unlikely, though not so as to *assume* the appearance of an utter impossibility, a portion of a company just then disengaged by the periodical closing of one of the Dublin theatres, arrived in Kilkenny, and the local newspapers were requested to acquaint the public that a series of performances would be forthwith given in the ‘Assembly Rooms’ of the ‘Tholsel,’ under the management of Mr. Gardiner, a comedian of established reputation, assisted by some of the most distinguished names in the profession. Amongst other great feasts to which the citizens were to be treated, there appeared announced in very prominent characters, ‘Banim’s ‘Mayor of Windgap’ dramatised for the occasion by a member of the company.’ Mr. Banim regarded the announcement with pleasure, believing that the story could be effectively used in that way by a skilful hand, and that the thing would not be attempted in his immediate presence, unless executed in commendable fashion. He awaited the performance, therefore, with some interest, hoping that the result would prove creditable both to himself and the dramatiser. It was evident, however, from the first scene that the gentleman who undertook the task was possessed of more temerity than talent. Mr. Gardiner’s humor indeed secured him some applause in his personation of the Mayor’s Bailiff, a character which had been sketched with such fidelity in the original, that much of its individuality as it had lost in its transmutation, it was still easily recognized, and ‘Bryan Sweeny’ resounded from all directions of the house each time he made his appearance. Bryan Sweeny was the real name of the worthy who sat for this portrait to Banim, and though some years had elapsed since the decease of himself, and the corrupt old corporation of which he had been an officer, the identity was at once admitted by all who

had been familiar with that model official. In the remainder of the details the piece bore so little resemblance to the original, that it would seem the title of 'Mayor of Wind-Gap' was bestowed on it only as the best means that could be resorted to for the purpose of 'filling the house.' This report of the affair annoyed Mr. Banim, and for a time he felt almost as mortified as if the failure could be attributed to his own production. He bitterly observed that he believed there never yet was a scribbling fool who did not fancy he could write a play, and who failing to give the world some ridiculous production of his own, did not disfigure somebody else's. Anxious to impress his fellow citizens with a more favorable opinion as to his powers as a dramatic writer than what they could be expected to entertain from witnessing the performance just alluded to, and ambitious of having one of his own pieces represented in his native city, he proposed to Mr. Gardiner to bring out 'The Conscript Sisters,' which had been written for Arnold's Theatre, and acted there with eminent success. Gardiner perused it, but finding it did not come quite within the range of his own or his company's talents, he returned it to the author, who was thus debarred the only remedy that presented itself for the outrage committed on one of his most exquisite of the O'Hara tales."

Taking up the narrative from this point Michael Banim writes to us:—

"Late in July, 1842, I left home to spend a fortnight with some friends forty miles from Kilkenny: when parting from my brother I could perceive no change for the worse in his symptoms or appearance. I was suddenly summoned home in consequence of his dangerous illness. I returned at once. I found him barely able to recognise me—only able to take my hand and look in my face, but incapable of speaking. I saw at a glance that his time of suffering was nearly over. I attended on him until I closed his eyes. His struggle against death was an enduring one. His chest and lungs were sound and healthy, and he continued to breathe strongly, but not painfully, for a day and night after all consciousness had left him. Death was rather the extreme of exhaustion than a violent separation of the spirit from its prison. Life passed from him almost unperceived.

Frequently, during the last six years of his life, my brother and I had been together, he engaged my promise that I would stand by while his grave was digging, that I would see the side

of his mother's coffin laid bare, and that when his body was lowered to its last resting place, I should be certain the side of his coffin was in close contact with that of his beloved parent. His instructions were religiously observed.

There are two portraits extant of the subject of your *memoir*; one, in my possession, painted by himself\* when in his nineteenth, or approaching to his twentieth year; the other remaining with the talented artist of whose pencil it is the production, Mr. George Mulvany of Dublin; the last mentioned taken after the total failure of health. Both these pictures are excellent likenesses of the original at the different periods of life when they were painted. Placing them side by side it would require almost a stretch of the imagination to trace a resemblance between them, or to acknowledge them as representations of the same person.

I have not attempted, in any of my notes furnished you, to measure my brother's claims to literary distinction. His merit as a poet or novelist I have not sought to weigh or to decide on. I have contented myself with giving a faithful account of his early and more mature endeavours to establish the reputation he thirsted to attain. The range and quality of his genius as a writer I leave to more disinterested parties than myself to ascertain and define. I think I may claim for him, however, numerous amiable qualities, springing directly from the heart, the seat of the affections; and many valuable qualities emanating from the head, the formator of character.

His affections were ardent, impulsive and uncalculating. He was industrious, persevering, and self-reliant so long as his physical capabilities enabled him to be so.

It will be borne in mind that he died while yet young, and that, for fully thirteen years preceding his demise, the physique of his mental power was not in health, nor the full force of his mind at his command. At forty-four, his age when he died, men of genius begin to train the flights of imagination and fancy within the scope of reason, to prune exuberances and to contrast with judgment.

I think I may affirm that, had it pleased Providence to have given him health during the thirteen years he was an ailing

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\* This is the portrait of "her own graw-bawn" before which old Mrs. Banim, John's mother, used to pray. See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. V., No. 18, p. 479.

and incapable aspirant for fame and independence, and to have prolonged his life until he had descended even but little from the summit of existence which he had not reached, he would have made good way towards the goal he had marked out ultimately to reach. I am confident that, had health and life been his, he would have advanced much closer than he did to 'Fame's Magnetic Altar', the bourne to be attained, as expressed in one of his early rhymes.

About to close my subject I will here reiterate the opinion I mentioned to you when relating the termination of his boyish passion. I still think that the peculiar ailment causing death, and which for some time baffled the skill of the most eminent medical men, had its origin at the period of this early calamity. I judge that his brain was then injured, and that the subsequent overworking of the seat of thought brought on the spinal disease, which first paralysed his limbs and finally extinguished life.

My brother left behind him a widow and an only child, his daughter Mary. I have stated that this beloved daughter had been, through the kind interference of the present Earl of Carlisle, placed on the Pension List at £40 a year. Shortly after her father's death she was placed at the convent school of Waterford, under the special care of the sister of Mr. Sheil, Mr. Sheil himself being one of her guardians. In the October of 1843 I visited her there, and spent the day in private discourse with her. She was then a very lovely girl, full of talent, full of endearing affection, giving promise of doing credit to her parent's name. The February following I received notice that she was very ill. She had shown symptoms of chest disease at Christmas, at first thought lightly of. When I visited her in February, consumption had painted two vivid spots of dazzling red upon her cheeks, and given a flaring lustre to her dark eyes. The June following she died, in her eighteenth year, and her coffin was placed on the yet sound timber encasing her father's remains."

When John Banim's daughter, his only surviving child thus died, his fellow-countrymen feared that his widow might not be considered a fit object for the bounty of the State. Such fear, however, owing to the active interposition of the late Sir Robert Peel, was not well founded. The following paragraph, from *The Nation* of Saturday, May 10th, 1845, describes all the matters of interest connected with the case,

and the names appended show how warmly and how generally, despite opposite feelings of politics and religion, the memory of John Banim, the Scott of Ireland, was cherished :—

“ MRS. BANIM.

Sir Robert Peel has acted most kindly and creditably with reference to this lady. A Committee of twenty-one, including the most active of the Conservative and Repeal writers and speakers, undertook to procure subscriptions for the purchase of a small annuity for her ; but at an early meeting it was agreed to make one more application to Government for the re-grant to the widow of that pension so freely and so worthily given to the orphan of JOHN BANIM. The application was made through Mr. E. B. ROCHE,\* the Member for Cork County, and SIR ROBERT PEELE has answered by saying that the pension list applicable to such a purpose is full ; but that he will give £50 from the Royal bounty now to Mrs. Banim, and will guarantee her £40 a year on the first vacancy.

Such acts so done introduce an amenity and generosity into public life ; and whether PEELE did this from feeling or policy, he deserves equal credit, and we thank him for it. Nor are we less pleased at another instance of the successful co-operation of Irishmen, differing in creeds and minor politics, when a matter of national duty or sentiment is involved.

This was the Committee that took up Mrs. Banim's case, and carried it to this fortunate issue :—

Daniel O'Connell, Esq.,  
M.P.

John Anster, Esq., LL.D.

Smith O'Brien, Esq., M.P.

Isaac Butt, Esq., LL.D.

Dr. Kane, M.R.I.A.

John O'Connell, Esq. M.P.

Charles Lever, Esq.

Torrens M'Cullagh, LL.B.

Thomas Davis, Esq.

M.R.I.A.

Samuel Ferguson, Esq.,

M.R.I.A.

Thomas O'Hagan, Esq.

William Carleton, Esq.

E. B. Roche, Esq., M.P.

Joseph Lefanu, Esq.

Charles Gavan Duffy, Esq.

J. Huband Smith, Esq.,

M.R.I.A.

Thomas Mac Nevin, Esq.

Dr. Maunsell.

J. Grey Porter, Esq.

James M'Glashan, Esq.

M. J. Barry, Esq.,

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\* Now Lord Fermoy. Ed.

The county being, after its fashion, grateful, the fellow townsmen of John Banim resolved to manifest their belief in the fact that Kilkenny, the College, Windgap, and some other places existed, and that John Banim had done a little to make them stand before the world as something more than names in an atlas. Accordingly in the Kilkenny, and other Irish papers of December, 1852, the following announcement appeared :—

#### “BANIM TESTIMONIAL.

At a Public Meeting of the friends and admirers of the genius of the late JOHN BANIM, held in the Tholsel, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, 15th December, 1852, the Mayor of Kilkenny in the Chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

Proposed by the Rev. Dr. Browne, Kilkenny College, and seconded by J. M. Tidmarsh, Esq., T.C.—

1. ‘That it is the opinion of this Meeting, that a suitable Testimonial to the memory of the late JOHN BANIM, be erected in this, his native City.’

Proposed by Robert Cane, Esq., M.D., and seconded by the Rev. James Graves—

2. ‘That the best mode of evincing our respect for the name of JOHN BANIM, would be, to erect (if the funds admit thereof), a Public Testimonial, which would be, at the same time, ornamental to the City, and prove of use and convenience to the Public at large.’

#### COMMITTEE.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Ormonde, Kilkenny Castle.

Right Hon. W. F. Tighe, D.L., Woodstock, County Kilkenny.

John Potter, Mayor of Kilkenny.

Daniel Cullen, Ex-Mayor of Kilkenny.

Rev. Dr. Browne, Kilkenny College.

Rev. James Graves, Kilkenny.

M. Sullivan, M.P., Kilkenny City, Inch-House, Kilkenny.

John Greene, M.P., Kilkenny County.



William Shee, Sergeant-at-Law, M.P., Kilkenny County.	John Lawson, Solicitor, Kilkenny.
J. St. John, L.L.D., Nore-View House, Kilkenny.	Michael Shortall, Solicitor, Kilkenny.
H. Potter, J.P., High Sheriff of the City of Kilkenny.	Thomas Power, Kilkenny.
Thomas Hart, J.P., Windgap Cottage.	M. Davis, Kilkenny.
Richard Smithwick, J.P., Birchfield, County Kilkenny.	A. Colles, Kilkenny.
Abraham Whyte Baker, Bal-lytobin, County Kilkenny.	R. Molyneux, V.S., Kilkenny.
Robert Cane, M.D., Kilkenny.	P. Watters, Town Clerk, Kilkenny.
Captain Helsham, Kilkenny.	J. Poe, Solicitor, Kilkenny.
John James, M.B.C.S.I., Kilkenny.	T. Dunphy, Kilkenny.
Z. Johnson, M.D., &c., Kilkenny.	F. Devereux, Ringville, County Kilkenny.
John Kearns, M.B.C.S., Kilkenny.	J. M'Creery, St. John's Place, Kilkenny.
James Tidmarsh, T.C., Kilkenny.	James O'Neill, John-st., Kilkenny.
C. O'Callaghan, Kilkenny.	John Campion, Patrick-st., Kilkenny.
	Thomas Hewetson, T.C., Rose-Inn-st., Kilkenny.
	Thomas Cody, T.C., Rose-Inn-st., Kilkenny.

Treasurer :—Daniel Cullen, Ex-Mayor of Kilkenny.

Secretaries :

John Thomas Campion, John's-bridge.

John G. A. Prim, Editor of *Kilkenny Moderator*.

John Beville, Editor of *Kilkenny Journal*.

Subscriptions will be received by the Treasurer, Secretaries, or by any of the gentlemen of the Committee."

The Testimonial selected was a bust in marble, executed by Hogan, the resemblance being caught, for the most part, from Mulvany's picture, and in the year 1854 it was placed in the Tholsel of Kilkenny.

This, reader, is the conclusion of the Biography of John Banim. Is there no moral to this life history? Is there nothing to follow the "Here Lies?" Aye, lessons of labor, of patience, of love, of hope, of charity, of faith in God when

hope was all but dead, of honor, of patriotism, and of firm, but smiling, endurance. But there is another lesson—a dead man of genius may have a bust erected to grace his memory in his native town, but he may not have a tombstone to cover his bones and to mark his grave, even though it can be procured for ten pounds.

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Before closing this paper we beg to direct the reader's attention to the subjoined appendix. We have printed it as we desire to show that Michael Banim is worthy some mark of the nation's appreciation of his genius, and of his very considerable share in the authorship of the *Tales By The O'Hara Family*.

Michael is no longer a young, active man : he is now very different from that *Barnes O'Hara* for whom *Cauth Flannigan* and *Peggy Nowlan* selected the shirt which "was not a shirt *entirely*";\* he is a hard worked man, subsisting upon the small profits of his general shop, aided by the per centages of a cess collector ; he has to rear a young family on such means as these, and considered it a triumph of financial ability when he was enabled, last summer, to send his eldest daughter, a young girl of astonishing ability and literary taste, to school to a convent in France.

We ask for no present aid from the nation to Michael Banim, but we do ask that, at the death of John Banim's widow, now in weak health, the pension which she receives, shall be transferred to Michael Banim, should he then be living, or to his eldest surviving daughter if he be dead. This is not demanding much, but we have no doubt it will be granted, if the citizens of Kilkenny petition for it, through an old and an sincere friend and patron of John Banim's—His Excellency the Earl of Carlisle.

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. V., No. 17., p. 38, note.

The gentleman who has favored us with the letter printed at p. 67, has supplied us with many valuable notes of Banim's every day life, which shall be inserted in the June number of this Review. These notes are of the very greatest interest, and cannot fail to prove acceptable to every admirer of John Banim's genius.

## APPENDIX TO THE BIOGRAPHY

OF

JOHN BANIM.

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### MICHAEL BANIM'S CLAIMS TO A PARTICIPATION IN THE NOVELS DISPUTED.

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE:—

[Mr. William John Fitzpatrick—a gentleman who has obtained a respectable literary status by his *Life, Times and Contemporaries of Lord Cloncurry*,\* and other productions of lesser pretension—having been attacked by an anonymous writer in the *Brighton Guardian* for mentioning in *Notes and Queries*, on the authority of this Review, that Michael Banim had written the novels *Crohoore* and *The Croppy*, replied with such force and spirit to his masked assailant, that we feel inclined to throw all the documents which appeared on the subject into the form of an Appendix, believing that those who felt interested in our Banim memoir, will not view with indifference a correspondence which grew out of it.—Ed. I. Q. R.]

[From the *Brighton Guardian* of Wednesday, Nov. 14th, 1855.]

#### TALES BY THE O'HARA FAMILY.

SIR.—Permit me through the medium of your very widely circulated Journal to correct a misrepresentation made in the last number of *Notes and Queries* by a person signing himself "William John Fitzpatrick." This gentleman writes from South-hill Avenue, Booterstown, Dublin, and says "The interesting *Tales of the O'Hara Family*, which some thirty years ago excited a marked sensation in literary circles, were until quite recently believed to owe their popularity entirely to John Banim. A memoir of Mr. Banim at present appearing in the *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW* informs the public that his brother Michael, ex-Mayor of Kilkenny, wrote *Crohoore of the Bill-hook*, the *Croppy*,—in fact, some of the

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\* For a review of Fitzpatrick's "*Life, Times and Contemporaries of Lord Cloncurry*," see *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Vol. V., No. XVIII, p. 330.—Ed.

very best of the *O'Hara Tul-s*." Now, Sir, let me inform the public through your columns, that a greater misrepresentation was never sent to print than the above passage from *Notes and Queries*. The fact is, that the late John Banim not only composed every line of "Crohoore of the Bill-hook" from his own brain, but also transcribed every line of it with his own weary hand, and that, too, at a period when he was not even on speaking terms with his brother Michael, better known as "the shabby Mayor of Kilkenny;" and at that very period when *Crohoore* was written poor John Banim was in a state of beggary and without a coat, and after a weary day's labor at this exquisite work he would stroll out in the dark with an old black cloth round his shoulders to roam by the river side for a breath of air, while his ex-mayorship Michael, who wishes to obtain some new installation or other honour on borrowed plumes, by robbing the dead of his fame, was luxuriating on homefed mutton and "mountain dew" in the town of Kilkenny, while (not the individual, as Mr. Fitzpatrick is pleased to call him) the great John Banim was, hungry, thirsty, and weary, weaving from his own brain that truly beautiful work for the amusement of an admiring English public. Now, Sir, regarding the authorship of that splendid Novel, the *Croppy*, Mr. Michael Banim, the ex-mayor of Kilkenny, was giving and attending "Harvest Homes," and dancing Irish-jigs in the Province of Leinster, while the poor half-starved author, John Banim, was writing the *Croppy* at the hospitable home of the late Mr. W. Donnell, of Balinlig House, in the Vale of Glenariff, county Antrim, Province of Ulster, North of Ireland. And the curious English traveller in passing through the beautiful valley of Glenariff can without any trouble see the very room in Balinlig house where John Banim, alone and unaided, wrote and composed every line of that exquisite Novel *The Croppy*; and that, too, when his brother Michael would not give the "Literary Madman," as he was pleased to call poor John, one single sixpence to save him from starvation. At this period, the late Lieut.-General A. Cuppage, of Clare Grove, in the county of Dublin, was sojourning at his shooting lodge (Mount Edwards) near Glenariff, and by chance the General met the half-clothed Novelist one day at a classic spot called the "Red Caves," nearly opposite to the place where the Spanish Armada was wrecked on the Irish coast. The rich East India Company's Officer and the poor author entered into conversation, and the sequel was, that the General gave John Banim fifty pounds to go travel to the town of Wexford and elsewhere, to collect the true incidents of the Irish Rebellion of '98 for the pages of "The Croppy." The shabby ex-mayor of Kilkenny (for there have been shabby Mayors in more towns than Brighton), knew nothing of these matters, or, in fact, nothing of the personal history of his clever brother at the period these works were written. John Banim's children were too young at this time to know anything of his movements, and his wife was a hundred miles or more away from him; so the friends of the ex-mayor may with impunity think that time has cast oblivion over the life and sufferings of the departed Novelist, and that now, in this distant period they may assert what

they please, and pluck the laurel from the grave of him who earned it well. But if the readers of *Notes and Queries* take the trouble of inquiring who is the writer of the memoir of "this individual," they will find it is written by Mr. Fitzpatrick himself, or else some other minion of the ex-shabby mayor of Kilkenny, who have some worldly project to carry out by blasting the fame of a truly great Novelist, who destroyed his health at the midnight lamp and shortened his life in the cause of literature. If the shade of the late John Banim could arise from his lowly grave and read Mr. Fitzpatrick's article in the last number of *Notes and Queries*, with what truth it might exclaim,

Amid the stranger throng  
 Enemies, I have none;  
 But from my would-be friends and relatives,  
 May Heaven save my fame.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
 A LOVER OF JUSTICE.

[From the "*Brighton Herald*" of Saturday November 17th.]

### TALES OF THE O'HARA FAMILY.

To the Editor of the *Brighton Herald*.

SIR.—In the last number of the *Brighton Guardian* a writer who signs himself "A LOVER OF JUSTICE," makes a fierce attack upon William John Fitzpatrick for stating, in a recent number of *Notes and Queries*, that "Michael Banim, now ex-Mayor of Kilkenny, was the author of *Crohoore of the Bill-hook*, *The Croppy*,—in fact some of the best of the *O'Hara Tales*." "A LOVER OF JUSTICE," observes upon this—"Let me inform the public through your columns, that a greater misrepresentation was never sent to print than the above passage from *Notes and Queries*. The fact is, that the late John Banim not only composed every line of *Crohoore of the Bill-hook* from his own brain, but also transcribed every line of it with his own weary hand, and that, too, at a period when he was not even on speaking terms with his brother Michael."

Now, as this question of authorship is one that is interesting to the general public, perhaps you will allow me a portion of your space to endeavour to throw some light upon it. That the *Tales by the O'Hara Family* were the joint production of John and Michael Banim has never, I believe, been questioned until the present moment; and it is proved by the published correspondence of John Banim. It is new to me, too, that John and Michael Banim were ever upon bad terms. But if they ever were, certainly it could not of been at the time of the writing of these *Tales*; for upon this point, too, we have the evidence of John's own letters. These letters to Michael, extend over the period of John's residence in London from 1822, when he first arrived in town, up to 1825, when the *O'Hara Tales* made their appearance, and in these letters frequent reference is made by John to the tale that Michael had undertaken to contribute to the collection; and, moreover, there is inter-

nal evidence in these letters to prove that the tale in question was *Crohoore of the Bill-hook*.

"A LOVER OF JUSTICE" will find this correspondence in the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW for December, 1854; and I will give a few passages from it to settle the point that the two brothers were, if not upon speaking terms,—for one was in Ireland, and the other in London,—at least upon the most affectionate writing terms. Under date of "London, May 2nd, 1824," John thus writes to his brother:—

"My Dear Michael,—I have read attentively, and with the greatest pleasure, the portion of the tale you sent me by J. H.——. So far as it goes, I pronounce that you have been successful. Here and there I have marked such particular criticism as struck me, and them you may note by referring to the margin. I send you the MSS. of my tale, and I request your severest criticism; scratch, cut and condemn at your pleasure. This is the first copy. Looking over it, I perceive many parts that are bad; send it back when you can, with every suggestion you are capable of making. Read it for the whole family in solemn conclave. Let father, mother, Joanna and yourself sit in judgment on it, and send me all your opinions sincerely given."

Here we see that John had a much higher respect for the literary ability of Michael than "A LOVER OF JUSTICE" seems to have.

In another passage of the same letter, John thus directs Michael's talent to the delineation of "the peculiarities we daily witness in those we meet:—

"Paint for me to the life, our old parish priest, Father O'Donnell, hat, wig, jock coat, worsted stockings, shoe buckles, as he appeared and spoke, when he patted our heads, and approved of our proficiency in catechism.

Give me Tom Guinn, hat, gaiters, watch, pipe, and his horn tinder-box; his peculiar jokes, his frequent big words, and his gurgling laugh at his own conceits. For a reckless bully, boy and man, remember Michael B——. I might, but I will not here, increase the list.

Get fourteen or fifteen of any of the persons you ever knew; put them into scenes favourable to their peculiarities, their individualities can be exemplified, without straining after the point; in proper situations, set them talking for themselves; by their own word of mouth they will denote their own character, better than any description from your pen; thus will you dramatise your tale, and faithful drama is the life and soul of novel writing. Plot is an inferior consideration to drama, though still it is a main consideration.

Do not say that I am dictatorial, or that I consider you to be a subject for a drilling; but let us unaffectedly compare notes as often as we can, and both will be benefited."

In a subsequent letter dated "London, July 10th, 1825," and addressed to "My dear Mike," he thus refers to his brother's novel itself:—

"I think I recognise your tithe-proctor, Peery Clancy, the por-

trait is so accurate I could not mistake the gentleman. Your next door neighbour, Mickle Ryan, is your original, and you have not outstepped nature, or misrepresented facts, in the slightest degree.

You have given some of my people a good castigation ; you have frightened me in fact, and almost made me hopeless of them. Don't spare one of them, however—better *you* should deal with them, than critics of less bowels or humanity.

You must adopt my amendment. The woman, singing the keen-thecawn, must be the mother of Terence, not his wife ; kill his wife, I decree her death ; by slaying her, you give a very rational increased incentive to the wretched widower's thirst for vengeance.

You tell me you intend to cut off the proctor's ears ; slice them close to his head by all means : do not leave a shred : no honest man will say that he does not deserve the cropping."

Here, I think, is a sufficient confutation of A *LOVER OF JUSTICE's* allegations, both with respect to the authorship of *Crohoore of the Bill-hook*, and to the alleged ill terms on which the brothers were. His statement, that *Crohoore* was written by John Banim "in a state of beggary, and without a coat," is equally wide of the truth. The fact was, that at this time John Banim had a very good house over his head (viz., No. 7, Amelia-place, Brompton—the house, as he exulting tells his friends in Kilkenny, in which John Philpot Curran lived the last months of his life, and died), and doubtless had a very good coat to his back. He was earning an adequate, though arduous, income by writing for the English Opera house and for the magazines, until, in 1825, Colburn purchased the copyright of the *O'Hara Tales*. The share which Michael Banim had in these is thus told by the author of the biography in the *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, whom no one will accuse of being negligent of the fame of John Banim :—

"He (John) had commenced, in 1823, the composition of his intended novel, (*The Nowlans*), and had written to Michael, urging him to hasten in the completion of his story, which was, as had been agreed upon, to form a portion of the volumes. Michael had little time to devote to literary pursuits. From morning till night he was engaged behind his father's counter, and in literary composition he had had, since leaving school, no practice beyond drawing up a business account, or writing a letter to John. But John had praised his talent as a story-teller ; had asked him to write a tale for the forthcoming work ; and as John, a judge of these things—a literary man himself—had approved his efforts thus, he determined to make the required attempt.

"But how was the attempt to be made ? He could not start from a customer to write down the thought of the moment ; but when did genius ever fail in expedient ? Michael Banim had naturally a good memory ; his story was one founded on facts : and accordingly, whilst he was behind the counter, with busy hands discharging all the multifarious duties of a shopman in a country town, his fancy was busily at work, weaving the scenes of his narrative, and when he retired to his room at night, he committed the already formed scenes



to paper, and the early morning generally found him clothing his thoughts in words, and thus the powerful story entitled *Crookore of The Bill Hook* was composed and written.

"The first portion of the manuscript was transmitted to John for perusal, late in the year 1823. By return of post, a letter of praise and thanks was written to Michael; entreaties for more were pressingly urged. The progress of the composition was necessarily slow, but scrap by scrap it was forwarded; and, as had been agreed upon, John's portion of the work, *The Fetches* and *John Dor*, were sent to Michael, each brother acting as critic to the other, and thus the *nom de plume*, *Tales By The O'Hara Family*, was in every point a reality—John taking the name *Abel O'Hara*, Michael assuming that of *Barnes O'Hara*."

I have to apologize for occupying so much of your space with these details. But it is a point of literary history that is not without interest. It may appear somewhat singular that in a collection of tales by two brothers,—one a professed author and the other a tradesman,—one of the most powerful, if not *the* most powerful, should have been written, not by the author, but the man in trade; and that this should have been nearly, if not, I believe, his only production. But a parallel can be found to this in the somewhat similar collection of tales called *The Canterbury Tales*. These were the joint-production of two sisters, one of whom,—I believe, Harriet Lee,—wrote one tale, "The Hungarian's Tale,"—and this is the most powerful of the whole collection. It excited the admiration of Byron, and led him to write the tragedy of *Werner*, the incidents and characters, and, indeed, some of the language, of which are taken from "The Hungarian's Tale."

Why so fierce an onslaught should have been made upon Mr. Michael Banim by "A LOVER OF JUSTICE," I cannot conceive. The fact of his being ex-Mayor of Kilkenny, upon which the writer dwells, proves nothing against his ability as a writer. I have only taken up the pen as a matter of literary justice, and have no interest in the question of the authorship except as

ONE OF THE READERS AND ADMIRERS OF THE O'HARA TALES.  
Brighton, Nov. 14, 1855.

[From the *Brighton Guardian* of Wednesday Nov. 22nd.]

#### THE O'HARA TALES.

SIR,—It was only by chance that I saw on this morning, for the first time, your journal of Wednesday, November 14th; and had it not been for the considerateness of some unknown English friend, who sent it even at the eleventh hour, I might never have had an opportunity of replying to a letter which contains most offensive references to me, and that worthy, unobtrusive, and respectable man, Michael Banim, Ex Mayor of Kilkenny.

Your correspondent begins by saying, "Permit me to correct a misrepresentation made in *Notes and Queries* by a person signing himself 'William John Fitzpatrick.' This gentleman" [he corrects his phraseology on reflection,] "writes from South Hill Avenue,

Boosterstown, Dublin, and says:—"The interesting Tales of the O'Hara Family, which some 30 years ago, excited quite a sensation in literary circles, were until recently believed to owe their popularity *entirely* to John Banim. A memoir of Mr. Banim at present appearing in the *Irish Quarterly Review*, informs the public that his brother Michael, Ex-Mayor of Kilkenny, wrote *Crohoore, The Croppy*—in fact some of the very best of the *O'Hara Tales*."

The above paragraph (as quoted by your correspondent) occurred in a recent inquiry as to whether Sir W. Scott wrote *all* the Waverley Novels, from beginning to end, and which, as the contents of each succeeding number of *Notes and Queries* attest, has excited no small amount of interest and curiosity. I did not make the assertion relative to Banim's Tales without producing my authority. On that authority, let the merits of the case be judged. The *Irish Quarterly Review* is a work of high respectability and genius. For nearly two years, the life of Banim, written by the Editor, has been regularly appearing in that serial. Banim's private correspondence and papers, have been placed at the disposal of the Editor—a gentleman, well known and respected in literary, and general society, at the Bar, and in Alma Mater. Your correspondent supports, that if the public inquire who is the author of the memoir, "*they will find it is written by Mr. Fitzpatrick himself*." Although it is a biography which any Irishman might feel proud to have written, I emphatically deny all claim to the authorship.

I shall now proceed to give in detail, my authorities for the assertion which your correspondent in his wrath, has appealed to the public to analyse and judge.

In the *Irish Quarterly Review* for December, 1854, p. 830, appears an interesting account of the origin of those tales, during a conference between the brothers, John and Michael, and it concludes with these words:—"And thus amid the green fields of Inistiogue were the Tales of the O'Hara Family planned, and a joint system of writing commenced, which rivalled in popularity, the *Canterbury Tales* by the Sisters Lee." From the manner in which your correspondent heads his letter, "Tales by the O'Hara Family," it would appear as if he too believed their production to be through the joint agency of the brothers.

At page 850 is described Michael Banim's literary labours, amid the most onerous occupation, "his fancy was busily at work, weaving the scenes of his narrative, and when he retired to his room at night, he committed the already formed scenes to paper, and the early morning generally found him clothing his thoughts in words, and thus the powerful story of *Crohoore of the Bill-Hook* was composed and written. The first portion of the MS. was transmitted to John for perusal late in 1823. By return of post a letter of praise and thanks was written to Michael—entreaties for more were pressingly urged. The progress was necessarily slow, but scrap by scrap it was forwarded; and, as had been agreed upon, John's portion of the work, *The Fetches* and *John Doe*, were sent to Michael, each brother acting as critic to the other, and thus the *nom de plume*, *Tales by the O'Hara Family*, was in every

point a reality, John taking the name *Abel O'Hara*, Michael assuming that of *Burnes O'Hara*."

The interesting private letters from John Banim to his brother, with which the memoir is sprinkled, exhibit the full secret of their *modus operandi*. Some of John's letters are playfully signed "Abel O'Hara."

The revelation that "*Crohoore of the Bill-Hook*" (the best tale of the series) was not written by John Banim greatly surprised me, and early last May I called the attention of that distinguished Irish novelist, William Carleton, to it as remarkable. "I always knew," replied Carleton, "that *Crohoore of the Bill-Hook* was Michael's and not John's." Carleton knew John Banim intimately, and wrote that interesting memoir of him which appeared in the *Nation* shortly after his death.

With respect to the powerfully written novel of *The Croppy* I have referred to the *Irish Quarterly* for June, 1855, and at pp. 234 and 235 I find the fullest particulars given of the composition of *The Croppy*. The work was written by Michael, and not John Banim. It is, however, an understood thing, that the brothers criticised and revised each other's Tales; and if John was really seen by the late Mr. W. Donnell (as your correspondent says) poring over *The Croppy* in 1827, and even transcribing portions of it, it argues nothing. Your rather pert correspondent would do well to refer to the *Quarterly*, and read the truly affectionate letters from John to his brother Michael, at this and other periods, some of them dated from "45, Sea Houses, Eastbourne, Sussex"—perhaps not one hundred miles from your correspondent's residence. If he thinks that the Biography alluded to is written in dispraising terms of John Banim, he is mistaken. The biographer is absolutely in love with John's character throughout—in fact too much so for the taste of many. Your correspondent, who signs himself "A Lover of Justice," but which it would perhaps be nearer the truth to subscribe "A Lover of Slander," utters among other most daring and ridiculous statements, "Now, Sir, let me inform the public, that a greater misrepresentation was never sent to print, than the above passage from *Notes and Queries*. The fact is that John Banim not only composed every line of *Crohoore* from his own brain, but also transcribed every line with his own weary hand, and that too at a period when he was not even on speaking terms with his brother Michael, better known as the *shabby mayor of Kilkenny*." \* \* "His ex-mayorship wishes to obtain some new installation, or other honour, on borrowed plumes by robbing the dead of his fame." \* \* "Mr. Michael Banim was giving and attending 'Harvest Homes' and dancing Irish jigs in Leinster, while John was writing *The Croppy*." \* \* "His brother Michael would not give 'the literary madman' (as he was pleased to call him) one single sixpence to save him from starvation." \* \* "The shabby mayor of Kilkenny knew nothing of the personal history of his brother, at the period those works were written." \* \* "If the shade of John Banim could rise and read Mr. Fitzpatrick's statements, with what truth he might exclaim—

"From my would-be friends and relatives  
May heaven save my name!"

For myself, I may say, I was never a personal friend of John Banim's, much less a relative. I never even saw him. The many affectionate letters written in the fullest confidence, by John and his wife, to Michael (the originals of which may doubtless be viewed, if necessary) sufficiently refute the rabid drivelling of a *Lover of Slander*. He has been rioting in the exuberance of a fortnight's unrefuted calumny. By to-morrow's post I will forward his production to the ex-mayor of Kilkenny, and let that gentleman deal with the writer, as he thinks fit. Your correspondent, like most slanderers, wears a mask. He trembles to appear before the public with his name and address.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your very humble servant,  
WILLIAM JOHN FITZPATRICK.

Hillsborough, Booterstown, Dublin,  
November 25th, 1855.

P.S.—Perhaps I ought to add, that Michael Banim has lately concluded, in the *Dublin University Magazine*, a very interesting novel called *Lough Fionn, or the Stone of Destiny*. He has also written a new introduction to *Father Connell*, lately reprinted.

[From the same Impression of the *Brighton Guardian*, as contained Mr Fitzpatrick's Letter.]

#### TALES OF THE O'HARA FAMILY.

SIR,—having read in *Notes and Queries* an article from the pen of a gentleman in Dublin to the following effect:—

"The interesting Tales by the O'Hara Family, which some thirty years ago excited quite a sensation in literary circles, were until quite recently believed to owe their popularity entirely to John Banim; but a memoir of that individual at present appearing in the *Irish Quarterly Review*, informs the public that his brother Michael, ex-Mayor of Kilkenny, wrote "*Crohoore of the Bill Hook*," and "*The Croppy*," and in fact some of the very best of *The O'Hara Tales*."

Now, Sir, facts are stubborn things, which remain the same despite of every misrepresentation. I was therefore truly startled by such a strange announcement in *Notes and Queries*, that John Banim, whose authorship of the best of the Tales of the O'Hara Family has been a well established fact for "thirty years," should have his fame nibbled at by an unknown writer in a recent number of the *Irish Quarterly Review*; and as the question of authorship is one of interest to the general public, I felt it my duty to state through the columns of your widely circulated journal, that a greater misrepresentation was never sent to print.

A writer in the *Brighton Herald* of the 17th of this month wishes to overturn my statement of authentic facts by a pile of inconsistent paragraphs which tell nothing.

First, he accuses me of "making a fierce attack on William John Fitzpatrick." This is very far from the truth. I made no fierce attack on that gentleman; nor have I any personal feeling whatever in the matter, save a love of justice towards one who is now incapable

of defending his own fame. On the contrary, I never heard of Mr. Fitzpatrick's name until I saw it in *Notes and Queries* attached to a very foolish article which stated that "Sir Walter Scott was not the author of the 'Waverley Novels,' and that John Banim was not the author of 'Tales by the O'Hara Family,'—an article which very much reminded me of Essays printed some time ago by a gentleman who was not mad, [Dr. Whately,] but silly enough to attempt to prove that the Battle of Waterloo was never gained by the Duke of Wellington; and that no such person as Buonaparte ever existed.

Secondly,—This writer in the *Herald* backs the *Irish Quarterly Review* in the truth of its statement, that for thirty years John Banim was known as the recognised author of the O'Hara Tales, that he derived a great popularity from them, and that the literary world was quite in a sensation with his productions; but that a writer of a memoir *last year* brings to light that his brother Michael was the author. In another part the writer in the *Herald* states that Michael Banim under the name of Barnes O'Hara, was *well known* as one of the authors of the O'Hara tales.

Now in the name of common sense how do these two statements chime? If Michael was well known as the author of "Crohoore of the Bill Hook," "The Croppy," &c., &c., why would John be enjoying the undisputed fame for so many long years until a writer comes forward *last year* to accuse him of going on borrowed plumes? Is it consistent with human nature that Michael would allow John Banim to usurp his fame and his labours for so many years without producing proofs to show the world that he was wronged? And every one who had the honour of knowing the late John Banim,—and many are still alive—will bear me out that he was the very last man on earth to soar on *Aura popularis*, unless it was his right to do so.

Thirdly, the writer in the *Herald* says, that if the brothers were not on speaking terms, they were on affectionate writing terms. Now does not every body know that there never yet existed two brothers who have not been on both speaking terms and writing terms at some period of their lives, although they may have been on bad terms both before and after? This writer also refers me to a "printed correspondence" in the *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW* for December 1854. But does he think I am so unwise as to pin my faith to a printed correspondence produced at the end of thirty years? I cannot see the water-marks on paper, or the genuine post-marks of the letters in print; and do we not all know that type will refuse nothing while the printer works? Suppose the writer in the *Herald* were to write a memoir next week of the late Prince of Wales, and stated, "for thirty years the Prince enjoyed the popularity of being the sole owner of the Royal Pavilion, but the accompanying correspondence will prove that your present excellent and respected townsman, Mr. ——— was a joint proprietor, to whom belonged the best portion of the building," could such a statement obliterate an established fact, or is there a man in Brighton would swallow the memoir?

Believing, however, the letters to be genuine,—even for the sake of argument,—it is an established fact that posterity can gain no

truth from the private letters of authors to their brothers, sisters, fathers, or mothers. These letters, when written, are never meant to meet the public eye, and are generally penned at a certain crisis, and under certain influences; sometimes to give pleasure to the absent, and sometimes in bitter straits to gain a little aid from home: they would succumb to anything, and would not only sign away their authorship to a brother, but their very birthright, if demanded to do so, for a small draft on the bank. As a proof of the unreliability of early private letters of authors to their families, we find that great genius, Thomas Chatterton, writing to his family at Bristol and telling them of his splendid successes in London, the number of magazines he was writing for, and the golden harvest he was about to reap, while, alas! poor fellow, he was in the last stage of starvation, and in a few days afterwards was carried to a pauper's grave as a suicide! We find Tom Moore writing home with a syren's pen a glowing description of his successes until his poor fond mother was made so happy that she thought dear little Tom dwelt in an enchanted palace in London, and had only to say "open Sesame," to enter mines of gold. And yet on the day he wrote one of these cheering epistles, we find him gloomy and wretched with an empty purse and a scanty wardrobe, going to a tailor's with ten shillings and an old coat to exchange for the loan of a dress coat to dine with the Prince Regent! We find that sweet writer, Gerald Griffin, writing to his truly amiable and excellent brother, Doctor Griffin, and in asking the loan of a few pounds stating that it will be the last trespass he will make on his purse, as his triumph will soon be complete; his engagements are many, and fortune favours him with a lavish hand; and yet he leaves London for ever as a dispirited author, and it was not until after his death that his kind and fond brother the Doctor knew of his many miseries in the vast Babylon. Wherefore, then, should any reality of wealth or happiness be drawn from the incident that for a time John Banim lived at 7, Amelia place, Brompton, the house where John Philpot Curran died? Did that prevent the gloom of adversity from falling on his pathway, and the brightest hopes of his heart passing away from him like a dream? As the writer in the *Herald* is so sagacious as to discover that John Banim had a good coat and was in good means in that house, why is he not also sagacious enough to know that there is a bosom friend of the late John Banin living, who, if he related the sufferings of the author while writing some of the best of the O'Hara Tales, the bare recital would draw tears from the most hardened eyes and sighs from the most obdurate heart; and why is he not also sagacious enough to know that John Banim had a dear bosom friend and companion called Michael B——, independently of his brother Michael?

Fourthly,—the writer in the *Herald* sets up an unnecessary defence of the cleverness of the ex-Mayor of Kilkeany, and says "that John had a much higher respect for the ability of Michael than a Lover of Justice has." That statement is very wide of the truth; for I always considered Michael to be a clever man, and I am aware that he has written some good things, although his genius was far below that enjoyed by his departed brother. His being a Mayor at one

period of his life could not prevent him from being an author *also* if Nature had so gifted him; and although we do not generally see Mayors and Aldermen very great slaves of the desk or the midnight lamp, there are exceptions to every rule, and Michael Banim was among those exceptions. There was a vein of composition in every one of the Banim family; but in John alone did it find "a local habitation and a name." He had two mottoes which he used to quote in his merry moments,—which were few,—and, as they bear upon his fate and the present crisis of his fame, I shall repeat them. The one was, "*Ingenio stat sine morte decus*"—the other, "*Magna est veritas, et prevalebet*." Without in any way depreciating the literary ability of Michael Banim, I again repeat, from my full knowledge of the facts, that a greater misrepresentation was never sent to print than that John Banim was *not* the author of "The Croppy," "Crohoore of the Billhook," "The Boyne Water," &c. Twelve years before the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW began to nibble at John Banim's fame, I held in the hand that now traces this letter portions of the original draughts of the above-named works in John Banim's own writing, and with his own corrections and interlineations, and I could at this moment,—if I were at liberty to do so,—point to the family who still hold them as sacred heir-looms of the great novelist; but the pear is not yet ripe enough to render such a disinterment necessary. Enough, the person who holds these literary treasures was from boyhood the bosom friend, often the companion, and always the confidant, of all the joys and sorrows of poor suffering, but gifted John Banim. The original draught of "The Croppy" amused me much, for in it he had made rattling Bill Nale the father of Eliza, and old Nanny the knitter her grandmother; but a Cork gentleman to whom he submitted the plot laughed at him for giving such strange relations to so gentle and elegant a lady as Eliza. John Banim took the hint, and in his final draught he made Bill the father of her beautiful, stern, and haughty friend.

But *à propos* to the absurdity of taking family letters as a proof of authorship, I beg to inform you that at this moment I know a very clever but poor author in this city who has a rich relative, and when in straits for money he applied to this relation for aid. The relative always sends the copy of a letter for him to write, and a legal document for him to copy and sign, embodying therein that he owes him ten pounds, in return for which letter and document he sends the poor author five pounds for his pressing wants. Thus the rich brother plays upon the urgent necessities of the wretched book-worm, and after this author's death, should posterity ever see this correspondence published, they will think the rich brother not only the most tender and humane of brothers, but also the real author of many works over which this poor author is now wearing out his health and life. I do not mean to hint that such a state of things ever existed between the Banims; but I only relate it to prove how worthless are private family letters towards establishing a question of authorship.

In conclusion, I beg to correct a typographical error in my last letter in your columns; namely, that John Banim wrote every line

with his own weary hand. This should have been, "he invented every line in his own weary brain." The sentence must have been blundered either by your printers, readers, or by myself in the haste of writing it; but the contrary was the fact. John Banim had a heart-sick horror of copying anything he composed; he had three friends in the distance who generally performed that task. Two of them were my personal friends, and the third was Michael Banim; and thus arose the latter-day fiction that Michael was the author of some of John's best works. But it is quite a common thing in London for a hard-working author to send his manuscript written illegibly to a brother at leisure in the distance, to write out clear for the press, put slight alterations, if necessary, if the brother from a knowledge of the facts described were competent to do so, which no doubt, Michael was in reference to the *O'Hara Tales*; and return it slip by slip through the post. And this may account for John's bantering Michael thus: "Paint for me to the life our old parish priest, hat, wig, jock-coat, worsted stockings, shoe-buckle, and all;" for when the brothers were on good terms Michael (who was a good critic) had a habit of altering John's sentiments in a manner disagreeable to the great Novelist's feelings and *amour propre*. It is now many years since poor John Banim's death closed a chequered career, embittered at its close by a painful illness, in which the great Novelist was forced to use crutches, but I have not heard that since that event Michael has published any work whatever, which would hardly be the case were he the "powerful" writer which the despoilers of John's fame would represent him.

Hoping this will fully satisfy Mr. Fitzpatrick and his defender in the *Brighton Herald*,

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

A LOVER OF JUSTICE.

Lincoln's-inn Fields, London,

November, 1855.

#### MR. FITZPATRICK'S REPLY.

To the Editor of the *Brighton Guardian*.

Sir,—I have to thank you for the *Brighton Guardian* of Nov. 28, containing in amusing juxtaposition, my reply to the attack of a "Lover of Justice," and his writhing acknowledgment of the dignified rebuke which "*One of the admirers of the O'Hara Tales*," through the medium of the *Herald*, levelled at him some days previously. Mr. "Justice" lays peculiar emphasis on this letter in connection with his renewed attack on me, and he concludes that column and a half of diffuse inconsistency, which in the following letter I shall endeavour to analyse, with a "Hope," that "this will satisfy Mr. Fitzpatrick, and his defender in the *Herald*."

I knew nothing of the existence of the letter in question, until the arrival of the *Herald*, with your own journal, at my residence on Thursday afternoon. Of my ignorance both of the letter, and its author, I pledge my honour. But really so wantonly uncalled for was Mr. "Justice's" diatribe on Michael Banim, the editor of the



IRISH QUARTERLY, and myself, that no person of honourable, or upright feeling, who knew anything on the subject, could silently listen to his flippant slander. I rejoice to find that he has met, where he little thought of finding opposition, an able and an honourable adversary, who came to the rescue, "as an act of literary justice, having no interest in the question of authorship, but as one of the admirers of the tales." This lesson, I hope, may prove so far salutary to your correspondent, as that he will hardly again assail, through the medium of a provincial English newspaper, three private gentlemen living in Ireland.

Mr. "Justice," shamed by the able defence of the *Herald*, denies, in his second letter, the assertion, that he made a "ferce attack on me." I considered that he did so, and my unknown defender was of the same opinion. But it is richly inconsistent that in the very paragraph wherein he repudiates having assailed me he gives expression to vulgar and offensive personality.

His attack is resumed with a tedious repetition of the already published extract from my article in *Notes and Queries*, on the presumed assistance given Sir W. Scott by his late brother, and sister-in-law, in the composition of the *Waverly Novels*. In this extract which Mr. "Justice" quotes, without reference either to page, date, number, or volume, he takes the liberty of introducing no less than three words,—two of them not of much importance certainly, but curious, as evidencing that talent for inaccuracy which continually glares forth in his writing. He cannot even, by mistake, be right. In the same way he garbles a sentence in the *Herald* letter, taken from one of John's confidential notes to his brother: "This may account," writes The Lover of Justice, "for his bantering Michael thus: 'Paint for me to the life our old P.P. hat, wig, jock coat, worsted stockings, shoe buckles, and all.'" There are no such words in the original as last quoted. Mr. "Justice," garbles the sentence to give it a comical, bantering sound. John had no such intention. I can imagine his eyes filling with tears, as he thought of the good, and long deceased Pastor, patting their youthful heads, as he taught them the word and law of God. "Paint for me," says the original letter, "our old Parish Priest [&c. &c..] as he looked and spoke when he patted our heads and approved of our proficiency in catechism." And so Michael did, and perhaps the most exquisite portrait in the entire range of the O'Hara gallery is that of the venerable pastor—Father Connell.

Mr. "Justice" appears to regard as an essential object the distortion of his adversary's meaning whenever practicable. He insists that my article in *Notes and Queries* stated that "Scott was not the author of the *Waverly Novels*, and that John Banim was not the author of the *Tales* by the O'Hara Family." No such assertions were ever made. In reference to the first I have only to say, that it would have been, in the highest degree presumptuous and silly to utter it. The main character of *Notes and Queries* is to elicit facts. I published a "note" drawing up behind it a strong embankment of such grounds, documentary and circumstantial, as fully warranted, in the learned Editor's estimation, further enquiry. Mr. Ballantyne, an old friend

of the Scott family, admitted that my arguments were most start-ling. Four writers in *Notes and Queries* have strengthened my position by adducing strong corroboratory evidence. I never said that Scott was not the author of the *Waverleys*. The assertion would have merited nought but ridicule. I had reason then for believing, and have certain evidence now, to feel *convinced*, that many of the *Waverley Novels* were a joint concern. So much so that I intend to publish a pamphlet at once upon the subject.

With equal nonchalance, he also assures your Readers, that I have declared John Banim not to have written *The Tules by the O'Hara Family*. This statement is proportionately distorted. I merely said, that according to Banim's life in the *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, his brother Michael was the author of *Crohoore*, and the *Croppy*. There were many tales in the series. But what I have no doubt your correspondent considers "*the unkindest cut of all*," is where he declares that he had never heard of me until he read the Scott article in *Notes and Queries*. Allow me to assure this gentleman that I do not aspire to be a public character. Of independent fortune, I am a private individual residing not far from the city of Dublin, and although well known to a respectable portion of its inhabitants, could hardly expect the people of Brighton, or the citizens of London would be familiarly acquainted with my name. All who read Mr. "Justice's" first letter, and happened to know me, laughed very heartily, at his absurd assumption that I was "some petty minion of the shabby mayor of Kilkenny, who desired to advance my worldly prospects, by pinning my skirts to his local influence." I have no interest in this question, beyond a desire to maintain the dignity and integrity of those observations, which "*THE LOVER OF JUSTICE*" has so intemperately impugned. I never met Michael Banim but on one occasion. John, I never saw.

"*A Lover of Justice*" has been proved by my unknown defender in the *Brighton Herald* to have reiterated statements wholly wide of the truth. Professing to be conversant with all the private affairs of the Banim family, he declares that John was not even on speaking terms with his brother when, *Crohoore*, or the *Croppy* were written. "The two brothers," says the *Herald* dryly, "if not upon speaking terms—for one was in Ireland, and the other in London—were at least on the most affectionate writing terms," and to prove this the writer culls from Banim's memoir, some epistolary extracts, addressed in the fullest confidence to Michael, and pervaded by the most affectionate tone throughout. I took it upon myself to say, in my first letter, that the originals might doubtless be viewed if necessary, and I now repeat, on authority, that observation. This meets the ingenuous exclamations of Mr. "Justice", in reply to the *Herald*—"Am I so unwise as to pin my faith to a printed correspondence produced at the end of thirty years. *I cannot see the water marks on the paper or the genuine post marks in print.*"

Another sweeping assertion made, is that "the shabby mayor of Kilkenny knew nothing of the personal history of his brother at the period when these tales were written." We have evidence, in the shape of an uninterrupted correspondence, and other proofs, to

determine that each had the fullest knowledge of the doings of the other. "Justice," also assumes that "Mr. Michael Banim was giving and attending harvest homes, and dancing Irish-jigs, while John was writing the *Croppy* at Mr. W. Donell's, in the county Antrim." On the contrary, however, we find by Banim's own life, that during the composition of *The Croppy*, Michael was invited by him, on a visit to his residence in Sussex. He went, and we have ample particulars of this visit, and the contemporaneous progress of the *Croppy*.

After speaking in the most contemptuous manner of Michael, and indignantly denying that he knew anything of his brother's works, your tergiversating correspondent, when shamed by the clear and forcible reasoning of the writer in the *Herald*, now declares :—" I always considered Michael a clever man, and I am aware he has written some good things"—and again :—"Although we do not generally see mayors, and aldermen, very great slaves of the desk or the midnight lamp, there are exceptions to every rule, and Michael Banim was among those exceptions." In his first letter, he observed, among other Billingsgate references to the ex-Mayor, which described him, as dancing jigs, and drinking whiskey when the O'Hara Tales were being written by John—as utterly ignorant of his brother's movements, and now aspiring to soar on "borrowed plumes :"—"Michael would not give the *literary madman* (as he called John) a single sixpence to save him from starvation." It is not very likely that Michael, "a slave to the desk, and the midnight lamp," who according to your correspondent, has written such "*good things*," would sneeringly call John "a literary madman," or so affectionate a brother, refuse a single sixpence, to save him from starvation.

Mr. "Justice" goes on to say :—"A greater misrepresentation was never sent to print than that John Banim was not the author of the *Croppy*, *Crohoore*, the *Boyne Water* &c.!" The equivocating tendency of your correspondent is again manifest here. He has not only lugged in the *Boyne Water*, but an *et cetera*, which, of course, signifies the remainder of the O'Hara Tales ; and has disingenuously pursued this course in order that his proofs of John's sole authorship of the *Boyne Water*, may tell in favour of his denial that Michael wrote *Crohoore* and *The Croppy*. That John Banim wrote *The Boyne Water* *The Nowlans*, *The Fetches*, *John Doe*, &c., there cannot exist a doubt. Your correspondent adds, that he had in his hand twelve years ago portions of the above works in John Banim's own autograph, with corrections and interlineations, and that he could point to the family who still hold them as sacred heir looms. All this argues nothing. The brothers constantly transcribed each other's writings, and never hesitated to correct and interline according as their sober judgment prompted. Well might my defender in the *Herald* exclaim : "That the *Tales by the O'Hara Family* were the joint productions of John and Michael Banim, has never, I believe, been questioned until the present moment."

Mr "Justice" in his last calumnious discharge, speaks contemptuously of the Biographer of Banim, and twice protests against "Banim's fame being nibbled at by the *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*."

I stated, in the letter which confronts, in juxtaposition, "Justice's" second onslaught, that "Banim's biographer is absolutely in love with his character throughout,—in fact, too much so for the taste of many." Such is the fact. Boswell was not a sincerer admirer of Johnson's intellect than the Editor of the *IRISH QUARTERLY* is of Banim's. To quote sentences in proof of this would be absurd. The work may be consulted *passim*, for evidences of what I say. Much as the biographer loves his hero, he loves truth and justice better, and he consequently scorns to suppress the fact, that in Michael's brain were formed the noble conceptions of *Crohoore* and *The Croppy*. The biographer of Harriet Lee, authoress of the *Canterbury Tales*, might as well be assailed for saying that her sister Sophia, wrote the best story of the series—*The HUNGARIAN'S TALE*—on which Byron founded his Tragedy of *Werner*.

I had the curiosity lately to ask one who possessed the entire confidence of the Banim family, why it was that Michael remained so long in the back ground, and never put forward any claims for literary distinction. "I asked that question myself," replied the gentleman, "and his answer was this, 'I had, as the eldest son, my father's shop and business to support me. Poor John had nothing but his brains, and I should have been the most ungenerous of men, to one of the most affectionate of brothers, to lower his literary *prestige* and popularity, by an unnecessary avowal of my share of the authorship.'" This explains, what your correspondent calls "the latter-day fiction that Michael was the author of some of John's best works." Mr. "Justice's" opinion of human nature is sad to contemplate. He cannot understand how Michael could be so destitute of vanity and selfish complacency, as to remain so long in retirement. "Is it consistent with human nature," he exclaims triumphantly, "that Michael would allow John Banim to usurp his fame and his

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\* Michael Banim's introduction to *Clough Fionn, or the Stone of Destiny* (published a year previous to the memoir in the *IRISH QUARTERLY*) is interesting.—

"It is known to the reading public that the Works of fiction published under the title of 'Tales of the O'Hara Family,' were the joint production of two brothers—one of them, the younger, a literary man by profession; the other, and the elder, a man in business, who occasionally contributed the result of such hours as he could borrow from his more immediate and more pressing avocations. The origin, extent, and nature of this literary partnership may be, at no distant day, communicated to the curious in such matters, should it be ascertained that any curiosity exists. It is known, too, to those who consider the 'Tales by the O'Hara Family' worth perusal, that the younger brother was called on to pay the debt we must all pay, before he had passed the prime of life, and after many years of such bodily suffering as few are required to endure in preparation for the grave. Up to the period of John Banim's death in the summer of 1842, the connexion of the brothers existed, and with the survivor of 'The O'Hara Family,' many notes and memoranda remain, partly originated with the one, and partly with the other. The following story (*Clough-Fionn, or, the Stone of Destiny*) is wrought out of a portion of those materials; it is therefore, properly speaking, a renewal of old acquaintanceship with the public, under the 'old familiar name.'"

labours for so many years, without producing proofs that **HE WAS WRONGED ?**"

"Justice" would seem to have forgotten, at the close of his letter, what he admitted at the commencement, that *Michael's* frequent companions were the desk and midnight lamp, and that he always knew him to be a clever man capable of writing able things. The concluding lines of his letter, and the last five lines of mine, clash amusingly. He says that "since John's death Michael has not published anything, which would hardly be the case, were he the powerful writer, which the despoilers of John's fame would represent him." The information that Michael had lately concluded an interesting novel in the *University Magazine*, &c., was conveyed in the P.S. of my letter. Had Michael Banim leisure, and a brother living to exercise judgment, and bestow on his writings that artistic touch, at which John was so *en fait*, he would probably produce a series of Irish Tales hardly inferior to Miss Edgeworth's.

I will here append some extracts from an interesting letter of Michael Banim's, addressed to one, who urged him to write more—in fact myself. It is the only letter I ever received from him. After adverting to the benefit his works derived from the revision of John Banim, he writes:—"Originally my education was defective, and from my 15th to my 22nd year, I was engaged, hammer and tongs, acquiring a knowledge of the business I was bred to, with no leisure for study, or self improvement. This continues pretty much the same up to the present hour. The struggle for my 'daily bread,' gives me no leisure to indulge my literary propensities, such as they are. This 'daily bread,' must be provided—there is no manna now-a-days. My indispensable, and humble avocations are in opposition to the exercise of any mental power I possess. Stern reality, is a beast of burthen, and cannot be stabled with the winged horse of Imagination. They don't feed on the same provender."

John Banim on only one occasion publicly avowed the literary aid which Michael gave the O'Hara Tales. The admission—a characteristically honorable one—occurred in his acknowledgment of a complimentary address, and substantial present from the citizens of Kilkenny, in September, 1835. I did not happen to be acquainted with this thoroughly conclusive passage, when my share in the present correspondence began:—

"While thus for the first time," writes John Banim, "called upon to reply to compliments paid to me as the writer of these volumes, I cannot hesitate to mention that a considerable portion of the success of some of the stories, is attributable to the assistance of a dear, and respected brother."

"It is quite a common thing in London," writes Mr. "Justice," vainly endeavouring to spread a false colour over the facts, "for a poor hard-working author to send his MS. written illigibly, to a brother in the distance, to write out clear for the Press." Compositors are more generally skilled in deciphering illigible writing, than any other class of men, whether they are personal friends of the writer, or his own immediate family.

I have already adverted to the sweeping headlong statements

which your pert correspondent tumbles off his pen. His whole letter is made up of mis-statement, and exaggeration. And when on inquiry he finds himself in error, and that no further sophistry can make his position tenable, he flippantly pronounces these mis-statements to be—printers' errors!

The "admirer of the O'Hara Tales" having taken him to task for one of the more plausible of his allegations, he now stammers out:— "I beg to correct a TYPOGRAPHICAL error in my last letter, namely, that John Banim wrote every line with his own weary hand. This should have been, he invented every line in his own weary brain."

It is a good joke truly to endeavour to prove, that pert mis-statements are printers' errors. Allowing the above, however, to be one, are we to understand that what Mr. "Justice" intended to write was, "the fact is, that John Banim not only composed every line of *Cro-More*, from his own brain, but also invented every line in his own weary brain!" (See the first letter of "*A Lover or Justice*," *Ante*, p. 5.)

From certain technicalities, and innuendoes made by Mr. "Justice," there cannot be a doubt but that he is a literary writer. In the above he has favoured us with a specimen of his tact in elaborating a sentence, for which we should all feel very much obliged. It is surely a rich joke to assert, that words so distinct, and unlike each other, should have been mysteriously introduced through typo-diabolical agency. I venture to say, that the very devils (who are rarely if ever known to take an interest in the matter of any "copy") grin sardonically at his expense as they "set up" these lines. I even see the usually solemn, and sedate reader, chuckling as he punctuates along the margin. Nay, I venture to affirm, that the very Publisher of the *Brighton Guardian*, will "laugh a few," (as Sam Slick says) when his attention is called to what your correspondent would fain have it believed were errata. He must have a sorry opinion of Brighton judgment to make such transparencies, as appear in his letters, and a poor opinion of Brighton dignity, to stigmatise their chief magistrate, as a "shabby" personage.

Why he should run from Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, to make his complaint to the good people of Brighton, I cannot understand, unless the editor of *Notes and Queries*, and the other literary journals of the metropolis, refused admission to his flippant and effusions observations.

Your correspondent would fain convince you, that he possessed the entire confidence of John Banim, and knew every minutia of his thoughts, and doings. Touching a point which my unknown Defender in the *Novell*, from peculiar information, was enabled to lodge in one of Mr. "Justice's" statements, he says, "why is he not also sagacious enough to know, that John Banim had a dear bosom friend and companion in MICHAEL B——, independently of his brother Michael?"

This revelation is doubtless calculated to increase the respect entertained for your correspondent. I am aware that Michael B—— was an acquaintance of the Banim family, but what character does John himself, give of him in a letter to Michael, dated May 2, 1824, and published in the *Irish Quarterly* for December 1854, p. 855.

When suggesting characters for him to daguerreotype, he says, "give me Tom Guinn, hat, gaiters, watch, pipe, and his horn tinder box. \* \* FOR A RECKLESS BULLY, BOY, AND MAN, REMEMBER MICHAEL B." The Editor of the memoir, knowing Mr. Michael B. to be still living, suppressed the name.

Mr. Michael B——, with what he blindly considers scathing irony, compares *my* arguments in *Notes and Queries*, to some ingenious specimens of logic from the pen of Archbishop Whately. To be likened, even in joke, to so distinguished a logician, is a compliment I could have hardly expected from such a hostile quarter.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

WILLIAM JOHN FITZPATRICK.

P.S. There is one point, I had almost forgot to touch upon. Mr. "Justice" has taken great umbrage at my referring to Banim as "an Individual." It is an ignorant and vulgar error to consider the word "Individual" as conveying reproach, or expressing contempt. If it had any such appearance, however, I withdraw the expression, as nothing was further from my thoughts than to speak disparagingly of one of my most gifted countrymen. To refer to him as "that gentleman," would have a much more formal and affected sound. Lamb and Hazlitt's *London Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 671, speaking of Sir Walter Scott's connection with Blackwood, says, "this eminent *Individual* is known to have written some things for the Magazine in question." Again in the first page of Lockhart's *Memoirs of Scott*, "the public" are informed, "that they will know from good authority all they are entitled to know of an *Individual* who has contributed to their amusement."

No one entertains a higher respect for Banim's character, and genius than I do. If you be in the way of seeing the *Nation* newspaper, you will find a letter dated November 10th, signed by me, in which I reproached the Irish people for their apathetic feeling towards the memory of Banim and other gifted Irishmen, who toiled long and ably to purify the tone, and stimulate the growth of Irish literature.

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[The letter referred to by Mr. Fitzpatrick, breathes so kind and healthful a tone, that its extended circulation can do no harm, and may do good. In allusion to Clarence Maugan's *Recollections of Maturin*, published in the *Nation* of November 3rd, and which concluded with a declaration that "he knew not where the bones of poor Maturin repose," Mr. Fitzpatrick writes:—]

"Alas, it is only in Ireland that such utter oblivion of genius could be traced. By some he is completely unknown—by all, with few exceptions, forgotten. Of the strength and purity of Maturin's genius I have long been an humble admirer. In 1849—five-and-

twenty years after Maturin's death—I made various unsuccessful inquiries for the place of his interment. At length it was suggested that, having filled, while living, the office of curate to St. Peter's Church, his tomb would probably be found either within the walls of the old edifice or the adjacent graveyard. Aided by a friend, equally interested, I searched, but, until the sexton volunteered his services, we could discover no trace. Near the entrance gate, his grave was at length pointed out to us; and—can it be credited?—not even a plain head-stone marked the spot. An uninscribed flag surmounts the grave of Emmet—Maturin's has neither stone or epitaph!

Thirty-five years ago, the name of Maturin was on every second tongue. The diaries of Scott and Byron bear evidence of this. His presence was eagerly sought to dignify literary reunions, or lionize hilarious winter dinner parties. Edmund Kean flung his entire energy into the realization of the vast conceptions of Bertram, Manuel, and Monturio. If Maturin walked the streets of Dublin, every second person turned to stare;\* if he preached, the church would be crowded to an extent unknown since the days of Dean Kirwan. He is now dead, and, like Charles Lucas, Curran, O'Connell and Dr. Doyle—forgotten! Lord Monteagle of Brandon, touchingly and eloquently observed to me in a recent letter (*not* marked "private"), relative to the above mentioned Patriot Prelate of Kildare:—"Your observation is quite true, respecting the *rapid growth of forgetfulness* in this country, which, like the ivy which covers our ancient monuments, concealing their architectural beauty, hides also the virtuous actions of many of our best men. The noble and distinguished men who laboured with Grattan in forming our constitution, are all forgotten, Grattan himself but slightly remembered, Plunkett is almost unknown, and in passing through Waterford the other day, I was unable to find even a tablet bearing the honoured name of Newport. This is very sad, for the want of a feeling of active and enduring gratitude deprives us of those moral examples which would raise and dignify our country, and would exalt and improve the present generation."

And what has become of the gifted James Clarence Mangan, who mourned ten years ago, at the thought of Maturin having been forgotten. My friend, Mr. Hercules Ellis, who has edited a pleasing little volume, called "*Romances and Ballads of Ireland*," gives in its preface the following account of Mangan's end:—

"I had not been acquainted with Mangan except though the medium of his writings. I had never even seen him, when in the month of June, 1849, I was startled by a newspaper announcement, that the poet who had so long afforded me instruction and delight

\* His rapidly attained popularity as a Poet, would absolutely seem to have excited, in some degree, the jealousy of Moore, who records in his *Journal* of September 10th, 1820, the fact that during George the IV.'s visit to Ireland, "the cowardly Scholars of Dublin College took pains to avoid mentioning his (Moore's) name; and who, after a Speech of some Sir Noddy boasting of the poetical talent of Ireland, drank as the utmost they could venture, "*Maturin*, and the rising Poets of Erin."—W. J. F.



had just died in the Meath Hospital, associated with the most wretched outcasts of society, and indebted to a public charity for a bed and shelter, in his dying moments.

"I hastened to the Hospital to ascertain if this report were correct. There, for the first time, I beheld James Clarence Mangan. Wrapped in a winding sheet, and stretched upon the table of the Dead House, lay the poet, whose works had so long formed the theme of universal admiration, an attenuated corpse, wasted to a skeleton, by want, sickness, and misery, and despair."

Moore—the brilliant, sparkling Bard of Erin—read in the newspapers, the account of Mangan's death, and probably sighed as he thought of Ireland's ungrateful neglect of genius. Moore has now been dead some years, and where is the English tourist to look for that Testimonial to his memory, which everybody who read the proceedings at Charlemont House on March 31, 1852, imagined would have been erected before the expiration of the year? The English traveller in Ireland visits the old house in Aungier-street where Moore first drew breath—he gazes upon the grave of Emmet, "where cold and unhonoured his relics are laid"—he visits Avoca, than which "there is not in the wide world a valley so sweet,"—he stands upon the Hill of Tara, and imagines he hears the thrilling tones of the Irish Harp rushing through the Halls of Celtic Royalty.—he wanders along "Lough Neagh's banks," enraptured by the prospect, and ruminating mournfully on Moore's dead genius, once so bright and powerful—he goes, of course, to Killarney, lands on Innisfallen, "where erring man might hope to rest," beholds on every side the theme of Moore's grandest melodies, and can it be wondered that he asks reproachfully to be shewn the Testimonial to him, who gave to Ireland's history, wrongs, and beauty, a European fame.

Almost every continental town proudly displays in its grand square, or market place, the statue of whatever remarkable man was born there. Bonn has its Beethoven; Antwerp, its Rubens; Frankfurt, its Goethe; Paris, its Cuvier, and Moliere. Swift has been dead 110 years. Where is his statue? He left his property to endow a Dublin Hospital. Have we been grateful?

The cenotaph to Grattan should not be hidden in that gloomy monument of national depression—the once "Royal Exchange." Grattan, as an Irish patriot, is better worth a pedestal in Sackville-street, than Horatio Lord Nelson, as an English admiral. Let Dublin assert its dignity and gratitude. Has Scotland neglected to raise a colossal monument to Scott, in Edinburgh, to Motherwell, in Glasgow, or to Burns' genius, by the banks of the Doon? As to London, Mr. W. Savage Landor, in his recent appeal on behalf of the great-grand-son of Defoe, declares that the city is choked with statues—"Demagogues and adventurers, in brass tunics, at every street corner."

In 1843, O'Connell looked down in the zenith of his power, on the grateful adoring, millions who surged around him. Four

\* The Moore Committee, after a silence almost of years, have advertised a Meeting in Charlemont House, for Tuesday, February 12.—ED. J. Q. R

years after and the once all-powerful Tribune lay mouldering in Glanevin. No surging, uproarious multitude deluged his grave with tears. A solitary loiterer, perchance, paused to gaze. Quietude reigned unbroken throughout the city of the dead. Within its walls thousands who had often cheered O'Connell, lay cold themselves. Without, the living people slumbered in the apathy of a false prosperity. For years no effort was made to raise a stone over O'Connell!

Does Ireland know that her greatest male novelist is John Banim? Is she aware that in England he is styled "the Hibernian Scott?" Can she read, unmoved, the following appeal from Banim's Biographer?—"When dying, he said, I have only one request now—lay me so that I may be nearest to my mother—with my left side northward. And so they buried him more than twelve years ago, and so for twelve years he has lain without stone or monument to mark his grave. Thomas Hood died in 1845, he has a public monument. Mour, *Blackwood's* 'Delta,' died in 1851—he has a public monument. Have these examples of public gratitude no teaching for Irishmen? Must Michael Banim drag from his own small funds, the money to purchase a tombstone for John Banim's grave?"

Maria Edgeworth was the greatest of Irish female novelists. It was her example that stimulated into action the pen of Walter Scott. How long will Ireland take to consider that some monumental memorial of her services, would, while dignifying the land, show we can appreciate native greatness.

The remains of Gerald Griffin, unlike Banim's, *have* been honoured not only with a head-stone, but an inscription. Few know where to find it. A friend, who from his youth has been an ardent admirer of the intellect that produced "The Collegians," lately wrote to me from Cork to say, that sauntering through the north monastery he found in a small cemetery containing six tombs—poor Griffin's simple shrine. Sad to say, that were it not for the Christian Brothers whom he died among, he would probably still be without one. The inscription is simply, "Brother Gerald Joseph Griffin, died June 12, 1840, aged 36 years.—May he rest in peace. Amen."

I call upon the Irish newspaper press to arouse the people from their worse than stupid lethargy, which like rust on a bright metallic body, the longer it is suffered to continue, the thicker, and intenser, must become, its corrosive, overwhelming nature!"—W. J. F.

November 10th, 1855.

Since Mr. Fitzpatrick's letter appeared, we are glad to see that a considerable effort has been made by the Bar, to raise some fitting monumental testimonial to the memory of William Conyngham Lord Plunkett. We hope that a prolonged slumber may not succeed—as it too often does in Ireland—this national and commendable effort. The Bar meeting—brightened by the auspices of Napier, Staples, O'Hagan, Butt, and Brewster—was held on Tuesday, November 27th. We have heard nothing of their generous project since.—Ed.

## ART. IV.—NOVELS AND NOVELISTS.

*The Priest's Niece ; or, the Heirship of Barnulph.* By the Author of "Lionel Deerhurst." Three Vols. Second Edition. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1855.

WHO is there that has not at some period of, if not all through, his life, delighted in the creations of the novelist ; or lived a bright hour of elysium amidst the fancies of the romancist. The child begins his romance reading with *Gulliver*, and *Cru-soe*, and *The Giant Killer* ; the school-boy steals away from the frequented play-ground to revel, in the seclusion of some quiet haunt, over the wonders of that ever wondrous book, that concentration of all "Romance and Fairy Fable."—*The Arabian Nights*,—and so, as years pass on, the boy becomes a man, and the novel becomes still dearer, for fair young faces and bright eyes, showing every change of thought and feeling are bending over its pages with him ; and then, as other years roll away, and gray hairs are marking the course of time, he still, with a fresh heart, turns to the volumes loved in past-by days, and feels, as John Dunlop, in his *History of Fiction*, truly observes, that "life has few things better, than sitting at the chimney-corner in a winter evening, after a well spent day, and reading an interesting romance or novel."

What Dunlop thus wrote, forty-two years ago, was true of his age ; it was true in every age since the invention of printing ; from that epoch, fiction has been the solace of the weary, the soother of the sick, the refuge of those whom the "coy dame," sleep deserts. Chaucer tells us :—

"Upon my bed I sate upright ;  
A Romaunce, and he me it took  
To read and drive the night away :—"

and the "Romaunce," with which he thus forgot his sleeplessness, and drove the night away, was composed of—

"Fables  
That clerkis had, in old time,  
And other poets, put in rhyme—"

it was Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

And yet, through all the changes of all the years since the epoch of printing, it is interesting to observe how thoroughly, and how thoroughly, the spirit of each age is represented by its romantic literature. We find proofs of this assertion in every romance, from those preserved by Tressan in his *Corps d'Extraits de Romans de Chevalerie*, to Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*; from Vasco de Lobeira's *Amadis de Gaul* to Lord Berners' *Chevalier de la Cygne*; in Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrea* and in Sir Philip Sydney's *Arcadia*; from Fielding and Goldsmith to Dickens and Thackeray; from Miss Burney to Mrs. Trollope. In all the works of all these writers we see the taste and mould of their time, in all the phases of its literary taste, always following, never leading; and declaring, with their brethren of the stage, that

"——they who live to please, must please to live."

Novels, and fiction generally, being thus so widely and extensively admired in all ages, it seems strange that in this, the most reading era of all, the demand should not have had its usual effect, the creation of a supply of the best material. Doubtless we have romances of every order and division of subject, from Reynolds' *Mysteries of the Court*, to Macaulay's *History of England*; from Mrs. Ellis's *Mothers, Wives, Daughters*, and relatives generally, and with a high, and frightfully moral purpose, to Cardinal Wiseman's *Last Days of Pompeii*, and water-novel, *Fabiola*. Dr. Cumming romances about the religious present, and the Cardinal romances about the Christian past. True it is, that the servant-maid has her *London Journal*, and the maid's mistress has her *Little Dorrit*; the servant-man has his *Joseph Price* and his *Reynolds' Miscellany*, just as the master has his *Newcomes* and his *Bell's Life*: there is great demand and vast supply, but, does the supply prove that, amidst all our writers of fiction, moral or immoral, religious or profane, grave or comic, we possess a single GREAT NOVELIST? Aurelia Murphy, fresh from a "good cry," over the loves of the impossible *Copperfield*, and the liliputian *Dora* with the curls, and the lap-dog with the ears, exclaims, "yes, Dickens." Augustus Mallowney, of the Sallynoggin Fencibles, who fancies himself quite a "heavy" of the *Rawdon Crawley* school, shouts, "I believe you, my boy, Thackeray is the ticket." Young Casey, who is a scholar in the Catholic University, cries, "yes, the Cardinal, who is great in everything, is a great novelist,

although he will not describe the charms of his heroine ;" the Rev. Patrick Muldon, late R. C. C. in Connaught, now a light of the Priests' Protection Society, thunders, "yes, Lever, and the author of *Poor Paddy's Cabin*, are great authors ;" the routé, remembering the seduction-made-easy of *Ernest Maltraversa*, declares for Bulwer ; the fashionable young wife votes for Mrs. Gore ; whilst the bitter, coarse sarcasm of Mrs. Trollope finds a warm supporter in the hopeless old maid, or the superannuated dowager.

We have here endeavoured to indicate, by types of each class of readers, the phases of mind by which each class is swayed in forming an opinion of its favorite novelist. But if these opinions, grounded only on the degree of amusement, or mere mental distraction from thoughtful self-recollection, always a burthen to the great mass of the frivolous or the careless, be taken as the standard of merit in a writer of fiction, then the poorest trash of the circulating library must be admitted as excellent,—*Ivanhoe* must give place to *The Coral Island*, and *The History of a Foundling* must make room for *The History of a Servant Maid*.

But we protest against this substitution of feeling for judgment ; this species of criticism worthy only a school-girl, who skips all the descriptive and reflective passages, and who, arriving at the midst of the second volume, passes to the conclusion of the third to anticipate the denouement.

Doubtless, it may be aids, a novel is only meant to amuse. We admit, if it make you forget the passing of time ; if you are quite astonished by the announcement of dinner ; if you are forced to abandon your after dinner nap in your anxiety to follow the novelist through his fancy-created world, all these things prove that the novel interests you, but it does not prove the writer of the fiction a great novelist.

What is a great novelist ? One who, selecting his plot with care and deliberation, selects one adapted to his own peculiar genius for developement, and execution, and completion. One who, having selected his plot, proceeds with it, naturally, to the end. One whose characters are the real men and women of the period in which the action of the tale is laid. They must be the flesh and blood of their time ; they must not be the quips of the author's brain if comic characters ; they must not be his dream-children if pathetic : the light of life must be about each prominent character, and the denouement must

not be unnatural or forced, for the sake of producing a clap-trap, melo-dramatic finale. To write thus, and to excite wonder, pleasure, interest and admiration, is to be a great novelist : to do this is to make for one's self more slaves and puppets to one's will, than ever bent before the throne of emperor or of despot : to accomplish this is to render one's-self the "cynosure of all eyes," to prove how truly Jules Janin has observed, "Si on annonçerait Monsieur de Balzac et Monsieur le Duc de Montmorency dans un salon, on regarderait Monsieur de Balzac." To become such a man as this is no mean ambition ; it must be achieved, without such support as the painter with his colors, or the dramatist with his actor, can bring to his aid ; "it is," writes Sir Walter, "the object of the novel-writer, to place before the reader as full and accurate a representation of the events which he relates, as can be done, by the mere force of an excited imagination, without the assistance of material objects. His sole appeal is made to the world of fancy, and of ideas, and in this consists his strength and his weakness, his poverty and his wealth."

If we considered the novelist as little more than a "diverting vagabond," we need not thus write of his position or of his qualifications ; but, when we ask, as we have asked, do we possess a GREAT NOVELIST, it is right that we should declare, as we have declared, what we consider a great novelist to be ; and this more especially when we remember the hold, firm and long placed, which some of our so called great novelists have upon the minds of a vast number of the reading public of these Kingdoms.

Take, for example, Dickens and Thackeray. Three years ago it was written, in our mind correctly, in this Review :—"It has been said, that Alphonse Karr is a French Charles Dickens ; the observation is sufficiently just, in its estimate of the genius of the former, provided we understand it as applying to the first works of Dickens, written before money, ease, fame, and the critics, had spoiled him. Karr describes nature as she is. His men and women are not caricatures of humanity, or the embodied quips and whimsies of a man of genius ; his children are not beautiful monstrosities, guiding their grandfathers through the country, or, whilst sitting in a go-car, hearing voices in the waves of the ocean. Karr never reproduces his successful creations. Having drawn a *Tom Pinch*, he would not recall him in a *Prince Thwack* ; having suc-

ceeded in a *Snowley*, and a *Stiggins*, he would not revive them in a *Chadband*; having painted the *Cheeryble Brothers*, he would not produce the "two single gentlemen rolled into one," as a *Jarndyce*; having drawn a *Mrs Dombey*, he would not half revive her as a *Lady Dedlock*; having succeeded in a *Chuffy*, he would not galvanise him in a *Mrs. Smallweed*; having painted a *Pecksniff*, he would not reproduce him, weak and sketchy, in a *Skimpole*; having to describe a nobleman, he would not habitually represent him as a fool, or as a scoundrel, a *Sir Mulberry Hawk*, or a *Lord Verisophl*, a *Sir John Chester*, a *Lord Feenix*, or a *Sir Leicester Dedlock*. Having joined the noble profession of the law, he would not pander to the taste of the ignorant, by representing its practise as little more honest than that of the pickpocket, or the charlatan; he would not render his book interesting to those readers, by representing all the abuses of his profession, those productions of time—whilst he never described the advantages of the system. If Karr were to write a history, or, 'a Child's History,' he would not take advantage of his position to perpetuate every error, to slander a noble but unfortunate nation, and would not barter truth for popularity, or cover profound ignorance by reckless assumption. Karr never outsteps the boundary of nature; he carries his plot through to the end, and never attempts to gain our sympathy by detailing the loves of a burglar and a strumpet; he never makes the chief interest of a portion of his plot turn upon a case of seduction, and if he did so, would not paint a victim ruined by such arts as must have failed, unless the unfortunate had been a maundering idiot, or half corrupted and half willing; he never describes a woman flying with a man she hates, for the purpose solely of vexing her husband. Alphonse Karr has no *Bill Sykes*, or his trull *Nancy*; he has no *Steerforth* and *Emily*; he has no *Carker* and *Mrs. Dombey*. In his religion there is no cant, nor is there an anxiety to represent a clergyman as a well meaning poetising dreamer, or as a stupid prosing preacher, whose sermons act as 'a mild dose of opium.' For the sacred Redeemer of the world, Alphonse Karr has other, and truer, and more defined titles than 'He,' or 'Him,' with a capital H; and he never, like Dickens, leaves us in doubt as to whether the writer is to be looked upon as very affected in his style, and considered as an ordinary believer, or as one who glories in that belief, which is but a hair's breadth removed from unbec-

lief—Unitarianism. With Karr, a church is a place raised for the worship of God, not a house in which we are to criticise our neighbours, and to cry down the preacher, forgetful of the moralist's thought—

'The worst speak something good. If all want sense,  
God takes a text and preacheth patience.  
He that gets patience and the blessing which  
Preachers conclude with, hath not lost his pains.'

It was the complaint of Jeremy Taylor to Lord Carbery, that he 'had lived to see religion painted upon banners, and thrust out of churches, and the temple turned into a tabernacle, and the tabernacle made ambulatory.' Had he lived till now, he would find all the errors we have pointed out, committed frequently by Mr. Charles Dickens, and would discern that, according to him, religion dwells in woods and fields, in the breasts of peasants and elderly gentlemen of the middle classes, and in the bosoms of impossible children. He would learn, too, that religion is still ambulatory, or peripatetic, that every man is his own tabernacle, and that all worship best in 'The Great Cathedral of Nature!' These are the distinguishing characteristics of Mr. Dickens's late works, and, therefore, we consider that Alphonse Karr is not a French Charles Dickens; in our judgment, he is, in his truth and fidelity in painting life and nature, a French Oliver Goldsmith. We do not write thus through any great personal regard for Alphonse Karr, but although we cannot consider him a Charles Dickens, yet we look upon him as something more than a *French* Charles Dickens,—we believe that the genius of the Author of *Pickwick* is as brilliant as ever; his faults spring from his knowledge of, and from his trading upon, the old regards and recollections of his readers."

These observations were true when written, during the publication of *Bleak House*, whilst the conclusion of that work, and a close examination of the other volumes issued previous to that period, have not only strengthened, but fully confirmed the estimate of Mr. Dickens' powers above inserted. He has not written, and we believe never will write a work of fiction, entitling him to the appellation of a great novelist. That he draws individual characters most admirably none can admit, more freely and more gratefully, than do we; but he fails, utterly and wofully, in the combination of characters, and in that harmonious working of plot and under plot, in



which the real art of the great novelist undoubtedly consists. The *Sketches by Boz*, and the collection of sketches known as *The Pickwick Papers*, shew the full strength of Dickens' genius : give him a pathetic, or a whimsical, or a grotesque, or a burlesque, or a peculiar character, or one to stand in relief, as a study, and no man living can excel Dickens in the portraiture : but let this character form one of a series comprised in a work of fiction, and whilst it may, and will, save the work from forgetfulness, it will the more surely prove how little claim Dickens has to the fame of a great novelist, even though it may entitle him to the reputation of being the first living sketcher of character. Do we remember *Nickleby*, or *Chuzzlewit*, or *Copperfield*, or *Bleak House*, or the *Old Curiosity Shop*, for their plots or stories? Even *Dombey* and *Bleak House*, the only tales of the entire set in which a plot is even attempted to be carried out, are weak and spiritless, and unnatural. As to *Dombey*, *Carker's* proposed seduction of, and hide-and-seek elopement with *Mrs. Dombey*, and its futile conclusion, with *Carker's* calling her names, and thumping the table—are about the poorest and most unnatural, and most ridiculous things in the whole range of English literature. Referring to this character, *Carker*, when at an early stage of serial development, and referring also to Dickens' knack of changing the whole natural disposition of his actors as the tale proceeds, Lord Jeffrey wrote to him :—

"Perhaps I hate *Carker* even more, already ; so much, indeed, that it would be a relief to me if you could do without him. And I must tell you, too, that I think him the least natural of all the characters you have ever exhibited (for I do not consider *Quilp*, or *Dick Swiveller*, as at all out of nature) ; but it seems to me that a Knight Templar in the disguise of a waiter, is not a more extravagant fiction, than a man of high gifts and rare accomplishments, bred and working hard every day as a subordinate manager or head clerk in a merchant's counting-house. One might pass his extreme wickedness and malignity, though they, too, are quite above his position ; but the genius and attainments, the manners and scope of thought, do strike me as not reconcilable with anything one has yet heard of his history, or seen of his occupations. But I must submit, I see, to take a great interest in him, and only hope you will not end by making me love him too."<sup>2</sup>

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\* See Life of Lord Jeffrey, Vol. II. p. 427.

But, though we cannot admire the books above named for their plots, we do admire them for the beautiful, or whimsical, though often unnatural creations which they contain. It is this very admiration for them which has too frequently rendered Mr Dickens' friends forgetful of the many defects of his works; and thus, confirmed in his strength and in his weakness, he has grown the spoiled pet of the public. And who can wonder at it, when we find Jeffrey writing thus to him in, 1847:—

"You have the force and the nature of Scott in his pathetic parts, without his occasional coarseness and wordiness; and the searching disclosure of inward agonies of Byron, without a trait of his wickedness."\*

"The force and nature of Scott"—The force of *Flora Mac Ivor*, of *Rob Roy*; of *Jeanie Deans*, of *Burley*, of a dozen others; the nature of *The Basilie*, "rest and bless him," of *Andrew Fairfairs*, of *Magnus Troil*, of *The Antiquary*, of *Louis the XL*, of *Dalgetty*, of *Caleb Balderstone*: Dickens said to have "force and nature," to draw characters like these! "The searching disclosure of inward agonies of Byron;" let us think of the *Prisoner of Chillon*, of *Alp the Renegade*, of fifty passages in *Childe Harold*, of *The Dream*, and above all, of the serious portions of *Don Juan*, and then, what can we believe of the critic, who declared to Dickens, that he, Dickens, possessed "the force and nature of Scott," "the searching disclosure of inward agonies of Byron!" What could Jeffrey have meant? Would he have preferred the flattering of a London sparrow to the soaring flight of a mountain eagle? Would he set the *Cherrybloss Brothers* against *Oldbuck*? *Mark Tapley* against *Caleb Balderstone*? Would he—but to continue the reil is absurd, a sketcher can never be enrolled amongst the great masters; a Rembrandt outline is never put in competition with a picture of Titian's, and therefore, and for all the foregoing reasons, we cannot consider Charles Dickens a GREAT NOVELIST.

And now, with powers weakened, with fancy fading, seeking in new scenes, and strange lands, and popular topics, for materials which genius should supply, or gather from the old and best known world of home, who can declare that Charles Dickens

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\* See Life of Lord Jeffrey, Vol. II., p. 429.

will ever again produce fictions worthy of his old reputation, even though we may not consider them as proving him to possess "The force and nature of Scott, the searching disclosure of inward agonies of Byron."

Is Thackeray a GREAT NOVELIST? Will he ever be a great novelist? No. A great novelist never outsteps the boundary of nature; he never mingles the comic and the burlesque. In the dissection of the human feelings he sees healthful as well as diseased structures, and in leading his readers onwards to a knowledge of the heart's various workings, he shews its beauties, its graces, its goodness, and its evils, and thus, though comprised in his system of teaching, morbid anatomy does not compose the chief portion of the text-book.

We believe that Thackeray excels Dickens in the structure of his plots, although often careless, and frequently forgetful of his earlier scenes and shadings of character. His men are inimitable—good as Fielding's—real genuine men, with the stamp of the world, and self, and nature about them; no body loves them, but who would love one-tenth the men he knows if he knew them as the novelist can show them? His women, too, are sharper in petticoats, or enduring, patient, loving creatures; hence the dislike that most female readers express to Thackeray's novels. *Tom Pinch* is preferred to *Major Dobbin*, *Agnes* to *Laura Bell*, *David Copperfield* to *Pendennis*, *Sir John Chester* to *Major Pendennis*, *Mrs. Dombey* to *Edith Newcome*, *Mrs. Skewton* to *Lady Kew*, and *Steerforth* to *Rasdon Crawley*. But is this a fair judgment? are we to prefer a fancy picture to an accurate portrait? We may regret that Thackeray prefers the demonstration of morbid to healthy anatomy, but we must admit that, in his peculiar branch of psychological anatomy, he is always accurate and just. Most men are like his men; most women as his women; and surely it is better he should paint men and women as they are, than represent the former as we have them from Dickens, beautiful fancy sketches or distorted caricatures; or the latter, as the authoress of *Jane Eyre* portrayed them—mental hermaphrodites.

As we have above observed, Thackeray frequently forgets that the comic and the burlesque are separate and distinct, that one should never be permitted to mingle with the other. This is a serious fault, a fault which often disfigures the writings of both Thackeray and Dickens. And yet, more than one

hundred years ago, the distinction between the comic and the burlesque was very clearly indicated, and with his usual aptness of illustration, by Henry Fielding, who, in the preface to *Joseph Andrews*, thus writes:—

“The Epic, as well as the Drama, is divided into tragedy and comedy. Homer, who was the father of this species of poetry, gave us a pattern of both these, though that of the latter kind is entirely lost; which Aristotle tells us bore the same relation to comedy which his *Iliad* bears to tragedy. And perhaps, that we have no more instances of it among the writers of antiquity, is owing to the loss of this great pattern, which, had it survived, would have found its imitators equally with the other poems of this great original.

And farther, as this poetry may be tragic or comic, I will not scruple to say it may be likewise either in verse or prose; for though it wants one particular, which the critic enumerates in the constituent parts of an epic poem, namely metre; yet when any kind of writing contains all its other parts, such as fable, action, characters, sentiments, and diction, and is deficient in metre only; it seems, I think, reasonable to refer it to the epic; at least, as no critic had thought proper to range it under any other head, or to assign it a particular name to itself.

Thus the *Telemachus* of the Archbishop of Cambray appears to me of the epic kind, as well as the *Odyssey* of Homer: indeed it is much fairer and more reasonable to give it a name common with that species from which it differs only in a single instance, than to confound it with those which it resembles in no other. Such are those voluminous works commonly called Romances, namely, *Clelia*, *Cleopatra*, *Astræa*, *Cassandra*, the *Grand Cyrus*, and innumerable others, which contain, as I apprehend, very little instruction and entertainment.

Now a comic romance is a comic epic poem in prose; differing from comedy, as the serious epic from tragedy; its action being more extended and comprehensive; containing a much larger circle of incidents, and introducing a greater variety of characters. It differs from the serious romance in its fable and action, in this, that as in the one these are grave and solemn, so in the other they are light and ridiculous: it differs in its characters, by introducing persons of inferior rank, and consequently of inferior manners; whereas the grave romance sets the highest before us: lastly, in its sentiments and diction, by preserving the ludicrous instead of the sublime. In the diction, I think, burlesque itself may be sometimes admitted; of which many instances will occur in this work, as in the description of the battles, and some other places not necessary to be pointed out to the classical reader, for whose entertainment those parodies or burlesque imitations are chiefly calculated.

But though we have sometimes admitted this in our diction, we have carefully excluded it from our sentiments and characters; for there it is never properly introduced, unless in writings of the burlesque kind, which this is not intended to be. Indeed, no two

species of writing can differ more widely than the comic and the burlesque: for as the latter is ever the exhibition of what is monstrous and unnatural, and where our delight, if we examine it, arises from the surprising absurdity, as in appropriating the manners of the highest to the lowest, or *e converso*; so in the former, we should ever confine ourselves strictly to nature, from the just imitation of which will flow all the pleasure we can this way convey to a sensible reader. And perhaps there is one reason why a comic writer should of all others be the least excused for deviating from nature, since it may not be always so easy for a serious poet to meet with the great and the admirable; but life everywhere furnishes an accurate observer with the ridiculous.

I have hinted this little concerning burlesque; because I have often heard that name given to performances, which have been truly of the comic kind, from the author's having sometimes admitted it in his diction only; which, as it is the dress of poetry, doth, like the dress of men, establish characters, (the one of the whole poem, and the other of the whole man,) in vulgar opinion beyond any of their greater excellencies: but surely a certain drollery in style, where the characters and sentiments are perfectly natural, no more constitutes the burlesque, than an empty pomp and dignity of words, where every thing else is mean and low, can entitle any performance to the appellation of the true sublime.

And I apprehend my Lord Shaftsbury's opinion of mere burlesque agrees with mine, when he asserts, there is no such thing to be found in the writings of the Ancients. But, perhaps, I have less abhorrence than he professes for it: and that not because I have had some little success on the stage this way, but rather as it contributes more to exquisite mirth and laughter than any other; and these are probably more wholesome physic for the mind, and conduce better to purge away spleen, melancholy, and ill affections, than is generally imagined. Nay, I will appeal to common observation, whether the same companies are not found more full of good humour and benevolence, after they have been sweetened for two or three hours with entertainments of this kind, than when soured by tragedy or a grave lecture.

But to illustrate all this by another science, in which, perhaps, we shall see the distinction more clearly and plainly; let us examine the works of a comic history painter with those performances which the Italians call *Caricatura*; where we shall find the true excellence of the former to consist in the exactest copying of nature; insomuch that a judicious eye instantly rejects any thing *outré*, any liberty which the painter hath taken with the features of that *alma mater*:—whereas, in the *Caricatura*, we allow all licence. Its aim is to exhibit monsters, not men; and all distortions and exaggerations whatever are within its proper province.

Now, what *Caricatura* is in painting, Burlesque is in writing; and in the same manner the comic writer and painter correlate to each other. And here I shall observe, that as in the former the painter seems to have the advantage, so it is in the latter infinitely on the side of the writer: for the monstrous is much easier to paint than to describe, and the ridiculous to describe than paint.

And though, perhaps, the latter species doth not in either science so strongly affect and agitate the muscles as the other; yet it will be owned, I believe, that a more rational and useful pleasure arises to us from it. He who should call the ingenious Hogarth a burlesque painter, would, in my opinion, do him very little honour: for sure it is much easier, much less the subject of admiration, to paint a man with a nose, or any other feature, of a preposterous size, or to expose him in some absurd or monstrous attitude, than to express the affections of men on canvas. It had been thought a vast commendation of a painter, to say his figures seem to breathe; but surely it is a much greater and nobler applause that they appear to think.

But to return.—The Ridiculous only, as I have said before, falls within my province in the present work.—Nor will some explanation of this word be thought impertinent by the reader, if he considers how wonderfully it hath been mistaken, even by writers who have professed it: for to what but such a mistake can we attribute the many attempts to ridicule the blackest villainies, and, what is yet worse, the most dreadful calamities? What could exceed the absurdity of an author, who should write the comedy of Nero with the merry incident of ripping up his mother's belly; or what would give a greater shock to humanity, than an attempt to expose the miseries of poverty and distress to ridicule? And yet, the reader will not want much learning to suggest such instances to himself.

Besides, it may seem remarkable, that Aristotle, who is so fond and free of definitions, hath not thought proper to define the Ridiculous. Indeed, where he tells us it is proper to comedy, he hath remarked that villainy is not its object: but he hath not, as I remember, positively asserted what is. Nor doth the Abbe Bellegarde, who hath written a treatise on this subject, though he shows us many species of it, once trace it to its fountain.

The only source of the true Ridiculous (as it appears to me), is affectation. But though it rises from one spring only, when we consider the infinite streams into which this one branches, we shall presently cease to admire at the copious field it affords to an observer. Now affectation proceeds from one of these two causes; vanity or hypocrisy: for as vanity puts us on affecting false characters, in order to purchase applause; so hypocrisy sets us on an endeavour to avoid censure, by concealing our vices under an appearance of their opposite virtues. And though these two causes are often confounded (for there is some difficulty in distinguishing them), yet, as they proceed from very different motives, so they are as clearly distinct in their operations: for, indeed, the affectation which arises from vanity is nearer to truth than the other; as it hath not that violent repugnancy of nature to struggle with, which that of the hypocrite hath. It may be likewise noted, that affectation doth not imply an absolute negation of those qualities which are affected: and therefore, though when it proceeds from hypocrisy it be nearly allied to deceit, yet when it comes from vanity only, it partakes of the nature of ostentation: for instance, the affectation of liberality in a vain

man, differs visibly from the same affectation in the avaricious ; for though the vain man is not what he would appear, or hath not the virtue he affects, to the degree he would be thought to have it ; yet it sits less awkwardly on him than on the avaricious man, who is the very reverse of what he would seem to be.

From the discovery of this affectation arises the Ridiculous— which always strikes the reader with surprise and pleasure ; and that in a higher and stronger degree when the affectation arises from hypocrisy, than when from vanity ; for, to discover any one to be the exact reverse of what he affects, is more surprising, and consequently more ridiculous, than to find him a little deficient in the quality he desires the reputation of. I might observe, that our Ben Jonson, who of all men understood the Ridiculous the best, hath chiefly used the hypocritical affectation.

Now from affectation only, the misfortunes and calamities of life, or the imperfections of nature, may become the objects of ridicule. Surely he hath a very ill framed mind, who can look on ugliness, infirmity, or poverty, as ridiculous in themselves : nor do I believe any man living, who meets a dirty fellow riding through the streets in a cart, is struck with an idea of the Ridiculous from it ; but if he should see the same figure descend from his coach and six, or bolt from his chair with his hat under his arm, he would then begin to laugh, and with justice. In the same manner, were we to enter a poor house, and behold a wretched family shivering with cold, and languishing with hunger, it would not incline us to laughter (at least we must have very diabolical natures if it would) : but should we discover there a grate, instead of coals, adorned with flowers, empty plate or china dishes on the sideboard, or any other affectation of riches and finery either on their persons or in their furniture ; we might then indeed be excused for ridiculing so fantastical an appearance. Much less are natural imperfections the object of derision : but when ugliness aims at the applause of beauty, or lameness endeavours to display agility, it is then that these unfortunate circumstances, which at first moved our compassion, tend only to raise our mirth.

The poet carries this very far ;

None are, for being what they are, in fault,  
But for not being what they would be thought.

Where, if the metre would suffer the word Ridiculous to close the first line, the thought would be rather more proper. Great vices are the proper objects of our detestation, smaller faults of our pity : but affectation appears to me the only true source of the Ridiculous.

But perhaps it may be objected to me, that I have against my own rules introduced vices, and of a very black kind, in this work. To which I shall answer, first, that it is very difficult to pursue a series of human actions, and keep clear from them. Secondly, that the vices to be found here, are rather the accidental consequences of some human frailty or foible, than causes habitually existing in the mind. Thirdly, that they are never set forth as the objects of

ridicule, but detestation. Fourthly, that they are never the principal figure at that time on the scene; and lastly, they never produce the intended evil."

These are admirable hints: one wonders that the two novelists of our age, who owe much, *very* much, to Fielding, should have forgotten them, and forgotten likewise the examples furnished by their great master—but then, he was a **GREAT NOVELIST**, and they are only great sketchers of character, and drawers of humorous caricatures. Fielding's mastership is in nothing more clearly shewn than in the great number of characters introduced in his fictions, and yet each of these characters is pertinent to the tale; each has his own peculiar office, tending to the developement of the denouement: he is always in his place: never forgotten, never killed off before his time;—he is never like the brass nail in the back of the bellows—for ornament. But of which of Dickens' stories can this be said? In not a few of Thackeray's novels can it be declared as the characteristic. In this respect Thackeray's and Dickens' management of their people remind us of *Lady Townley*,—"O!" cries her ladyship, "Ten thousand guineas, O! the charming sum! what infinite pretty things might a woman of spirit do with ten thousand guineas, O! my conscience, if she were a woman of true spirit—she—she might lose 'em all again." Thus it is that Dickens always, and Thackeray occasionally, act:—they have the characters with the "ten thousand guineas," but like careless, spoiled men of spirit they—"lose 'em all again," after having had the trouble of creating them. This, in our mind, is Dickens' misfortune, not his fault, as his genius is not comprehensive enough to embrace all the continuous incidents forming a novel; but, it is clearly Thackeray's fault, and he is therefore less excusable for not taking up, at once, his position amongst the **GREAT NOVELISTS** of England.

But have we a **GREAT NOVELIST** now? Do the latest of Bulwer Lytton's works, *The Cartons* and *My Novel*, shew that he, best known, and the most generally praised of all our writers of fiction, is the Laureate of the living English novelists. We think so, but yet to be the chief of our living novelists is not to be a **GREAT NOVELIST**. Doubtless the two books above named are admirable, superior to the author's usual style; but they owe much to Fielding, much to Smollett, much



to Sterne, much to Goethe, yet withal, they owe a vast deal to the genius, the fancy, and the eloquence of, as Thackeray used to call him, the "celebrated literary Barnet."

However, as we are not writing a history of this age's fiction, we shall not pursue this disquisition farther: we may safely affirm, that, although we have no GREAT NOVELIST, yet we possess more novelists of a second rank, and higher in all the qualifications of their craft than any other period could supply since the invention of printing. Mrs. Trollope, James, Mrs. Gore, Julia Kavanagh, Reid, Wilkie Collins, Lever, Kingsley, Whyte, three authors whom *Blackwood's Magazine* has introduced during the last five years, the authoress of *Mary Barton*, with a dozen others, any one of whom is equal to a score of the novelists, save of the very first-class, of other times, and then last, certainly not least, we have the author of the book before us.

*The Priest's Niece*, has unfortunately, a most deceptive title, and one most ill-chosen. It "takes" a Protestant reader, who is disappointed at finding that it has nothing about cloisters, or convents, in the Maria Monk style: Roman Catholics looking at the book, and being alarmed, or prejudiced by the name, will throw it aside, or will read it in an antagonistic spirit; whilst the mere circulating library haunter, who has been so frequently deceived by the titles of books, will think to himself, as he ponders on the name, *The Priest's Niece*,—

"His gran' aunt was once King of Connaught,  
His Mother Viceroy of Tralee,  
Priests' Nieces, but sure they're in Heaven,  
An' his faylins is nothin' to me."

Yet this work is a good novel: full of incident, of invention, of bright flashes of genius, of descriptive power rarely excelled in these days, and placing before us the fair land of Spain, the varying scenery of Scotland, "the summer isles," the "knots of Paradise," at "the gateways of the day," and Ireland, too, has been sketched by our Author. The dialogue is good, worthy the other portions of the story; and considering the work as a whole, and judging it by the best of our modern novels, it deserves the success it has achieved, by arriving at a second edition, within five months of its publication.

It is not our custom to give extracts from novels, and indeed in this particular instance it would be impossible to do

so with justice to the Author, who has that true talent of the genuine novelist, by which he is enabled to ingraft scene upon scene, to involve character with character so intimately, and so closely, that not a chapter can be extracted without injury to the story.

We hope soon again to find a work from the pen of the Author of *The Priest's Niece* before us, but we hope too, to find it with a less excitable title. A writer, such as this, with ability of the highest order, with invention, quickness of thought, and great power of observation may, and is, bound, to depend on his knowledge of the heart, of life and of the world: the heart, life, and the world are wide enough in their range of thoughts, of manners, and of feelings; out of such materials then this Author can create forms of beauty, or strength, or passion; but these creations must be works of time, and formed with the perfection of elaboration. We earnestly hope that neither the request of friends, nor the golden goadings of publishers will induce this writer to damage, or jeopardise a reputation already more than half made; the pen too, which has thus been graced, should never be envenomed or stained by the recital of a tale hurtful to the feelings of the professors of any religion. The heart is the property of the novelist; with it, and the world, alone has he to deal, and if from these he cannot form his story he is not a novelist. If the Author of *The Priest's Niece* will but observe these rules, he will produce fictions worthy his genius, and worthy his reputation; and though he may never achieve the glory of a GREAT NOVELIST, he will, at all events, reach the reputation, the highest any now living can claim, of a good novelist.

ART. V.—WAR AND PEACE.—PEACE AND WAR.

1. *Army, Navy, and Ordnance Estimates and Annual Finance Accounts, Great Britain and Ireland, Session 1855-56.*
2. *General Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
3. *Statistique, Politique, et Morale de la France*, Par Le Chevalier F. de Tapies.
4. *French Parliamentary Accounts, Ministry of War, Marine and Finance, 1854-55; and Reports to the Emperor, 1856.*
5. *Russia.* By J. S. de Köhl and other writers.

Various Papers and Reports to the Board of Trade, on the Commercial Tariffs, and Regulations, &c., &c., of Foreign Countries, and Military and Financial Statistics of the same.

Rumours have been rife and multiform this last autumn and early winter in the various bulletins from the seat of war in the East, and have been as disappointing as they were rife. In the physical world every one has observed the effect of great heats in raising exhalations, and in the moral world analogous causes have as commonly and as certainly been found to produce analogous effects. The fervid excitement into which the public mind was thrown by the occurrences of the 8th of September, has exhaled a cloud of imaginings now taking one shape, now another, but all finally melting into thin air, or to speak more appropriately, ending in smoke!

The victory of the Allies was immediately to be followed up. The Russians, driven from the southern shore of the inlet of Sebastopol, were but pausing for a breathing space, ere continuing their northward flight, and evacuating the Crimea. The generals of France and England were combining and preparing for another "masterly flank-march" that was to turn and render untenable the new position of their discomfited foe. A mighty and motley host of English, French, Turks, and Sardinians was gathering at Eupatoria, soon to march southwards from thence, and place the disheartened and beaten legions

of Prince Menschikoff between two fires ! And finally, however it was brought about, those legions were assuredly on the point of throwing down their arms in despair, and surrendering at discretion !

To say that nothing of all this has been realized is but repeating what everybody knows and everybody grumbles at. The "enterprizes of great pith and moment" of which the public mind had conceived such expectations, in its double excitement of gratification at the fall of Sebastopol, and of mortification at the more prominent and effective part in its capture, performed by the French over that of our own gallant but badly generated army, did either become so "sicklied over by the pale cast of thought," as to lose the name of action, or else were never seriously intended. Our valiant enemy has not confessed by word, or shewn by act, that he was discomfited or disheartened. The Russian eagle as it soared into the rent and troubled air, amid the thunders and the lurid war-clouds that proclaimed the fall of southern Sebastopol, screamed but in angry defiance, and winging its majestic way to the impregnable northern shore, settled there menacingly and immoveably, right in the front of its baffled foes. The Allied Generals have pushed forward a reconnaissance here, and hazarded an insignificant foray there ; but have ever been glad to retire quickly within the lines of their hard won and all but barren conquest. The Eupatorian diversion has eventuated in a bootless skirmish or two. The Russian "surrender" has not occurred, nor is it now hoped for, even by the most credulous and dreaming. But there *has* been a surrender—a surrender not of, but *to* the Russians, and the gain of the city of Kars, the key of Armenia and Mingrelia, has far out-balanced for them, the loss of half their stronghold of Sebastopol.

The rumours to which we have referred having duly run their course and served their turn, were succeeded by others, totally differing and opposite ; but for the time at least, as empty and as disappointing as their predecessors. Long before the initiatory success, which at the moment that we write is confidently reported to have attended the unexpected movement of Austria in pressing an *ultimatum* upon her great Northern neighbour, Rumour had it, that due, and formal, and precise, and full, negotiations for Peace, had not only been initiated, but had most favorably progressed, and, in fact, were upon the point of being brought to a satis-

factory conclusion. But whether the public mind had wearied of giving credence to plausible reports and stories, or whether they brought their own refutation with them, not only did they not by any means obtain the same amount of general acceptance, but they seemed even to have some effect in quickening the preparations for the Spring-campaign. The Funds did not rise, the newspapers abated not in their hot cry for pressing the new armaments, and urging forward all the preparations of War; and the nature and extent of the new taxes and loans, which should be brought forward for its sustainment, on the meeting of Parliament, engaged general attention and discussion. And thus, the peace-rumours of November and December passed away as vain and as bootless as the predictions of battle and conquest with which we had been *dosed* in the course of the two months immediately preceding.

Matters have now taken a very different turn and aspect. We have no longer rumours to deal with, but solid facts. Austria has presented her ultimatum to Russia, containing conditions which, according to any honest interpretation, embrace every point of large importance required by the Allies, and this ultimatum enforced by the clearly announced resolution of the Austrian Court, to withdraw its ambassador and prepare for war, in case of rejection, has been reluctantly, but positively accepted by Russia. So far all looks fair, and promises well for peace; and the rapid, and extraordinary rise of the Public Funds in England and in France, and the sudden and total turning of the current of Public Opinion in the Press, from its violent set towards war, into a direction quite as decidedly and unmistakeably pacific, demonstrate that Peace is looked upon as all but certain, and at no very distant date.

It had been our purpose in the present article, (commenced before this most unexpected and promising change in the affairs and prospects of Europe,) to have proceeded, after first making mention, as we have done, of the conflicting rumours with which the public mind has been amused or abused during the Autumn and the first two months of Winter, to discuss, independent of them, a question, the importance of which we considered to be in the then and indeed in the present state of Europe, very little affected by the immediate chances of Peace or War.—We mean the question of the relative strength, resources, and ability of the great leading European Powers;

especially those who have been engaged in the mighty Debate in Arms of the last two years. Taking the progress of Peace negotiations to be assured, not only as to the point already attained, but to the uttermost point, namely, that of final ratification and conclusion, we yet do not alter in our view of the subsisting importance of the problem we have just stated, and therefore propose to proceed with our original intention; reserving to ourselves, in the course of this paper, the power and the opportunity according to the tenor and complexion of what duly authenticated news may from time to time arrive, to point, as may be required, the comparisons we are about to institute.

Whatever be the result of the present negotiations, it is impossible that the general state of Europe, so disturbed and agitated to its lowest depths as it has been by the circumstances of this war, coming as they did ere the turbulences of the unhappy years 1848 and 1849 had by any means subsided, can for some—perhaps for several, years, be considered as settled, or otherwise than most precarious; and accordingly everything that can assist in the forming of a reliable judgment on the respective conditions of those who must be the great agents and actors in whatever drama is to be presented on the European stage, must have a deep and powerful interest. In this spirit and with this impression we enter upon the discussion we have indicated before.

It will easily be understood, that whatever may be the facilities for obtaining accurate data bearing upon our subject in so far as the case of Great Britain is concerned, there must be less in the case of France, and very much less in that of Russia. The policy of the French Government is not one of any great degree of communicativeness upon such matters at any time, but especially since the War has become hot; and the same cautious and jealous spirit that has precluded the arising of a French *Russell*, to paint, in words, the sufferings, the miseries, and the losses of the French Army on the blood-stained and grave-furrowed plateau before Sebastopol, seals up at home with equal vigilance the sources whence information of any proximate accuracy could be obtained as to France's means of continuing the desperate struggle in the East.

Russia is, of course, still more a sealed book; and if by chance a statement appear in any continental organ, that would seem to furnish the desired materials for estimating and com-

paring her strength, common sense at once suggests that it has been, to use an expressive phrase which the history of Railway strategies has furnished us with, "cooked" for a purpose and an occasion, and is therefore to be received with all distrust.

Under these circumstances we are driven back, in reference to the two latter Empires, to the accounts and histories that were extant before the War, while Europe was still in profound peace, and dreaming of its being as lasting as profound. We are not, however, absolutely and altogether precluded from making use of some portion of the accounts that ooze out from time to time, where they have circumstances of probability about them, and to a guarded and carefully limited extent we shall proceed so to do, only soliciting the indulgence of the reader, if for the valid reasons before stated, our comparison must necessarily have some imperfections about it.

Having thus premised, we shall proceed at once with our subject in its details, so far as they are procurable and we can verify them, and naturally begin with Great Britain.

Although the mere numerical statement of the troops actually on foot, can of course be considered only as one, and not the most important item in the comparative estimate we are attempting, we yet give it a preference, as being that which is popularly looked upon as the most decisive index of strength, and we propose to take and place in juxta position the proportions voted for England ten years ago, and in the last session, so as incidentally to illustrate the different requirements of a season of Peace, with one of War.

The number of men voted ten years ago in the "Annual Army Estimates" presented to and passed by Parliament for the Financial Year, 1845—46, was 129,677. This force was made up as follows:—114,376 Rank and File, 9,400 Non-Commissioned Officers, Drummers, Trumpeters, &c., and 5,901 Commissioned Officers.

The gross charge for this Force—deducting, however, 29,970 soldiers serving in the East Indies, and who were paid and provided for, by, and at the expense of the East India Company, was £3,535,920. The money charge paid by the East India Company, for the troops serving in their Territories, amounted to £936,906—making altogether an expenditure of £4,472,826 for Cavalry and Infantry in the year mentioned.

The Staff, Military Departments, &c., of the United King-

dom, cost £409,950, in addition to the expenditure mentioned above.

The Royal Engineers, the "Sappers and Miners," Royal Artillery, Royal Horse Artillery, Master-Gunners and Field-Train, which were all at that time under the control and management of the late Board of Ordnance, as a separate Military Establishment distinct from the General Army, cost in the year 1845-46, the sum of £460,000.

Ten years previous, viz.—in the Financial year, 1835-36, the Force of the Line was 29,000 less than in 1845-46. We now come to ten years later, viz.—the year last provided for by Parliament, 1855-56, Commissariat and Barrack Supplies at both periods, cost about £300,000.

The last Army and Ordnance Estimates, viz.—those for the year 1855-56, give the following statements respectively under the various headings before enumerated :—

The total strength of the Army estimated for when the Army Estimates for the service of the year mentioned were laid before the House, by Mr. Frederick Peel, Under Secretary at War, in February last, was 193,595 of all ranks ; exclusive of Artillery, Engineers, and the Troops in India. Of this grand total, 14,950 were to be Foreigners. The charge for the effective Land Force, was estimated to be £7,353,000—for the embodied Militia, £3,813,000, and for the total of effective and non-effective services, £13,721,000—being therefore an excess upon the similar items in 1845-6 of nearly ten millions.

The number of troops in India and their charge—(defrayed as before by the East India Company) stood at pretty much the same as in 1845-46.

The Royal Engineers, Sappers and Miners, Royal Artillery, Royal Horse Artillery, Master Gunners and Field Train, separately estimated for last year, as in 1846, (but by an act of last Session, to be in future provided for in the General Army estimates, and the whole to be under the direct and single control of the Commander in Chief at the Horse Guards, the separate establishment and jurisdiction of the old Board of Ordnance being now done away with,) cost in the financial year just expiring, or more properly were calculated to cost, and had appropriated for them the sum of £1,118,000. The Commissariat and Barrack Supplies, &c., cost still a larger sum, besides the cost of new establishments abroad.

There can be no doubt that the estimates for the current year, will shew a very much increased scale of expenditure,



and that there will be a larger requirement of men, as well as of the munitions of War.

The next point to be ascertained in the due course of our subject is, whether these efforts on the part of Great Britain, have brought any great strain as yet upon her resources, and if that be the case, to what extent, and for how long is she likely to be able to endure the further efforts necessary to maintain the War policy to which she has committed herself.

Pursuing the plan already indicated, of taking the most obvious and popular indexes (as so considered) of the ability of the British Empire, we give the following tabular statement from the annual Finance accounts presented to Parliament in the various years set down below—the series beginning with 1792, a year of peace, and going on to embrace and contrast the statements for different periods of the bloody and wasteful war that immediately succeeded. In several Parliamentary Returns, moved for especially within the last seventeen or twenty years, by different members of Parliament, some English or Scotch, and some Irish, to illustrate and bear out their respective opinions on the question, frequently agitated during those years, of the fiscal and financial justice or injustice, as the case may be, with which Ireland has been treated by the Imperial Parliament, the amounts we are about to give as indicating Revenue, or expenditure, are sometimes varied either by addition, or subtraction; but essentially and commonly are the same:—the differences arising merely from the omission in some statements of certain items of no very great importance, yet still sufficient when inserted, as in other cases they are, to raise the general totals. The following then can be depended upon for general accuracy.

Years.	Total Income, both from Taxes & Loans.	Annual Interest paid on Debt.	Total Expenditure in each year.
1792.	£19,258,820.	£9,767,840.	£19,859,130.
year of the } 1793. last War }	£24,723,660.	£9,437,862.	£24,197,100.
1798.	£47,893,870.	£17,585,518.	£51,127,250.
1801.	£61,418,417.	£19,945,630.	£61,330,000.
1805.	£67,748,000.	£22,200,000.	£67,170,000.
1811.	£84,320,000.	£25,000,000.	£83,800,000.
1813.	£108,398,000.	£28,000,000.	£106,000,000.

The Average Annual Income of the British Empire in the 40 years since the war, up to 1855, was £55,000,000, and the average expenditure less by about £800,000 annually. Of course, as in the case of all averages, the statements for individual years comprised in the period mentioned are sometimes much below the amount of fifty-five millions, as in 1832, when the total sum raised for the annual service of the country was only forty-six millions, and in 1835, when it had further declined a million sterling; and sometimes above it, as in 1823, when fifty-eight millions were raised; and in a succeeding year when sixty millions appear in the account of Total Income; but it will be found that the general average is as we have given it above.

The amount of £108,398,000 raised for the service of the year 1813, will appear vast, and yet it is really not the full measure of the financial exertion of that year. The "Income," both from taxes and loans, that we have set down, not only for that year, but for all others mentioned in the preceding table, is only what was actually, "*paid into the Exchequer*" in those

years, and does not include that other item, familiar to those who have studied the Public accounts, which is, or rather was, (for the practice is now abrogated), designated in those accounts annually, as "Payments out of the Income in its Progress to the Exchequer."

Strange as it may appear to the uninitiated, a sum of money in the most piping times of peace and retrenchment never less than six or seven millions, and in time of war often exceeding twelve millions, was annually subtracted from the taxation receipts of the Empire, and disposed of without consulting, or obtaining the consent (save by silence), of the Imperial Parliament, which was not allowed to deal with the Imperial Income till the sum in question had been deducted and paid away, and the remainder after that deduction, formally "paid into the Exchequer." The purposes to which the large sums so deducted were applied, were but very generally and superficially stated, as "Drawbacks, Repayments, Allowances, &c." charges of collection—*other payments beyond the charges of collection, &c. &c.*" and no specification, or detailed statement whatever of this expenditure was vouchsafed to the Representatives of the People, the appointed "Guardians of the Public Money,"

One of the many, and nearly the last, of the most valuable public services rendered during his long life of arduous, persevering, and often and often most discouraging and trying Parliamentary labour, by the late Joseph Hume, was his having at length woke up the House of Commons to the absurdity and monstrosity of such a system, and inducing it to vindicate its own rights and to insist on being enabled to discharge fully its duty to the Nation, by having the system exploded and utterly done away with, and every pound of the Imperial Income brought to account, and its disposition and allocation clearly, fully and particularly detailed. This, however, was only finally accomplished in the Session of 1854, and up to that year, from time immemorial, the custom had been to make the deductions we have stated from the Public Income "in its progress to the Exchequer," and to spend the sums so taken, according as the Government of the day saw fit, without special account or appeal.

In this way something about twelve millions were, in the latter years of the French war, annually, we may say, abstracted,

and do not appear in the amounts of Income we have given. If we add this sum to the Income in our table for the year 1813, we find of course that 120 *millions*, and not merely 108 millions, really represent the financial exertion of the Empire in that year.

Now our Income for the year 1855-6 was £86,400,000, that is to say, less by some 29 millions than we contrived to raise towards the end of a most costly and exhausting war, which had lasted with but a brief and insignificant intermission full 20 years, and if these countries were capable of such an effort at that time under the circumstances alluded to, is it not evident that at the present time, after nearly 40 years of peace and prosperity, with a population increased nearly four-fold, and resources of every kind increased in a very far greater, and in truly an astonishing ratio, they will be found capable of exertions very greatly exceeding those of 1813—the year of the largest money levy during the old war?

We shall have to return to this part of our subject again, for the purpose of supplying materials to enable our readers to form something of an estimate for themselves of the actual extent of the resources of the British Empire, but for the moment we must turn to the other great powers engaged in the present struggle, and endeavor to make a statement for them, as similar in its items to that we have already given for Great Britain, as the greater difficulty we have had in making researches for the purpose, and the variance of form and description, in the public accounts of these countries will permit.

But we are here tempted to interrupt the due course of our paper in order to note down ere they escape us for ever, the differing opinions that have been ventilated and propagated abroad upon the comparative ability to maintain and carry on the war successfully, and the state and prospects respectively, of the three great Belligerent Powers. If the peace which is about to be put in course of negotiation, should happily be accomplished, it will not be without some amusement that we shall look back to these evidences of the efforts made by partizans at both sides to magnify matters in the eyes of their opponents, to explain away or dissemble their own losses, and to embellish and exaggerate their advantages. If on the contrary we are doomed to a continuation of this most bloody and wasting war, every expression of foreign

opinion, or evidence of feelings in the public mind abroad, for or against us, is worthy of attention.

The most singular of these "squibs" as they would be called in Election-parlance, is one apparently written to order and carefully copied from the American Journals in which it first appeared, into the pro-Russian organs of our own continent. It is unfortunately not to be denied that our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic have, on the whole, given signs rather of sympathy with Russia than with the allies in the present conflict. Whether it result from commercial jealousy of England—sympathy with a slave-holding state, or a coming true of the old proverb, that extremes—even the extremes of Republicanism and despotic monarchy,—ever tend to meet, the fact of a leaping of America towards the cause of Russia is established not merely by the detected transmission of arms, munitions of war, and machinery for war-steamers, from American to Russian ports, but by the tone of the American Press in the majority of cases, and the demonstrations of her meetings and mobs.

The "squib" we speak of is thus set forth in the American papers.

"Colonel Tal. P. Shaffner, direct from Russia, where he has been travelling for the last six months. While there he travelled over 3000 miles, and visited Cronstadt, Nicolaieff, Sweaborg, and many other most important fortresses. He was all through the northern, central, and southern provinces, and during his travels was in frequent intercourse with the nobility, as well as with the lower classes. He does not consider himself justified as a man of honor, or without compromising his character with the Russian government, to make known the numerical strength of the army, the strength of the forts, and the financial resources of the country; but, without going into specific details, he has given us (*New York Herald*) sufficient to enable us to form a pretty accurate estimate of their means and resources.

So far from the nobility being tired of the war, on account of the levies made on them for men, they are among its most strenuous supporters, and have signified, again and again, their willingness to sacrifice all their wealth before they consent to yield one inch! \* \* \* Nothing can exceed their devotedness to second the wishes of the Czar, or their indignation at the outrages on the churches at Kertch, &c., by the allied troops. \* \* \* The general feeling, in which the serfs participate, is one of confidence in the ultimate triumph of their country.

Colonel Shaffner says there is no reliance to be placed on

the reports of compulsion being necessary to recruit the army—he never heard of a single case. The Russian enters the ranks cheerfully at the command of the Czar, whom he regards as the vicegerent of the deity on earth. *If it were left to the free will of the serfs, hundreds of thousands would flock to his standard.* The entire force of the Russian army in the Crimea in October last was 250,000. The route from Perekop to Sebastopol is admirably defended by forts, and Perekop itself is so strongly fortified that it would employ the whole of the allied army to reduce it. The means of transport have not been cut off. The grain destroyed in the Sea of Azov by the British and French expedition, was not the property of the Russian government, but of Greek merchants who asked too exorbitant a price. The Russian army never received its supplies from thence, but from Perekop, and has never suffered want of provisions or stores. The days they were on reduced rations (two days in each week) were days of abstinence enjoined by their Church! Provisions are conveyed from the Smolensk and Saratoff countries to the Crimea in waggons, which return loaded with salt. Before the war they went empty, but now are laden both ways, and make double their former profit.

• • • The earthen fortifications (at Sebastopol) had become friable from dry weather, and the Russian cannon were worn out and daily bursting with loss of life. Under these circumstances Gortschakoff wrote to the Emperor, and received his commands to abandon the South side whenever in his judgment the time had arrived. The trophies found by the Allies were the used-up cannon, and piles of their own balls fired into the place, which did not fit the Russian guns. They also found powder, but it was damp powder that would not explode.

The fortifications of Cronstadt have been largely increased. Last year it was fortified on one side alone, but now it is surrounded with forts of iron and stone, and new guns of greater calibre and range have replaced the old. There will next summer be a perfect line of fortifications across the gulf, besides an enormous number of gunboats. This does not look as if the Russian government were straitened for money. • • • Nicolaieff is impregnable! The bombardment of Sveaborg cost the Allies 25,000,000 dollars, and only 150,000 dollars to Russia. The Allies only succeeded in burning a number of old Swedish workshops, which the Russians themselves had intended to remove"!

The foregoing tirade would be simply ludicrous, and read like one of the amazing and mirth-provoking *bontades* of some Kentucky "*half-horse-half-alligator*," or "*reg'lar down-east Johnny-cake*" of Sam Slick's recording, if we did not know that it has been accepted as perfectly reliable, and we regret to add, as very welcome news, by a very large portion of the American community. The previous *Munchausenism* of the momentarily celebrated "*Doctor Da Vega*" were eagerly caught up and believed, until the unlucky discovery

so maliciously proclaimed by the English agents at Constantinople, that the veracious Doctor had penned his "Sebastopol experiences" not in the leaguered city itself amidst the storm and shock of war, but in all the comforts and quietness of the European quarter in the city of the Crescent. No such discovery, however, has as yet invalidated the pretentious testimony of the gallant Colonel Tal. P. Shaffner, (we wish we could give our readers his name in full,) and accordingly he has met with general credence as well as general applause.

Our next extract is from a pro-Russian journal of the European Continent, the "*Abeille du Nord*," published in Belgium. It is more serious in its tone and general character, though not more so in its tendency and the state of feeling it indicates. Thus it is worded:—

"No joy has been expressed at the so called *victory* by the Western Powers; neither by the English, who were completely beaten, as they have been in every action since the commencement of the war; nor by the French, who are now in a condition to quote and apply to themselves the well known words of Pyrrhus.

The sole trophies of England and France are black crape and mourning dresses. The armies of both fought without any reason, and solely by order of their respective sovereigns, *who give them no protection or consolation* under their misfortunes, by which they are reduced to the very *verge of despair*! While Russia, on the other hand, attacked without any cause, fought gallantly for honor and self preservation. Such a difference in the moral element of the two contending parties cannot fail to terminate eventually in favor of the Russian arms; which were only at a momentary disadvantage, because the Russian army had not sufficient railroads, nor guns of such extreme range as those of the enemy.

At first it was supposed in the West that by obtaining possession of Sebastopol, that is, of its south side, that they had gained everything, and they are now the more surprised to find out their error, and to see that the war has in reality only just commenced—a war which cannot possibly reflect any glory upon the governments which brought it on, and, in fine, a war which cannot but terminate in their total prostration"!

The article from which the foregoing quotation is made concludes by saying, that the French loans "were only successful by means of the Jews"—that "the alliance between Great Britain and the French Empire may be broken up in a day, by any reverse"—that "the nations of Europe momentarily deceived and estranged, are rapidly resuming their former sympathies with Russia, &c., &c."—"the army of Prince Gortschakoff is unassailable in his new position and

admirably circumstanced for offensive operations. The Allies have landed on spots of no real importance," and finally, "whatever vessels of war they may contrive to bring against the fortresses of Russia in the approaching campaign, will be received and satisfactorily disposed of by the Russian gunboats"! !

The reader will no doubt have done justice of himself to the unhesitating and occasionally self-contradictory assertions (as in the two paragraphs about the nobility and serfs of Russia, in which, after telling us, the former would *sacrifice* their whole wealth to support the war, and immediately afterwards says, their serfs would volunteer, *if permitted*.) of the veracious Colonel Tal. P. Shaffner, and to those equally unhesitating but more consistent passages, which we have copied from the "Abeille du Nord." But it is only fair to place before him also what is said on the other side of the question, amongst our European neighbours, and allow him to form his judgment upon that.

In the Augsburg Gazette of a few weeks ago, there appeared the following brief and to this hour uncontradicted statement respecting the endeavours of Russia to fill up again in preparation for the Spring Campaign, the terrible gaps made in her armies by the sword and by the ravages of pestilence.

"The present levy is the eighth within the last twenty months. On the 10th of February, 1854, 9 men in the 1,000 were conscribed in the western provinces; and, on the 9th of May, 9 men in the 1,000 in the eastern provinces of Russia. On the 7th of September 10 men in the 1,000 were raised in her western provinces; and, on the 13th of December, the same number in the eastern provinces; thus making, in the single year 1854, 19 men in the 1,000 raised in each of those divisions of her empire.

In the manifesto of the month of February (10th of that month), 1855, it was ordered that a militia, to be composed of 23 men out of every 1,000, should be formed in 18 governments. The 'Ukases' of May the 31st, August the 12th, and October the 7th, ordained that a militia should be raised at the rate of 23 men per 1,000 in the remaining governments, although a levy of 12 men per 1,000 for the standing army had been decreed on the 6th of May. On the 15th of October in this year another 'Ukase' ordered that 10 men per 1,000 should be levied in all the governments excepting seven, 'as a consequence of the losses which our armies have suffered in the field during the present year, and because we consider it absolutely necessary to have them complete, in order that they may be able to resist the future enterprises of the enemy.'



The next and last of these extracts which we shall give, presents a fearful picture of national and individual suffering, and while its details have really never been controverted seriously, they seem about to receive a positive confirmation from Russian sources of intelligence, now that the strengthening hope of peace has given a little more freedom to tongue and pen.

"The Chamber of Public Relief of St. Petersburg has been obliged to sell by auction the property on which it had made advances, but which it was impossible for the borrowers to pay when the moment arrived; and the number of insolvent debtors increases daily. The population itself suffers from this state of things. A census has been taken of the male population, and, though four years have passed since the last, yet the numbers remain still the same. On certain points of the empire it is less than in 1851, owing, doubtless, to the numerous levies since then. It is not the loss on the field of battle which is the only cause of this decrease; the general health of the army has much to do with it, and the last report of General Paniutin on the mortality among the troops is actually frightful. These unhappy wretches are decimated by epidemic diseases which assume every sort of character.

For several years past the Asiatic Cholera has not ceased for a single day in and about the city of St. Petersburg. The number of cases may vary, but the malady never disappears. It is not in Russia alone that it exists. It rages in Finland, in the Baltic provinces, in Poland, in the Crimea, in the Caucasus, and wheresoever Russian troops happen to be assembled in numbers, Asiatic Cholera is sure to be in the midst of them.

One fact which is now entirely beyond dispute, and which has of late particularly attracted attention is, that the female population exceeds the male population in proportions far greater than in any other European country; and the great difference between them is now more remarkable than ever.

Whatever be the sacrifices made by the Allied Powers in carrying on the war, they will never be comparable to those of Russia. She has now eight armies on foot;—the 1st. of Finland, under General Berg; the 2nd. of St. Petersburg, under General Rudiger; the 3rd. of the Baltic, under General Sievers; the 4th of Poland, under General Sonnararakoff; the 5th of the centre, under General Paniutin; the 6th. also of the centre, under General Laders; the 7th. of the Crimea, under General Gortschakoff; and the 8th. of the Caucasus under General Mouravieff. Russia must possess great vitality to meet so many claims; but these violent efforts must produce exhaustion, and that exhaustion her fall.

It would be difficult to give an exact notion of the misery which prevails in several provinces of the empire, and particularly in Poland. I have just traversed the whole southern part of Volhynia; and I have found everywhere the same evils. The most ordinary articles of consumption are so dear that the peasants are deprived of

a portion of what is most necessary, and those who can afford to purchase arrive in crowds to empty markets; from which the greatest part return as empty as they came. The harvest has not, however, been bad. Indeed it may be said that we have had an average year, but the corn is taken off for the government, and sent to the South to form immense magazines, which are destined to become the prey of flames and are consequently lost to every one. In certain provinces the grain intended for seed has failed, and I can declare, without fear of contradiction, that, at the very least, one-fourth of the arable land will remain out of cultivation for the want both of seed and of hands.

The peasants are, of course, not the only class that suffer from this state of things. The nobles—even the very richest amongst them—whose fortunes consist of corn, see their revenues reduced to proportions which for most of them the continuance of the war will change into absolute ruin. All classes of industry are in a state of prostration, the national activity is paralysed, and commerce has suffered irreparable evil. Distilleries are the only establishments that continue to be fully at work. As the Russian government supplies the national enthusiasm of its soldiers with the excitement of intoxication, spirituous liquors are made in enormous quantities for the Crimea and Bessarabia, in order to heat up the courage of the troops. All the grain that was ordinarily employed by manufacturers is taken away for consumption, and increases the general misery.

We had counted on the potatoe crop, which at first presented a favorable aspect; but the blight is found to have made terrible ravages, and fully one-third of the whole produce is affected by it:

To these evils is to be added that of the levies, if we can call by that name the brutal press system which in a few hours makes a soldier of a quiet peasant, and hurries him off from his family without the remotest hope of their ever again beholding him dead or alive. The peasants make the most desperate efforts to escape from the recruiting parties, and I could quote to you thousands of instances of the perseverance and audacity displayed in flying from them."

All feeling of exultation in connection with the war passes out of the heart, on reading details like the foregoing, none of which is there any reason for believing to be exaggerated. In respect of the mortality among the troops, we have to some degree a test of the likelihood of the statement from the fact well known and ascertained as to the losses of the Austrian Army last year in Galicia, when without a blow struck, a shot fired, or any of the accidents of war—it being merely an army of precaution and observation, with of course no enemy at any side and all its communications uninterrupted, no less than 30,000 are positively known and declared to have perished!

Turning back from this digression (which we trust has not been altogether without interest, and will be found to have

much more in a little time hence, when in the calmness of the peaceful times which there is good hope are approaching, we recall to memory the varied hopes, feelings, emotions and incidents that marked the bye-gone struggle in its turbid course,) we come to the promised estimate of the military force of France, as the next to be considered after our own country.

The establishment of the French army ten years ago, stood as follows, viz:—

One hundred Regiments of Infantry of the line, each Regiment having three Battalions, and each Battalion seven companies—differing from the practice in the British Army, where the number of companies is generally even. Ten Battalions of Chasseurs, each Battalion having eight companies. One Regiment of Zouaves, of three Battalions and nine companies—three battalions of Light Infantry of Africa, a Foreign Legion serving in Algeria, and twelve condemned Companies for Military Criminals—making in all about 210,800 Infantry. Fifty-four Regiments of Cavalry of various descriptions, inclusive of ten Cuirassier Regiments and four Regiments of African Chasseurs à Cheval, making a cavalry total of 58,290. Artillery 29,624—Engineers and Artificers, including Sappers and Miners, 8,400 and 6,593 baggage-train. The whole effective force of France was estimated for the year 1845, to be about 342,000, costing £11,836,400, but for the service of the year 1846, there was an increase of 100,000, of which two-fifths were native troops raised in Algeria.

The establishment for the year just elapsed was as follows, according to the annual report of the Bureau de la Guerre.

One-hundred-and-two Regiments of the line, each having three Battalions. Twenty Battalions of Chasseurs à pied, being exactly double the force ten years ago on foot. Three Regiments of Zouaves of three Battalions each,—three Battalions of African Light Infantry—nine companies of “Fusiliers de discipline”—three companies of Pioneers—four Regiments or the Foreign Legion having four battalions each. One Battalion of Foreign Rifles, seven Battalions of Algerian sharp-shooters. Six companies of veterans—making a force of about 260,000 infantry.

Sixty-two Regiments of Cavalry of various descriptions, making a total of about 67,000 men. Artillery 35,000, Engineers and Artificers including Sappers and Miners 16,500, and 10,000 baggage-train,—making a grand total of 390,000

men, exclusive as in the former case of twenty-six Legions of Gendarmerie and of Colonial Corps.

But in addition to this large augmentation of her ordinary force, France has had on foot during the last year her "*Garde Impériale*," which is in fact a separate little army in itself thoroughly organized and complete as such in all its departments and in its organization.

It consisted in the last year of two Divisions of Infantry, one division of Cavalry, a Regiment of Horse Artillery and a Regiment of Foot Artillery,—two companies of Engineers, and a baggage train composed of a squadron of three troops or companies.

In the first division of "*Infanterie de la Garde*" there were two Brigades and sixteen Battalions. In the second, also two Brigades, but with seventeen Battalions. The Cavalry division was in three Brigades, numbering altogether thirty-seven squadrons. Each of the Artillery corps had one battalion with eighteen Batteries between them. The whole number of men was over 40,000, and at this moment two additional regiments of Infantry each of three Battalions are about to be formed from the Line Regiments most distinguished in the capture of Southern Sebastopol.

The charge of the French army for the year 1855-6, was £16,000,000 in round numbers. This includes the cost of the newly raised *Garde Impériale*.

We have found it impossible to fashion into a statement similar to that already given for Great Britain, the materials that we have for estimating the financial ability of France; and must therefore only give them in the comparatively undigested and unarranged form that we possess them ourselves.

The average of the Revenue of France ten years ago was about forty-two millions sterling—of which her direct taxes produced twenty-four millions, and her indirect taxation seventeen—the balance being made up by several casual items.

The average expenditure at the same period, exceeded the revenue by a few hundred thousand pounds.

Of this expenditure £9,770,000 was for the interest of the public debt, funded and floating annuities and sinking fund.

The customs duties produced at the period mentioned, the sum of 120,000,000 francs, or £4,800,000. From the recent trade tables of France, published by authority, we find

the following as the amount of receipt on these duties in the last three years, viz.—

1853. 141,607,552 francs, or £5,664,802

1854. 150,587,803, 6,028,492.

1855. 189,704,690, 7,588,187.

There can be no doubt at all that the material prosperity of France has received a very considerable, nay a very extraordinary impulse under her present government. The ratio of increase in her demand for articles of primary consequence for nourishment and manufactures, such as live and dead meat, sugar, coffee, wines, brandy, &c., under the first head, and coals, iron, lead, zinc, &c., under the second, illustrates and incontestably demonstrates this. The following is the authenticated official statement as regard these articles, a comparison of the last three years.

	1853.	1854.	1855.
Oxen and Cows -	36,162	90,946	113,469
Sheep -	117,168	272,610	308,961
Wine—(Hectolitres)	31,650	192,029	412,805
Brandy -	45,116	89,899	234,996
Coffee—(Metrical Quintals)	277,678	319,770	398,892
Copper -	82,611	73,812	116,677
Bar Iron -	59,735	125,980	717,963
Cast Iron -	884,989	918,958	1,360,411
Lined -	221,000	189,800	568,520
Coals—(Metrical Quintals)	29,820,730	35,574,000	40,575,054
Olive Oil -	181,213	194,842	298,000
Wool -	285,102	240,479	375,600
Lead—Pigs -	289,900	309,000	359,477
Sugar—Colonial, (Quintals)	220,852	826,000	889,935
Do. Foreign -	412,205	483,917	800,848
Meat, fresh and salt	9,542	59,866	105,028
Zinc -	200,000	170,000	260,000

The larger proportion of the “coals,” viz. twenty-five millions out of the 40 millions of metrical quintals mentioned in the foregoing table, were imported from Belgium, and the remainder from England. The increase throughout shewn, indicates, as we have before remarked, a considerable advance in prosperity; and there is fair ground for concluding that the largely extended consumption of luxuries and demand for raw

materials, has legitimately and naturally resulted from the increased and increasing production of manufactures.

Meantime her exports also manifest a considerable increase, as will be seen by the subjoined table. It is to be remembered in reading it, that a small increase in the *number* of metrical quintals on the articles of books, silks and merinoes exported, implies a very considerable increase in *value*. The order of the years in this table will be seen to be inverted.

	1855.	1854.	1853.
Books, engravings, and lithographs ..... M. Q.	17,469	16,516	17,026
Machinery, &c. .... Frs.	9,515,754	7,951,584	11,295,192
Millinery .. .... Frs.	11,514,423	7,242,269	6,407,004
Soap .. .... M. Q.	71,570	66,849	60,760
Salt .. .... M. Q.	1,215,563	995,330	946,921
Sugar refined .. .... M. Q.	336,994	251,356	181,843
Cottons, White .. .... M. Q.	54,401	38,234	37,270
" Printed.... M. Q.	41,900	37,989	36,940
" Others ... M. Q.	28,591	25,085	29,101
Linen, Cloth .. .... M. Q.	24,656	17,809	19,260
" Cambrics..... M. Q.	579	535	713
Woolens, Cashmeres and Merinoes. M. Q.	35,565	29,060	28,357
" Others ... M. Q.	38,036	34,182	34,361
Silks, Raw .. .... M. Q.	10,869	6,555	7,585
Woven..... M. Q.	37,464	34,050	37,066
Glass and Crystals.. M. Q.	277,485	258,197	262,913

Not to weary the reader with too many statistics in detail, we shall not give the particular statements for each year of the tonnage, both foreign and domestic, employed in the French trade in each. The results shew, that between 1853 and 1855 the aggregate tonnage so employed, increased more than sixteen per cent., and the tonnage, exclusively *French*, increased seventeen per cent.

We cannot but think that the reader is now in possession of sufficient materials to enable him to estimate the advance that France is making in all that constitutes the material prosperity and strength of a country; and when it is recollected that the years taken in those tables have been years of war, (for although hostilities were not actually declared in 1853, a very large proportion of their cost was incurred in preparing for war, then known to be imminent), and that during the

last year especially, France has made such prodigious and prodigal efforts to carry out her part in the tremendous struggle in the East, we cannot but conclude, not only that her progress has been wonderful, but that it proceeds from an inherent vitality and soundness of enterprize and successful industry almost unexampled, and certainly not what would have been dreamed of for her but a few short years ago; and furthermore of course it is plain that she is in even a better condition for war in this the third year, after all the sacrifices and losses of the preceding, than she was before its commencement.

The total value of French imports from *Russia* in 1853, was sixty-seven millions of francs, and that of her exports to the same country, sixteen millions of francs—respectively in English money £2,680,000 and £640,000.

It may be remarked that we have said nothing of the naval efforts and capabilities of France and England respectively, We are unable to give a statement as to the former country, not having succeeded in obtaining the necessary data. The naval efforts of Great Britain for the year 1855-56 are represented by the sum of £19, 014,700.

Coming now to *Russia*, we find the following. In Fonblanque's Statistical Tables, published by the Board of Trade, her total exports of all kinds are set down on a comparison of the year 1842 with 1851, as in value £13,300,000 and £15,075,000, respectively, and the value of her imports in those years as £13,400,000 and £16,321,000 respectively. Neither the actual amounts nor the ratio of increase betoken any very formidable accumulation of resources during those years of profound peace and uninterrupted opportunity of extending her commercial operations; and the last two years of war have utterly annihilated for the present at least her sea-borne commerce. The overland trade which she has driven through the connivance of Prussia must have been but scantily profitable, owing to the enormous expenses of transit, and certainly cannot by any means whatever, compensate to her for the loss of the freedom of her trade on the comparatively inexpensive "highway of nations," the ocean.

The whole Revenue of *Russia* ten years ago, was under fifteen millions sterling, as paid into her Treasury. What amount was lost on the way to it is a question for the curious in the history of official peculation; but the sum realised was about what we state. The latest account of her Revenue we have

been able to make out is for the year 1850, when there had been an increase of about two millions and a-half sterling. This sum is also stated clear of the peculations so flagrantly rife at all periods of her financial history.

The Army of Russia previous to the war was generally reputed to exceed considerably six hundred thousand men. But this is a statement liable to suspicion upon several grounds. In the first place it was always the policy of the Russian Government to magnify its resources in the eyes of foreign powers, by exaggerated statements upon all points connected with them. In the next place, there were frontier and colonized regiments, which were more settlers than soldiers, besides irregular troops of the very lowest and least effective degree of organisation. In the third place, multitudes of men figured in the papers returned from officials in distant provinces, with no existence save on paper; the funds for them being however duly drawn and *made away with*. Finally, no inconsiderable proportion of men enrolled and regimented as soldiers, were in fact only employed as labourers on public works, and others were veterans past their efficiency.

Without attempting the impossible task of estimating these deductions, we give the nominal strength of the different Armies, as about 470,000 Infantry, 90,000 Cavalry, including Irregulars; and the remainder in Artillery, Engineers, Artificers, &c., &c.

The population of Russia is estimated at about fifty-seven millions;—that of France thirty-five millions,—and that of Great Britain and Ireland, twenty-six millions. But in point of density, and to use an awkward but expressive word, in point of *availability* of their population for warlike and commercial purposes, both France and England have very far the advantage of their great antagonist.

An article in the number that has just appeared of the *Westminster Review* gives additional particulars of great value to our subject, and like the generality of articles in that *Review* is doubtless carefully compiled and ably written. But we must refer the reader to itself, if he desire to be acquainted with its contents; as we have purposely confined ourselves to a most cursory perusal of it; being desirous not to incur either the charge of having made use of its labours should our statements correspond, nor in case they be found to differ, the ungracious labour of quarrelling with statements, no doubt



the fruit of considerable research on the part of the Reviewer. For what ourselves advanced we have, whether in general matters, or in particulars, amply sufficient justification and authority.

Just as we are writing these lines a parliamentary paper of considerable interest has issued from the official press and got into the hands of the public. It gives the statement of revenue and expenditure of the United Kingdom down to the 31st day of December, 1855, including the balances in the Exchequer upon that day. The details cannot but be of general interest.

INCOME.			
Customs ... ..	£20,987,752	7	9
Excise ... ..	16,399,486	3	0
Stamps ... ..	6,805,604	18	0
Taxes (Land and Assessed) ... ..	2,945,784	4	1
Property Tax ... ..	18,718,185	5	2
Post-office ... ..	1,337,219	8	5
Crown Lands ... ..	280,515	15	9
Produce of the sale of old stores, and other extra receipts ... ..	522,138	9	7
Money received from the East India Company ... ..	60,000	0	0
Miscellaneous receipts, including imposts and other monies ... ..	402,768	18	10
Unclaimed Dividends received ... ..	113,149	12	1
Total Income	£63,364,605	2	8

EXPENDITURE.			
Interest and Management of the permanent debt ... ..	£22,792,594	4	11
Unclaimed dividends paid .. ..	173,240	17	5
Terminable annuities... ..	3,268,293	5	11
Interest of Exchequer bonds, 1854 ... ..	217,000	0	0
Interest of Exchequer Bills, supply ... ..	580,635	4	9
Ditto, deficiency ... ..	9,386	5	0
Ditto, ways and means ... ..	26,749	13	9
	£27,647,899	11	9

*Charges on Consolidated Fund.*

Civil list ... ..	£396,570	0	0
Annuities and pensions ... ..	349,991	14	8
Salaries and allowances ... ..	162,697	7	3
Diplomatic salaries and pensions ... ..	149,244	13	10
Courts of Justice ... ..	493,082	18	10
Miscellaneous charges on the consolidated fund ... ..	182,118	16	6
	£1,724,705	11	1

*Supply Services.*

Army ...	...	...	...	...	£14,545,059	0	0
Navy ...	...	...	...	...	19,014,708	0	0
Ordnance ...	...	...	...	...	9,632,290	0	1
Vote of Credit (additional expenses, war with Russia)	...	...	...	...	5,200,000	0	0
Miscellaneous civil services	...	...	...	...	6,741,128	7	10
						£35,133,183	7 11

Total expenditure ... .. £34,405,788 10 9

It will be seen that there is an apparent deficiency in the Income to cover the Expenditure, the former being sixty-three millions, and the latter eighty-four millions; leaving twenty-one millions unprovided for by the produce of taxation. But those twenty-one millions were met by the proceeds of the loans raised by direct borrowing, and the issue of Exchequer bills and bonds—sixteen millions of the amount being derived from a fresh creation of consols; and the rest being raised on Exchequer Securities, as just mentioned; and for which the permission of Parliament was obtained in the last month of the session, and to an extent exceeding what has been required, viz., five millions (in addition to the sixteen millions consols,) whereas the government were empowered to issue Exchequer bills to the extent of seven millions. But we must not be betrayed into too much detail. Suffice it that nothing can be more evident than the fact, that the resources of the United Kingdom have by no means been strained by all the enormous expenditure of the war.

The imports of the United Kingdom in the year just expired, were of the value of \$152,591,513, and the exports of the value of £97,298,900. The united exports and imports of France for the year 1854, which is the latest we have been able to procure a specification for, were of the value of £140,000,000, being an increase of from two to three millions upon the return for the preceding year, 1853.

Regarding the subject of Russia and her resources, we have to observe, that a singularly fallacious argument has been occasionally urged by alarmists among our public writers and speakers, to the effect that she has not as yet put forth her real strength, nor by any means strained her finances, inasmuch as on a calculation of the proportion between her taxation and the number of her population, she pays annually a far less sum per head of that population than any other

country in Europe, and in particular infinitely less than France or England. Thus it is computed, that the whole of the taxation of all kinds borne by the Russians does not amount, per individual, to more than seven or eight shillings a-head. Whereas, it is said, Austria pays in the proportion of thirteen shillings per head—Sardinia sixteen shillings and upwards, Prussia nearly twenty shillings, France no less than forty-five shillings, and England at the rate, *exclusive* of her enormous local taxation of every kind, of fifty-three shillings per head.

Instead of this being an argument for supposing that Russia has great strength in reserve, it is in truth and effect, an argument the other way, and simply demonstrates *inability* to bear further taxation, or to consume a larger proportion of taxed articles. The fact, that a tradesman on weekly wages consumes but little wine, if he ever taste it, while a gentleman of good means has a heavy account with the wine merchant, is not a proof that the tradesman is richer, but of course, that he is very much poorer than his gentleman neighbour. The £14 or £15 income tax paid by a small annuitant is not, when contrasted with the £400 or £500 paid by the man of large annual revenues, an evidence of more abundant resources in the former than in the latter, but very directly the contrary. But the fallacy exists not only in reference to a comparison between states—it prevents a real estimate being formed even of a particular state, as in every country there must be, while there are everywhere poor classes as well as rich classes, an inequality of the produce of taxation per head; some individuals in effect paying ten, twenty, fifty shillings or upwards of taxation, while others in effect pay but five or ten.

Not wasting any more time with so valueless and substanceless an argument, we proceed to notice a few statistics, useful to our subject, bearing upon the condition and ability of other European Countries besides those of which we have been already treating.

Prussia, including her Polish and Rhenish provinces, is estimated to have a population of about nineteen millions, or a little upwards. Her annual Revenue may be taken to be twelve millions; and her Army at present numbers some 135,000 men. This is the *Line*, besides which there are two large corps de reserve, answering in some degree to what

was known in the last War, as the "Regular Militia," and the "Local Militia," of these countries. The first of these reserves is always on foot, and the period of compulsory service in it, (compulsory upon all classes, as in the French conscription, with something of similar exceptions,) is about three years. This reserve is called the "Land-wehr," and is divided into two "bans," or corps, the second of which is only occasionally called out. The first reserve supplies nearly 240,000 men, and the second, including the levy en masse, is supposed to hold in readiness in case of invasion an additional force of 200,000.

The importance of Prussia as one of the "Great Powers" of Europe is a good deal factitious, her Empire being made up of very incongruous materials, brought together by the genius of Frederic, and greatly maintained since by the jealousy amongst themselves of the other "Great Powers," and the anxiety of England to sustain what is called the "Protestant interest" in their councils: although her people generally are well to do, yet she is not believed to be capable of any very extended financial exertion; and certainly was enabled in the last war to accomplish what she did, only by means of extensive loans and supplies from England.

Sardinia, our active little ally, has a population of five millions, and a yearly revenue, including the present heavy war-taxation, of about £5,250,000. She has already received a considerable loan from England to enable her to furnish forth her contingent to the Eastern struggle; and by the recent debates in the Sardinian Parliament, it appears that she is under the necessity of immediately contracting another engagement of the same kind. Her army on its present war-footing, amounts to about 155,000 men of whom perhaps 70,000 are available for active service, or *were* so previous to the losses of her Crimean expedition. It is much to be feared that Sardinia has seriously over-tasked her strength by the part she has taken; and the hope which her government now all but openly confesses to have entertained, when committing the country actively to the War, namely,—that of profiting in territorial acquisition in Northern Italy, on the re-constitution of Europe after the apparently inevitable contingency of a general war, is destroyed by the near prospect of peace. Discontent and dangerous internal dissensions and perhaps revolutionary movements are beginning to be anticipated;

especially when the inevitable increase of taxes this year shall come to be felt; and the gloomy prospect is still further deepened by the losses which the Army—the only support of order and authority in the troublous times immediately succeeding the battle of Novara in 1849,—has sustained, and the certainty of the absence for yet several months to come, of that portion of it which has been engaged in the Crimea.

In the *Times* of the 9th February, we find the following exposition (by authority, as is pretty plainly intimated) of the views and sentiments of the Sardinian ruling classes upon what to us at least, if not to them, are the brightening prospects of peace.

“On the first invitation from the Western Powers, the Government of Sardinia willingly and heartily agreed to put on foot such a force as her limited territory and crippled finance would permit; but as she, more than any other Power in the alliance, had an immediate interest in the amelioration of the state of the people of Italy, it was not unnatural that both her Government and the country herself should hope that their promptitude in aiding in this distant war would ensure them friends in the settlement of disputes nearer home. . . . It was indeed most honourable to the Sardinian Parliament that on that occasion it discussed the proposed treaty and disposed of it, more as a question of Italian than of Piedmontese policy; for had the old leaven of municipalism been allowed to predominate, a small kingdom of five millions only of inhabitants, with a heavy debt, might have been well content to enjoy her own free institutions unobtrusively, and left the great powers to undertake distant contests on the confines of Europe. It was undoubtedly, therefore, with a hope—a hope openly expressed and recognized—of gaining friends to the emancipation of Italy, that Sardinia agreed to send a force to the Crimea; and it is because the course of events hitherto, so far from giving promise of such a consummation should peace be made at present, has tended rather to confirm foreign rule in the Peninsula, that the termination of hostilities is not looked forward to with pleasure. In fact the Sardinians feel much as one who has made great exertions to bail a friend, and after paying half the sum, is told his friend must remain in limbo!”

The communication from which we have abbreviated the foregoing quotation, goes on to speak with fully equal distinctness of the dangers to which we have before alluded, of popular discontents in Sardinia and possible republican movements. Undoubtedly it is a most serious consideration for the Sardinians and not without a considerable deal of interest for the European States; as once the flames of Revolution are re-lighted, no one can say where the conflagration will stop. Their wide

wasting ravages in 1848 cannot easily be forgotten. Still the putting an end to the present War cannot be postponed for the avoidance of a merely contingent danger; which after all may not occur, or if it do occur, can in all probability be restrained within something like bounds by the large military force which the great powers at least must for sometime to come keep up, in order to preserve their due weight in the re-arrangements of Europe that must follow from the general result of the struggle now about to be concluded.

We have taken no account of Turkey in our summary estimate of the ability of the various states most interested in the Eastern War. As an effective participator in it she has nearly disappeared. Her revenues are plundered and exhausted, the flower of her troops have either perished miserably in the swamps and pestifential filth about Balaklava harbour, or thanks to the unaccountable and most extraordinary apathy of our diplomatists and generals in the East, have, after a most gallant display of valour and an even more admirable exhibition of fortitude and patient endurance of cruel privation, become prisoners to the Russians. In fact, instead of endeavouring to estimate what Turkey can, or could do, now, or at any coming emergency of Europe, the real question and one of tremendous and very dangerous difficulty is, *what is to be done with her!*

The French have no less than *forty-five thousand* men echeloned along the banks of the Bosphorus, but in easy propinquity to Constantinople, besides their large expeditionary Army in the Crimea, an army nearly double our effective force there. We have but a few thousand soldiers in and about the city mentioned, with the single advantage of holding one fort, not large in itself but advantageously placed, and with heavy guns in position. The question of the future arrangements for Turkey has to be discussed with these "*good lookers-on,*" as Lord Deputy Strafford in Elizabeth's reign said of the troops with which he overawed judges and juries in the inquisitions held at Athlone into the tenures of Irish Estates. Like to the ancient proprietors of the latter, the Turks themselves will be permitted little interference in or protest against, the decisions that are to affect their condition and fortunes; unless—what to judge from the accounts that are gradually getting strength of the increasing bitterness of feeling between the armies of the two protecting Powers, the latter should come to a quarrel between themselves.

Be the result of the Peace Negotiations now pending what it may, be the discouraging and gloomy predictions of some parties realized, or let events of a more cheering and favourable aspect ensue,—be the relative strength and extent of resources of the great powers of Europe, especially of those which have participated in the Eastern struggle estimated encouragingly for our interests or otherwise, there is one thing most earnestly to be hoped for, and *clamoured* for, and laboured for by every friend to the strength, honour and reputation of the Empire, and that is, that the bitter and terrible experience of the War, in illustrating and exposing, the defects, blunders and mischiefs of our Military Administration, shall be made use of and turned to speedy and thoroughly practical account. The report just now at last made public of Sir John M'Neill and Colonel Tulloch, the Commissioners sent last year by government to inquire into and ascertain the *facts* concerning the state, condition and treatment of the troops in the Crimea, is a document of the most astounding nature, and indelibly stamps condemnation upon the system, or no system, which it so fearfully exposes. We feel that we want words adequately to characterize the disclosures that have been made. The "Times" Newspaper has indeed abundant and more than abundant justification for its boast that all the statements of its talented and distinguished correspondent, Mr. Russell, have been borne out and supported—nay in not a few points even surpassed by the tremendous revelations of this Commission.

The latter was sent out early in February of last year, under a letter of instructions from Lord Panmure, Secretary of State for War, in which he directs the officers composing it, Sir John M'Neill and Colonel Tulloch, to enquire into the whole arrangement and management of the commissariat department; to acquaint themselves with the mode in which the various supplies of the Army in the Crimea were regulated, the causes of any irregularity, want or insufficiency, if such should be detected—to examine if the "system" on the whole was, or was not unnecessarily complicated for a period of actual warfare, &c. &c. and for the purpose of helping their labours for these important ends, they were given the amplest powers of summoning and examining witnesses.

Their Report was drawn up on the 10th June, and duly forwarded with the evidence when ready to Lord Panmure.

It is now for the first time made public and distributed to both Houses of Parliament.

One fact alone, did we confine ourselves to it—which is most clearly and precisely established by this Report, will speak its character, and almost obviate the necessity of going into its revelations in any detail. Of the splendid Army that Great Britain sent to the Crimea, in seven months after its first landing, not less than *thirty-five per cent* had perished from overwork, exposure to wet and cold, improper food, bad and insufficient clothing and insufficient shelter!

To give the reader as briefly and summarily as possible, an idea how this most awful, and as the Report proves, in a great degree *avoidable*, calamity was brought about, we will generalize as much as possible the results brought out by the Report and evidence, before attempting to touch upon any matter in detail.

Salt meat was supplied to the soldiers almost exclusively, when fresh meat could at least upon a multitude of occasions have been procured with comparatively little difficulty, and on some occasions, even at a lesser cost to government. From being thus a long time kept upon this salt meat, the men became scorbutic in vast numbers, and began to loathe the very sight of their food, and not unfrequently reject it altogether. Neither vegetables nor farinaceous articles were supplied to them, although rice, preserved potatoes, and Scotch barley were lying in the stores at Balaklava and Scutari in very large, and constantly increasing quantities. Under these circumstances the scorbutic affections quickly spread still more and became malignant, and the Inspector-General of Hospitals urgently demanded a large supply of lime-juice, a prophylactic in common and *regular* use in the Royal Navy, as indeed in all foreign Navies and well appointed merchant ships upon voyages of any length. Fully 20,000 pounds of it were lying in the commissariat stores at *Balaklava* from the beginning of December until the first or second week in February, and the Inspector-General was left, perhaps we should say, kept, in ignorance of the fact!

Mr. Commissary-General Filder appears to be the person looked upon as the party responsible on this score; and accordingly he is blamed, and in some degree sought to be made a scape-goat of by Colonel Gordon, the Quartermaster-General, in his evidence—himself being one of the parties most liable to



charges of neglect of duty, as we shall presently see. There is no attempt made by any of the witnesses to account for the fact that the commander in chief permitted this to occur without bringing the Commissary-General to a court martial, or for the *faineance* of the Quartermaster-General in not having at once reported the matter to him.

The French Army throughout the siege were supplied with soft bread which they baked themselves. There were perfectly the same facilities for doing this in the English Army, but instead of it the men were compelled to be content with hard sea biscuit; which their gums and teeth affected by scorbutic attacks, were often unable to manage. And even of this biscuit the supply was occasionally very defective without any adequate cause.

The men were landed in the Crimea without their knapsacks, and from want of arrangement were left without them for six or eight weeks, when such of them as were recovered were found to be more or less plundered of their contents. During the tremendous weather of December and January, they were left without adequate clothing, at a time when although the melancholy wreck of the Prince in the hurricane of the 14th of November, had involved the loss of great coats and other such necessities to a most disastrous extent, there were at Balaklava, ten thousand *rugs* in December, more *than double* that number in January, out of which but eight hundred were after much difficulty served out to the shivering wretches! On the 24th and 27th of December, twenty-five thousand warm blankets arrived at Balaklava, but *were not issued*: and of 12,000 palliasses not one was issued, nor any attempt made to stuff and prepare them for issue. At this time the men were lying in their one old blanket each, on the wet ground in their tents! Twelve thousand great coats arrived also in December, and there was a reserve of two-thirds of that amount in Scutari, but neither were the latter sent for, nor the former issued!

Mr. Commissary General Filder, on being questioned as to the cause of this retention of articles that would have saved so many most valuable lives, replied:—that the Regulation of the “Service as established by the Queen’s Warrant, did not authorize such issue more frequently than once in three years”!!!

Six thousand regimental coatees and a corresponding number of trousers lay in store at Balaklava from November until

April, and at the end of those six months were still in store, while the men were in rags !

The Commissioners naively remark (page 6 of their Report)—  
“The deficiencies the Army upon the heights of Sebastopol suffered *most* from were, a deficiency of fresh meat, a deficiency of *vegetables*, a deficiency of fresh bread, particularly for the sick, and for those whose gums were affected with scurvy, a deficiency of *fuel*, a deficiency of hay and straw, to fill the *palllasses* of the sick, and above all, a deficiency of land-transport.”

“From the month of October (they say, same page) until the month of March, the supply of fresh meat was not sufficient to maintain the health of the troops. They suffered to an alarming extent from diseases of the bowels ; to which there was a general pre-disposition, and the medical officers of all ranks are of opinion, with hardly one exception, that the *continued use of salt meat aggravated those diseases, and increased that predisposition !*”

“It appears from the evidence of the Commissary-General, that it *has not been the practice to keep the General Commanding informed of the amount of provisions in depot or available for the use of the troops.* It was not *till the latter end of January* when circumstances forced upon Lord Raglan's attention the necessity for his being kept personally informed of the actual amount of the supplies on which he could rely for the maintenance of his troops, that periodical returns of the quantities in store at Balaklava, were ordered to be submitted to him !” (page 7.)

The deficiency in the supply of vegetables is *even more* objectionable and more “*unaccountable*” than that of fresh meat. A sufficient supply of vegetables was known to be indispensable to the maintenance of the health of the Army. The Turkish provinces could have furnished, and at a later and more unfavorable season did furnish a considerable amount. There are several varieties which can be safely carried at sea and will keep several months, of which potatoes and onions are perhaps the best ; and the different varieties of preserved vegetables are available at all seasons at a moderate cost.” (Page 13.)

The Report from which we have hurriedly and almost at random, taken the foregoing extracts and facts, is worded most cautiously, and with even an excess of consideration for the parties and the system, which its statements inevitably

tend to criminate. The consideration we speak of is indeed pushed to an excess that almost would suggest thoughts of most weak, if not altogether wilful and designed connivance. But we must not be understood as at all adopting or favoring such a suggestion, and on the contrary believe the Report to have been drawn up in good faith; we only wish to put to the Reader this position, that the actual state of things must have been very monstrous indeed, when through all their evident *réticence*, the Commissioners have been compelled to speak as they have done. We could add infinitely both in strength and number to the extracts we have given, but it would lengthen out this paper beyond all reasonable limits. We cannot however leave this subject without one or two very brief quotations relative to the medical supplies.

The Returns of sickness and mortality, furnished by the Medical Officers, relate to matters which are beyond our limits; but the *Morality* in the Crimea has been too remarkable not to excite a strong desire to ascertain if possible its causes. The Medical Evidence is CONCLUSIVE *against attributing it to anything peculiarly unfavorably in the climate.*

The Commissioners then go on to speak of the unanimous concurrence of all officers of every rank and class in attributing it to the deficiencies before mentioned—deficiencies of supply *on the spot*, but *not* deficiencies in the stores at *Balaklava*, and *Scutari*. One medical witness, at page 334, has in fact epitomized the whole evidence in these striking and all-sufficient words—

“Every thing required was either *wanting*, or *came too late*! Here is the secret of our sufferings!”\*

Unless the “System,” so terribly exposed in this Report, and exposed on official and the most incontestable authority, be altogether changed, the abounding resources of Great Britain will, as they have been in the Crimean struggle, avail her little to the assertion and maintenance of the position she desires to occupy as a great military nation. There is no doubt whatever that on the whole her prestige has been lowered by the occurrences of the present war, and that although our soldiers have shewn as they ever have, and ever will shew, a brilliancy of valor and a heroism of endurance that no army in the world

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\* Evidence of Dr. Muir, Surgeon to the 33rd, or Duke of Wellington's Regiment.

could surpass, if any could equal, yet their achievements have not been such as to add very largely to the military fame of the Empire. Europe attributes to the French the larger portion by far of the glory of quelling the pride of Russia in the Crimea.

There should be a change in every part of our military system. In the recruitment of soldiers, in the treatment of soldiers, in their supply, and food, and nourishment in the field—in the system of promotion, so as to add the stimulus of honorable ambition to that of mere increase of ordinary comforts; and above all, and before all, there should be a change in the system as regards the *officering* of our Army, in respect of which we so disadvantageously contrast with our neighbours, and allies at the opposite side of the Channel.

The most extraordinary gallantry in the field is in the vast and nearly overwhelming majority of instances, the only real military quality that our officers have displayed in the present War. In the higher grades, where there are not always the same opportunities for personal exposure and daring, but much more occasions for showing military aptitude, knowledge, and high talent, our failure has been lamentable. The cause is plainly the system that up to the present time has prevailed and unluckily still prevails, of allowing the force of money, or family interest, or both combined, to sway as a general rule the appointments and promotions, especially in the higher grades of our Army.

The British Officer is *supposed* to be subjected to an examination prior to entering the service, but during the present War that practice has had to be suspended in so many instances as to become all but nugatory; and even when it was enforced, it was not found at all difficult to meet and satisfy; the more especially as it really had scarcely more to do with military matters than with those of any of the civil professions: with the exception of these *examinations*, for which at any time three months of tolerably attentive study with a private tutor, would qualify any young man of ordinary education, the various steps of rank were open without difficulty to the man of wealth, and of good connexion and interest. In our Staff Officers the two latter requisites are of pre-eminent and nearly exclusive consequence; whereas in France, the system is widely different indeed as regards all officers of the Army; but most strikingly so as regards the officer of the important branch of the service just mentioned.

The French Government opens the following list of schools to the young aspirant for military honors, or indeed for any military rank whatever, and requires his attendance for specified periods at one or more of them, according as he seeks to qualify himself for promotion—

"Ecole Polytechnique," at Paris—"Ecole Spéciale Militaire," at St. Cyr—"Prytanée Impériale Militaire," at the town of La Flèche—"Ecole Normale de Tir," at Vincennes—"Ecole Normale de Gymnastique," in the same locality—"Ecole d'Application du Génie et de l'Artillerie," at Metz—"Ecole d'Application d'Etat-Major," at Paris—"Ecole de Cavalerie," at Saumur—"Ecole d'Application de Médecine et de Pharmacie Militaire," at the same place—"Ecoles Régimentaires du Génie," at Metz, at Arras, and at Montpellier.—Twelve Schools of Artillery at various places.

The embryo Staff Officer in France, must at outset of his career, pass three years at the "Ecole Polytechnique," or the "Ecole Spéciale Militaire de St. Cyr." He is then eligible for the "Ecole Impériale d'Application d'Etat Major," at Paris. Meantime he may have passed the ordinary military examination, and got his commission in the Line.

In the "Ecole d'Etat Major," he passes two years of severe study and strict discipline—learning all the higher branches of mathematics, topography, geography, fortification, statistics of various kinds, military history, three or four languages, including English, drawing, and the theory of military manoeuvres for troops of all arms of the service. To military surveying a special attention is given.

Supposing him to pass successfully the rigid examinations he is subject to, he is then attached for one year as a company officer to a regiment of infantry—for another year to the same as a second or supernumerary adjutant—for two years more similarly to a cavalry regiment, and for one year to a battery of Artillery. During these five years he has continually to remit to the heads of the "*Etat Major*," maps, papers, drawings and surveys.

After these ten years of education, theoretic and practical, and not till they are completed to the entire satisfaction of his superiors, he becomes eligible for a Staff appointment, and in due time may be sure of getting it, without seeking the aid of a military patron, or being indebted to any favoritism or interest.

In Great Britain, on the contrary, there is no special education, no special examination, no probationary period. The raw subaltern just *fudged* through his drill by the well-see'd serjeant-major of his regiment, may be appointed on the Staff if he have friends powerful enough at the Horse Guards, and under the same single condition may continue on it all his life, as well as rise to high command! Can it be wondered at then, that our staff-officers should have shewn themselves so disastrously incompetent in the Crimea!

We had hoped ere concluding this article to have been able to announce and comment upon the final terms of Peace. But up to this moment nothing further is known, at least by the general public, than was known three or four weeks ago. It is still left to conjecture whether there is, or is not, more sincerity in the Russian acceptance of "bases" this year, than when they excited and disappointed our hopes this time twelve months. We know not what concession or surrender of ill-acquired territory Russia is prepared to make, or what guarantee will be exacted from her against future aggressions. Judging from the past she will, unless effectively bound down and restrained by some permanent and well guaranteed arrangements, only bide her time, and wait for some period of European distractions, to resume her course of rapine, and unjust acquisition.

She took advantage of the *beginnings* of the American Revolution to secure a lion's share in the first partition of unhappy Poland, and subsequently advanced her Southern Armies till they occupied the Northern Shores of the sea of Azov, and secured the course of the Dnieper. When England and France were alike nearly exhausted by War in 1783, she annexed the territory of the Don Cossacks to the shores of the Caspian, and entered the Crimea. In 1792, in the first wild throes of the French Revolution, she seized the country between the Dniester and the Boug and completed the second partition of Poland. In 1795, the War of the French Revolution being then hot in Europe and all attention engaged by it, she effected the third and final partition of Poland. In 1802, she seized upon Mingrelia. In 1843, she invaded Georgia. In 1805 she seized the territories of Karabagh and Mongatchon, and in 1806 Shamaki on the Caspian Sea. In 1807 and the subsequent years till the conclusion of the War, Russia continued her advances in the East, taking advantage of the distractions

of Europe ; and marking each successive year with a fresh achievement of rapine. These her unjust acquisitions received a tacit sanction from the "Holy Alliance" in 1815 ; and an active addition to them in permitting her to absorb the Duchy of Warsaw ; and finally shut Sweden out from her plundered province of Finland.

Reluctantly she now found herself compelled to hold her hand, the other powers of Europe having at length time to look around them and beginning to manifest no little wonder and anxiety at what she had been doing while their attention was engaged in their own struggle for existence. And it was not till 1829 that her statesmen ventured to move forward again when suspicion had been lulled to sleep, and France and England for purposes of their own were courting Russia, and had but a year or two before in conjunction with Russia annihilated for the time the naval power of Turkey, and dismembered her territory. The treaty of Adrianople and of Unkiar-Skeless, attest that Russia and Russia alone profited in the end by the alliance.

It is to be hoped that in the Conference now about to meet at Paris, if it be judged impossible to insist upon a giving up of many of these ill gotten acquisitions and advantages, adequate guarantees will at any rate be insisted upon as to desisting from future aggression, and such arrangements made for the Danubian provinces and Asiatic Turkey, as will make those countries bulwarks as it were against Russia, should she attempt hereafter to violate her engagements.

As we write, the unwelcome intelligence has reached us of the increasing difficulties between Great Britain and the United States. It is a matter we need not say of the deepest concernment and the gravest moment. It is so whether we look at the physical or the moral results likely to follow from the breaking out of hostilities between these countries and our transatlantic brethren ; as to its physical results, the United States will no doubt suffer deeply all along her exposed and nearly defenceless seaboard ; which her small regular army of some 12 or 14,000 men and her undisciplined and in many cases unarmed militia cannot effectively defend. But the wide-spread commerce of England must suffer the most enormous losses from the cloud of American privateers that will quickly cover every sea ; and it is well to recollect that the United States in 1812 were far less strong in military and naval

resources than at present, and yet were able to maintain a war of three years against us, with heavy loss to us in treasure and in blood.

But the moral results would be still worse in the evil feelings that would be perpetuated between the mother country and her former children and dependants, and above all in the check to that spreading of civilization in the other hemisphere which is the mission of the United States, however ill and imperfectly that mission has as yet been attempted.

One word for Ireland in conclusion. What is to be the result to her of the War, which we are happy to have reason to consider is on the point of termination. How is she to be repaid her sacrifices? The blood of her children has been poured out like water in this struggle; as it always has been whenever England needed her aid. Nay, we believe that in proportion to her population it will undoubtedly be found that she has furnished more victims to the Demon of War than either of the sister countries. It would have been easy for her also to have distracted and divided the energies of England by menacing political demonstrations, and nothing of this kind has she done. With exceptions so few as to be utterly insignificant, her People and her Press have approved of the War, cheered on their countrymen to join in the strife, and freely pledged every effort of our Nation to support the part taken in it by Great Britain. And now having lost so many of our youth, suffering from the severe taxation which presses so much more in proportion upon our impoverished country than upon Great Britain, have we not a right to ask for some recognition of our services and sacrifices, some amelioration of our condition, some concession of advantages and privileges, some practical proof that we are at length recognised as entitled to be placed on an equality in all respects with the more favored people of England and of Scotland.

We could markedly indicate the direction in which an honest effort for this end should be made; but it would be foreign to the purpose of this paper to enter upon such a discussion; especially when we have already reached our limits. We can however confidently leave it to our Irish readers to supply for themselves the suggestions and claims the Irish community is now so amply entitled to make and to demand.



## ART. VI.—AN ADDITION TO THE CURRENCY.

*Principles of Currency—Means of Ensuring Uniformity of Value and Adequacy of Supply.* By Edwin Hill. London : Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman. 1856.

It would be idle to speak of the importance of the Science of Political Economy in each and every of its wide and difficult departments. There is hardly any science concerning which there has been until of late years such gross ignorance, and it must be confessed that even to the present it labours under a serious defect, it is involved in a certain amount of obscurity which presents difficulties quite sufficient to deter from its study most men; and, capable as it is in most of its great truths and principles, of popular illustration, it must be a matter of considerable regret that those who have written on the subject, have rather addressed themselves to adepts in the science, than to the great mass of readers with ordinary information and ordinary intelligence. Beyond question, in its higher branches and its more serious and intricate calculations, it is involved in such difficulty and complication, that it would be impossible in writing upon these, to address any but men who have long and carefully studied the science in its higher parts; but, at the same time, many, if not most of its great truths, are susceptible of proof by an easy and popular illustration, which would enable all to judge for themselves of the accuracy of reasoning of those who advance the propositions, and which would be more effectual than is generally imagined, in testing strange or absurd theories, and seizing upon the fallacies involved in apparently reasonable plans for remedying existing defects and evils, obscure and metaphysical disquisitions on value, currency, gold, exchange, such as most writers on this subject continue to fill their pages, or rather to enter upon their subject with, are quite sufficient to deter the great mass of readers. In this respect we think Mr. Hill is deserving of much credit, and though we differ with him as to the efficacy of his proposed plan, and as to portions of the reasoning by which he seeks to support it, we thank him for the clearness with which he proposes his views; a clearness

not alone desirable for enabling general readers to understand the subject, but a clearness which shews his honesty of purpose. Advocates of a theory which they have reason to suspect to be erroneous, or to which being wedded from any particular reason they seek to support — *per fas aut nefas*, take care to use such obscure language, and to strain so unfairly, not to say improperly, facts as well as arguments, that it is somewhat difficult to detect their errors, and still more difficult to render that detection manifest to others. Mr. Hill enters on this subject in the spirit of one who seeks to investigate the truth, and to suggest what is useful. He does not desire to force a pet theory on us, or to magnify himself at the general expense, either by creating a sect or by effecting a change, unless he is right. Again, we think that this gentleman is entitled to consideration for devoting, with the best intentions, and with a singular honesty of purpose, much time and trouble in propounding a plan, no matter whether it may be considered effective or not, for remedying one of the most serious evils to which a country could be exposed. Compelled as we are to differ from Mr. Hill, we think these remarks due to him, and that we should enter on the consideration of his suggestions rather as one discussing a plan with a friend, when both have a common object, than as a severe critic or a sectarian partizan. In our remarks on this subject we shall rather address ourselves to general readers, as it is quite possible to do, at the same time that we communicate our views to those who have made the subject their study, although in so doing we may depart from the general rule, and subject ourselves to the charge of writing inaccurately and carelessly on the matter.

Before proceeding to discuss the reasoning of Mr. Hill on particular evils and the sources to which he attributes them, it would be desirable to state a few of the principal propositions connected with currency, the truth of which all concur in admitting.

The object of currency is to furnish a medium, by which exchanges may be effected. The farmer can consume but a small portion of his own crops, he cannot very well take a portion of his corn in kind to his landlord to pay the rent, nor to tradespeople with whom he deals for the different necessaries and luxuries of life. For this purpose it is necessary to select some produce having as nearly as possible an invariable

value, or some token representing Land Produce. The principal requirement of such a medium, a requirement in comparison with which all other considerations must sink into insignificance, is a fixedness of value. Gold, which has generally been selected for the purpose of discharging this duty of exchange, has been ascertained to be subject to less fluctuations than any other possible metal. And for purposes of utility, gold is worth little or nothing. Value is however ascertained by the cost of production, and it is not because the gold in a sovereign is intrinsically worth the measure of corn which may be bought for it that it is considered an equivalent, but because the quantity of gold and corn mutually exchangeable, cost for their production the same amount of labor.

Gold then being, without the intervention of Government or legislative provision of any kind, what may be called the natural currency of every country, independently of its fixedness of value and portability, as compared with other metals or commodities, it has been taken as the basis of our currency. The same object of supplying a currency may be effected by the Government issuing a certain number of counters, and providing that they should be a legal tender for a particular sum, because the different exchanges required by the community require only a token, which token however, while it may be valueless in itself, must have a reference to a fixed standard as gold, that is a fictitious, by its purporting to represent a certain quantity of gold. It matters not to the farmer whether he is paid by his factor in tokens or sovereigns for his corn, provided those tokens being made legal tender and kept as before said at a fixed value, he can pay his rent with them, and procure everything that he could have procured with sovereigns. If the amount of these tokens or notes should be greater than is required for the purpose for which they were intended, that is for the necessary exchanges, the result will be that there being more tokens than are necessary, more of them will be given for the same quantity of produce than before, consequently a higher price will be paid for commodities. On the contrary, if the tokens are not sufficient to discharge their required function of fully supplying the media of exchange on the country, a smaller number of tokens must suffice to purchase the same quantity of corn than would suffice under a perfectly regulated and adapted supply.

At such a time prices are low, that is, commodities will not command in exchange as large a quantity of currency as at other times. The object of supplying a community with the required amount of currency might be effected without the circulation of a single sovereign or coin of any kind, by the issue of tokens to which the attribute of currency is given, by Government providing that such shall be legal tender. This, as regards economy, is by far the most desirable currency medium, as there is neither the waste occasioned by the circulation nor the loss of interest by keeping up a valuable product like gold, when the same object might be effected by bundles of paper. An insuperable objection however presents itself to issuing tokens without some provision being made as to securing a fixedness of value, a fact only to be ascertained by a reference to the least variable in value of all products, namely gold. In an arbitrary government this object might be effected without having a single coin in circulation, by the managers of that branch of the state direction, ascertaining from time to time, as might be convenient or necessary, whether the amount of gold which the note or token purports to represent can be bought for such note. If this be so and the note and the gold coin should be of equal value, the currency will be at its true level neither more nor less than the business transactions of the country require. If the note can purchase more gold than it purports to represent, there is a deficiency of currency because the currency not being sufficient for business demands prices are lower—that is a larger quantity of material value may be obtained for the note than under ordinary circumstances, and hence a larger quantity of gold which may be bought and sold as corn, manufactured or any other marketable articles. On the other hand, if the currency be in excess, by the same process the note will not be able to purchase the quantity of gold which it purports to represent.

Such a power even if it could be satisfactorily and successfully exercised is so inconsistent with our constitutional ideas, that it may be put aside as one which could not safely be confided to any government or body of men. This being so, the meanest approximation to a purely paper currency, consistently with securing the fixedness of value of such currency, must be the most desirable. We object to placing the control of the currency, that is the exercise of an arbitrary discretion, as to the issue of paper or creation of currency, in any body in the

State. This object therefore to be effected, is in our opinion more effectually and simply secured by our present currency laws than by any other scheme which has been either tested or devised. The general plan of our present currency system does not require any minute particulars or details, and may be stated in a few lines. The Bank of England having lent to Government eleven million, and holding Government securities for three million in addition, are authorised to issue Notes to the amount of fourteen million of pounds, which notes are constituted by the legislature legal tender, and may be called, from not being based on any material value, unrepresented notes : beyond this, the Bank is at liberty to issue to any amount they please, but on condition of holding bullion in their coffers, to the amount of such issue, that is having a sovereign for every pound note they put into circulation. Country banks are confined to a certain amount of issue, being an average of what their actual issue had been for some years before the passing of the First Bank Charter Act. Those minor auxiliaries to the Bank of England, although in many respects their existence and powers are to be taken into consideration in discussing various questions connected with the currency, it will not be necessary to refer to them in any of the observations we shall consider necessary to make on the suggestions of Mr. Hill. We shall not therefore more particularly refer to them.

By our present system, it would seem the desired object of fixedness of value and the greatest possible economy of gold, consistently with securing that fixedness is, by a simple self-adjusting process, more nearly approached than it possibly can be by any other currency, which, as already observed, is not the creation of an arbitrary power. Gold, entering into our currency,—but a very small portion indeed by actual circulation, though a very considerable sum is, it must be admitted, lying idle in the bank coffers,—like the rest of the currency, when in excess, becomes depreciated in value. If nineteen million of currency suffice for the demands of the community, and there should be in actual circulation twenty million, every note or sovereign, which, when the supply was properly adjusted, was worth twenty shillings is reduced in value to nineteen ; that is, will purchase only the same amount of commodity as nineteen would have done. The result is, other countries, in which there is at the same time either a deficiency of currency, or an

exact supply, will begin to absorb our gold, being able to get twenty shillings worth for nineteen, and then commences a drain of gold on account of the exchange in gold being, as it is called, against this country. Under these circumstances, an unmistakeable index is furnished as to the adaptation of the amount of currency to the necessary supply. When the exchange is against us the bank begins to contract its issues and diminish its discounts, by which means the value of the note is brought to its proper level with gold, the result of which is to leave gold at par in England, or as near par as other disturbing influences outside of an excess or deficiency of currency will permit. The bank does this not on public grounds, but for their own security. Their very existence depends on being able to pay all comers gold for their notes, and if they allow a drain of gold out of the country to go on, they are preparing for themselves a run, it being more for the interest of holders of notes to get bullion from the bank, and export it at a profit, than to hold and turn in their business depreciated notes. Bound as they are to hold gold for every note beyond the fourteen million, the rule it seems upon which the directors act is, to have as much coin and bullion in their coffers as may in the aggregate amount, when the exchange is at par, to a third part of the bank's liabilities, including deposits as well as issues; that is, when in addition to the fourteen million of unrepresented notes, they have, between their represented notes and the sums lodged by depositors, thirteen or sixteen million of liabilities, in all twenty-seven, or thirty million of liabilities, which they may be called on to make good in gold, they hold nine million or ten million; it being calculated that this sum is sufficient for all probable and ordinary demands. Hence we may see the absolute necessity for the bank to watch jealously and closely the value of gold and the state of our exchanges, in order to make ready against an imminent danger. It is said that there is a terrible waste in allowing to lie idle in the cellars of the bank so large a quantity of bullion, valuable in itself and capable of bearing interest. This, however, is a necessary evil, as by no other means could the test be applied or enforced as to whether or not our notes are at par, and our currency accurately adapted to the wants of the community. True, the Government might say to the bank, we will allow you to issue, not as at present, with a sovereign in your chest for every pound of paper money,

but to issue as to you seems wise, paying to us the average rate of interest which shall go to meet the present expenses of the state, and with a liability of being called on at a moment to pay in gold. It may be doubted, however, if this would be productive of any change for the better, in dispensing with the presence of gold ; as acting on the rule which, as we have mentioned, is considered necessary by the directors for their own protection, they would continue to hold as large an amount of bullion lying idle in their coffers as they do at present.

The suggestion which Mr. Hill offers, is that there should be an addition made to our present currency by issuing a species of Exchequer bill, bearing the usual market rate of interest, bearing on the face of it the amount, due for principal and interest, each day of its existence ; and, that thus, that large portion of our necessary currency which is supplied by bills of exchange, might be substituted by those bills which would have all the advantage of bills of exchange, of adapting themselves to the currency. They would, says Mr. Hill, become investments when money was easy, because holders would get higher interest on the money sunk, by keeping them, than by passing them as money ; that is, they could get money at a lower rate of interest than the Government were to pay them, and therefore, it would be their interest to hold these and pay money. On the other hand, as he reasons, when money should be scarce and interest consequently high, the holders of such bills would find it more to their advantage to employ them as currency than to hold them, as thus they could make use of the money represented by those bills at a cheaper rate than they could find, substitutes for them, by going into the money market to raise the necessary sums for carrying on their business. The futility of this proposal in effecting its intended object, that of giving relief from panic, we shall consider after discussing the reasons which induce Mr. Hill to conclude it would have this effect.

It is worthy of remark, that while most of the propositions connected with this subject are correctly stated in some one place or other through the pages of this book, they are, nevertheless, from time to time, lost sight of entirely in observations upon causes and effects, and deductions from premises. It would be more curious than instructive to go seriatim through these inconsistencies, and confining ourselves to showing that Mr. Hill's currency device cannot effect its object in any way or produce the least influence on the condition of the currency, we shall

take, as they present themselves, the different statements and deductions to which we object.

In approaching the subject the objection is made to the present system, that under it gold is at the same time a standard of value and medium of payment, and that in this way disturbing influences are brought to bear which cause gold to fluctuate in value. In this he is perfectly correct, but the objection is one to which every human regulation is subject, namely, that it has its imperfections, and until some mode can be devised which neither Mr. Hill nor any other writer has ever yet put forward, we must submit to this imperfection.

It is necessary, as before mentioned, since we will not consent to leave to the direction either of a government or a board, the entire irresponsible management of the currency, putting gold entirely out of circulation, that we should have a self-acting regulator of our currency. The quantity of gold as compared with general currency of the country is indeed small, and how by any other machinery than that now in use the great object of regulating the demand to the supply could be effected, seems to us one of those problems beyond human intelligence to solve.

Neither is there so much in this objection as appears at first sight; for though a temporary demand may for a time raise the price of gold in a *particular country*, or an excess of currency depreciate its value in *that country*, such causes will but slightly affect the value of the total quantity of bullion in circulation in the entire commercial world, and while, at the same time, we may find that gold is either dear or cheap in our country, that very statement shews that, as a general standard furnished by all the gold in use, these temporary rises and falls in particular communities affect little if at all the utility of gold as a standard of value.

What is the cause of those commercial crises which from time to time paralyze the energies of the country and bring ruin to thousands and want to hundreds of thousands? Mr. Hill says, want of currency, and to establish this proposition he argues at some length that it cannot be from those causes by which they are created in other countries as famine, domestic disturbances, earthquakes, and similar national calamities; hence he rushes to the conclusion, that an insufficient or ill-regulated currency is at the root of the evil. Into the many ingredients which constitute a crisis, and how far



each bears a part in bringing about a panic, it would be difficult to speak definitely. Mr. Hill says they are mainly caused by a defect of currency, and that under present regulations the evil aggravates itself, and the greater the want of currency the more does the currency contract. We say want of credit. It is asked, why is England more exposed to panics than other countries? Because she has larger business transactions, and there is more credit in England than in other countries. For the same reason that a wholesale merchant who gives credit largely and speculates extensively is more liable to stop payment from some accident or rumour, than the small huxter who neither gets nor gives credit. Mr. Hill attacks the bullionists in Mr. Norman, when the latter gentleman ascribes these commercial panics to their proper causes, namely, presumption, ignorance, and the defect of human intelligence. England, argues Mr. Hill, is as intelligent, as shrewd, and as well educated, if not much more so, than any of her neighbours. So is the wholesale merchant as compared with the small shopkeeper. It is credit which is at the root of the evil, and as long as a country engages largely in business transactions in which success engenders an over conceit and spirit of rash speculation, so long must she be prepared for those panics and reactions. The only effect which a system of currency can have upon the evil is to bring it to a stop in time, while at the same time, by a temporary relaxation of its rules, it may assist bona fide holders of material wealth, while it leaves speculators trading upon credit only to their fate. This, as we shall shew, is the operation of our present system of currency, and anything further would be as entirely beyond the power of any currency system that could be devised, as to make bank notes intrinsically worth what they purported to represent, or transmute paper into material wealth.

We must do this writer the justice of not confounding him with the paper currency theorists. He admits the utility of gold, although he unfairly urges, as we have already said, the objection to the use of it; nay more, he would as regards the employment of gold have it as it is, introducing, however, a supplemental paper currency. Before coming to his plan, however, it will be better to observe on the different errors upon which he builds his theory for the purpose of establishing our two propositions—that he is erroneous as to the cause of these panics, and that even if he were right, the object which he proposes for his new medium of currency could not be

affected by it. Curiously enough Mr. Hill, after attributing to a deficient currency these crises, lets slip on the subject the following opinion, at page 33.

"My own impression is, that our liability to commercial convulsion is traceable to the very extensive, and at the same time very unguarded, use we make of credit—unguarded, that is by due precaution against its misuse or abuse."

That the condition of the country is healthy from a supply of currency neither above nor below the wants of the community, is shown, according to Mr. Hill, by negatives. 1st. If there be no desire to export gold. 2nd. If there be no want of reasonable confidence, and an absence of speculative excitement. In offering these reasons, he abandons every objection to the present system of regulating the currency. The second test may be put aside entirely, because as to pronouncing upon whether or not there was generally prevailing speculative excitement and want of reasonable confidence, would be entirely too difficult and blind a task, and one which no sensible man could offer as affording an ascertainable criterion. We come then to the first—if there be no desire to export gold—and what do we find; that here, in obedience to the existing regulation, and the interest of that Bank which may be said in truth to regulate the currency, the exportation, or importation of gold, is the test always acted on by them as to whether they should contract or enlarge the currency issue.

Although Mr. Hill admits that a mixed currency, such as ours is at present, is the best, and that it only requires the addition which he proposes, yet in order to establish his proposition, that the sufferings of the community at times of panic, if not brought about are aggravated by a want of currency, he finds it necessary to quarrel more or less with the rule which requires the Bank to hold gold for their issue of notes in addition to the unrepresented fourteen million. As he argues, the effect of this is, that when the panic comes on the currency is contracting, and thus the evil is aggravated, seeking to deduce therefrom, that because the evil is aggravated, because there is not an extension of currency, that therefore the evil has been brought about by some defect in the currency. Now, as this is one of the principal errors on which he seeks to support his theory, we must ascertain how far the fact is so. When the panic is coming on we really want more currency, yet this is the very time the currency is contracting, says Mr. Hill. True, the

currency is contracting in obedience to the only true indicator, namely, the condition of the gold exchange. If, he continues, the currency were enlarged at this particular time, people would be able to go on and get over their difficulties, and the country would be saved from the horrors of a panic, and for proof of this he refers to the period when cash payments were suspended by the Bank, who were thus enabled to issue an unlimited supply of notes. Now it must be borne in mind that upon these different occasions, and especially in 1847, (when the mere fact of giving authority to the Bank to suspend cash payments without any actual issue consequent on the authority, had the effect of restoring confidence,) that on each of these occasions the panic had gone a particular length, and pulled up most of the mere speculators, although unfortunately with them a few able to pay twenty shillings in the pound, and that therefore the time had come for applying an unusual remedy, or, to take a very apt illustration from the medical men, the evil humours of the community, which should sooner or later be discharged, had been brought more quickly to a head by one class of treatment, while after the discharge a totally different mode was adopted for restoring the patient. The contracting of the issues, at the same time that it did its great duty of adapting the supply to the demand, and keeping the currency of the country at its proper value, had the effect of forcing steadily to a wind-up those who were not worth what they owed, or, in other words, did not possess one pounds worth of material value. The issuing, or the authorizing of the issue, of additional notes had then this effect, that men of material wealth could get their bills cashed, which in the state of public credit the Bank dared not do while they were open to a run upon their coffers. Those who had thus gotten that money which they required, and which from their solvency they were entitled to get, were in a position to assist others; holders of currency which during the panic had ceased to discharge its duties as currency from having been hoarded, began to find that confidence was returning, and in proportion as they found that their assistance could be dispensed with, became ready to accommodate and less jealous of parting with their money. Deposits which, as it is estimated, cause every thousand pounds to do the duty of three thousand in the way of currency, are again made and discounts are resumed, until again the monetary affairs of the country are

restored to a satisfactory condition. Want of credit, and not of currency, is the cause of the evil, much harm being done, nevertheless, to those who are really deserving of credit by the temporary panic.

An attempt, however, by an unlimited issue of notes to entirely arrest a commercial crisis would be perfectly futile; an illustration of this fact would be perhaps the most satisfactory mode of causing its truth to be recognized by the great mass of readers. If in a community there should be say a dozen of merchants, four of whom, with a capital of £20,000, are engaged in enterprises which require either money or credit to the extent of £200,000, while the remaining eight are possessed of capital or material wealth of the value of the £200,000 which is the extent of their trade. From over trading and rash speculation the men of small capital find that from the turn of the markets those engagements which they have entered into when wound up, will leave them penniless if not worse. They are naturally anxious to go on, like gamblers, in the hope that some lucky chance will extricate them from their difficulty. In substance paupers, they require money to carry on, which if they get, it can only be to plunge into still wilder speculations, as the regular and fair profits of trade could be of little or no use to them. The longer this is allowed to go on the more deeply do they become embarrassed, and the most disastrous to the community of which they are members must their fall be. Now the only effect of increasing the currency would be to enable such men to continue a short time longer in trade, and the farther the evil day is postponed the more terrible the reckoning. Can it be said that it is not for the benefit of such persons, or rather for the benefit of the community (for the former have nothing to lose) that those men of straw should be stopped? According to our present system the screw is put on more or less according as the necessity is indicated, although it is sad to consider that in bringing those men to a stand still, public credit becomes so much shaken that many men of substance, who would at the time under any circumstances be enable to continue and satisfy every demand upon them, are obliged to stop. This state of things is inseparable from our imperfect human nature, and until communities can be depended on, and are not liable to run into excesses of fear, such mishaps must be expected, and cannot be satisfactorily met or guarded against. An attempt by increasing of issues to meet such calamities would

be similar to a physician trying to drive back into the system lurking humours, and to prevent them drawing to a head, a protraction of the disease which might involve mortal consequences to the patient.

Admitting, however, for the moment that the evils of commercial crises and panics, such as those which from time to time disturb our community and involve us in such ruinous confusion, are caused by an insufficient supply of currency, and not by a want of credit and public confidence, it yet remains to be considered how this species of exchequer bill which *Mr. Hill* proposes to issue would supply the defect. It is beyond all question that the greater portion of our large business transactions are carried on by means of bills of exchange, a medium which, though it effects the object of currency, does not come properly within the definition of currency, which is a token upon which the state has conferred a certain privilege, that is, that it must get credit for what it purports to be worth. For this purpose the credit of the state is pledged, and, as we have already shewn, it has fenced round with safeguards these tokens for the purpose of preserving their value, and insuring as far as human wisdom can provide, the security of these tokens. Bills of exchange, however, are entirely the creatures of credit, with nothing to secure in the least their value, or any guarantee that they should be paid at maturity but the names of their acceptors, drawers or indorsers. If public confidence be once shaken, these instruments lose more or less of their efficiency, as men have no reason to know that those bills, although perfectly safe, can be made available, either by passing from hand to hand or by being cashed at the bank, which requires to protect itself, and has to depend on that very public credit the absence of which throws to a certain extent those securities out of circulation. Let us see, however, would these exchequer bills supply the currency, granting that a defective currency causes and aggravates the evil. The exchequer bills, when issued, would be bought up by holders of stock, by men who wish to invest in the funds, and not men of business, who would little think of investing in securities which would pay them only three or four per cent. for money, which by turning with ordinary care they may make pay them a yearly interest of perhaps twelve or fifteen per cent. No matter, however, whether it is found in the hands of the merchant or the capitalist, when the evil hour comes,

when high rates of interest and discount will not induce bankers to cash bills, when the sovereigns are tied up by them ready to hand to their customers when called on, and men permit bank notes and gold to lie idle and utterly unproductive rather than run any risk, what likelihood is there that those exchequer bills bearing interest as they should from day to day would come forth to meet the demand, not for cash, of which there is enough with reasonable confidence, but for credit, which, if it existed, there would be cash enough found to effect all that might be required. If a shopkeeper in a remote town, a man of substance and means, who expects to be paid on the morrow a sum of £100, borrow from his neighbour for twenty-four hours this sum which he forthwith pays away, what a number of hands may not that money pass through backwards and forwards within these twenty-four hours, helping to make up the payment of the original £100; what an amount of transactions will this small sum have effected, none of which could have taken place had the £100 been unreasonably refused in the first instance. In this way we may perceive how impossible it would be in a panic which prevents every man from trusting his neighbour for one hour, to remedy the evil by any possible issue of currency; the most that can be done is, by a judicious relaxation at the right time of the rule, the habitual observance of which has been found to be so essentially necessary, to turn the stream and check the unreasonable fears of the public. It should by no means be overlooked either that any considerable extension of the currency beyond that which the bullion index marks as correct must do a great injustice to all debtors, as they are paid in a coin or rather notes depreciated in value by an over issue. Though for a time depreciated notes may gladly be accepted at a considerable sacrifice by those whose very existence is depending on their obtaining either credit or legal tender, and may be thus kept by a feverish and unnatural state of affairs about par, they must nevertheless, when credit is restored, sink to that level to which every excess in currency necessarily subsides, with more or less of loss to the holders of notes in the interval between such unlimited issue, and the time when from the operation of the usual banking laws, the restriction of the currency commences to take effect.

The only statement which could at all support Mr. Hill's theory is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, *for the purpose of supplying the currency and giving relief*, has, from time to

time, raised the rate of interest on exchequer bills when money was scarce. If this were so, and that it has such an effect, it should, as being the only strong support of Mr. Hill's plan, have been proved either by facts or reasoning that raising the interest on exchequer bills assisted to relieve the general want. It seems much more likely that the Chancellor found it necessary to do so in order to get those bills cashed and raise the necessary funds, and how Mr. Hill is justified in stating what the views of the Chancellor have been in so doing, or that its effects have been such, we are equally at a loss to know.

Although we have pointed out many errors in Mr. Hill's reasoning on this subject, and although we quarrel with several of the propositions which he advances in support of his theory, we must grant him this much, that, unlike most of the opinions on this varied question of currency, there is not as far as we can see anything vicious in Mr. Hill's plan. We have given our reasons for concluding that these legal-tender exchequer bills would not effect what he thinks they could in times of panic and distress; we have pointed to the true cause of those pernicious evils which we fear are as much beyond human wisdom to provide against, as to insure that in every family in the kingdom there should be comfortable means and a prosperous condition. At the same time with our currency regulated as it is at present,—a system which Mr. Hill does not seek to disturb—we cannot see any harm that would ensue from the introduction of such bills, and must say that much convenience and even tendency to economise might be the result. The mistake he has made with regard to this new mixed medium is proposing too much for it, the result of which is that when we perceive that it must fall entirely short of the originator's notion, and utterly disappoint all who expect it to effect what he proposes for it, few will take the trouble to point out the minor advantages of which it might be productive. We should, however, go the length of saying that free from any dangerous consequences as such a medium of currency would be, that it should receive a trial, and we would suggest that, as Mr. Hill has originated a very ingenious although simple theory, that he should return to the subject, and taking lower ground than he has done, should consider and point to the convenience and general utility of such a medium.

Conscious as we are of the vast importance of the subject,

and desirous as we should be to have it enlightened by suggestion and discussion, we trust that in differing with this writer as we have done, our task has been discharged with courtesy and no unnecessary severity, and that in pointing to errors we may not turn from the good work an earnest and well-disposed man, or damp the courage of those who either can or think they can suggest what may be useful, or point out what may be defective.

We had almost forgotten to notice some remarks of Mr. Hill's as to the subject of engaging in extensive public works in times of difficulty and distress for the purpose giving employment. As far as we know this view is original, and is fraught with the highest practical importance. It is one to which we give our *entire* assent, and to which we think the attentive consideration of those whose duty it is to legislate for us should be drawn. As we have not hitherto extracted much from Mr. Hill's book we shall allow him on this subject to speak for himself:—

"Although the changes which material capital undergoes, either in its total quantity, or in the proportions in which it continues floating or becomes fixed, may not have much concern with the commercial derangements under consideration, there can be no doubt whatever of their great influence upon our national prosperity and happiness; as witness the great potato failure in Ireland. And although it is but seldom that government can safely interfere to counteract the influence of these changes (in capital) upon the prosperity and happiness of society, yet it is obviously important, that in those exceptional cases in which it does interfere, government should throw its weight into the right scale.

For instance:—in times when an unusual abundance of material capital excites men to throw off the ordinary restraints of prudence, and to embark in unwise and perilous enterprises, the government may wisely remove some of the stimulating excess, by applying it in the vigorous prosecution, upon a large scale, of works of national defence and convenience.

Thus the construction of ships of war, the formation of harbours, the erection of fortresses, lighthouses, and public buildings in general, the making of roads and the fitting out of exploratory expeditions, &c., if judiciously timed, might absorb much capital just when it could well be spared; when, indeed, its useful absorption would moderate the effect upon the public mind of sudden and unusual prosperity.

Further, by this forethought in securing the execution of its great works in times when the means were abundant, the government would obtain the power of avoiding such expenditure in times when the means are scanty; when, indeed, the pressing duty of reproduction, wants all the means, and all the energy, that could possibly be devoted thereto.



Every prudent man, in the management of his individual concerns, will thus, in times of prosperity, take advantage of his increased means, to extend and improve his lands, to enlarge his premises, and to increase his working stock and implements, &c. ; whilst in times of adversity, on the contrary, he will husband his resources, by avoiding all expenditure which can be safely deferred.

By a strange perversity, however, the cause of which demands a close investigation, our national concerns are managed in a precisely opposite way ; for we pay no particular attention to our public works in times of unusual abundance, when it might even be an advantage to us to spare the means ; but in times of unusual insufficiency, *we actually abstract a serious portion of the then already too scanty means, and apply them to the construction of works of no pressing necessity whatever.*

That we have not, in times of high abundance, taken the course herein pointed out, as appropriate thereto, must, admitting the advantages of such course, be attributed to inadvertence ; indeed, the necessity for precautionary measures is but seldom forced upon the attention in times of prosperity, nor is there then anything to mark particularly the advantage of the measures herein recommended.

But when we are in a state of famine, it seems obvious and indisputable, that, on the one hand, our manufacturing energy—stimulated to its utmost exertion—should be directed to the production of those commodities which will best avail us in the purchase of supplies abroad ; and that our commercial energy should put forth its utmost power, in exporting such commodities as fast as they are produced, and in procuring and bringing home food in return ; whilst, on the other hand, our agricultural energies should be tasked to their utmost, in carrying on that tillage of the earth, upon the extent, efficiency, and success of which, under Providence, the replenishment of our empty garners at the return of harvest then mainly depends. Nor can the danger and suffering by which we are at such time surrounded, fail, one would think, to force these truths upon the attention of all reflecting men.

With so plain a course before our eyes, and incurring such fearful responsibilities if we go wrong, how do we really proceed ?—Why, just when every loom and every hammer, every plough and every spade, throughout the whole country, ought to be worked without intermission, we find the workshops and the fields alike deserted : men able, willing, and even anxious to labour, are seen loitering in crowds about our streets in a state of enforced idleness, menacing the public peace. Or, if the government interfere, as it did in Ireland a few years ago, then are these men set to work, *not* upon the task (at such time urgent beyond all others) of producing something wherewith to procure food from other countries in exchange, nor upon the scarcely less pressing duty of cultivating the land to the utmost, in order that the famine may at least end with the next harvest ; but they are employed upon tasks that have no relation whatever to the urgent necessities of the case,—tasks, indeed, sometimes useless altogether."

## ART. VII.—FEMALE ADULT EDUCATION.

*Adult Schools, A Letter addressed to the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland.* By J. P. Organ, author of "A Plea for the Education of the Working Classes Through the Medium of Evening Schools and Educational Mechanics' Institutes." Dublin: M. and J. Sullivan. 1856.

In the twentieth number of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW we announced to our readers that a history of the industrial ~~phases~~ of the National System of Education in Ireland, together with a notice of the industrial branches of the system of education promoted by her Majesty's Council of Education in England, should appear in the current number of the REVIEW. The subject is so comprehensive a one, and has involved not only the attentive perusal of multitudinous reports and books, but an actual inspection of the leading schools in this and the sister country at rather an inclement season of the year, that we are obliged to postpone the article we have in preparation until the publication of our next, the June number. Amongst the schools which we visited is one very intimately connected with Industrial Schools; for it offers to those who are ignorant of book learning and industriously employed during the day an opportunity of obtaining a *literary* education. In this respect it may be regarded as the complement and converse of ordinary industrial schools. There are other points in the working of the school in question that attach a public importance to it as a *type* of schools under similar management; a system of management not only little understood but grossly misrepresented, and we accordingly anticipate our regular paper on the subject of National Industrial Education by laying before our readers *at once* the following notes of our visit.

Few institutions which we have inspected afforded us anything like the pleasure and satisfaction we derived from a visit we made to the Evening School for Female Adults conducted by the Sisters of Mercy, in the Callender-street National School, Belfast. This school was established for the purpose of extending the blessings of education to grown females, especially to those who are employed in the mills of the town.

There are thirty-three mills in Belfast and its neighbour-

hood, giving employment to upwards of 32,000 persons, and as Macaulay and others have written the panegyrics of the great mill proprietors, and conferred wreaths of commercial immortality upon the town and its people generally, we shall permit the historian, the traveller, and the economist to tell each his own tale and shall add nothing to it; but there is a phase in the story as yet untold. There are within those leviathan mills, from half past five o'clock in the early morning till six o'clock at night, thousands of youthful females who have never played at the apron strings of a mother, or heard their names called over by a father's voice; and there they are with wan countenances and sickly faces; and they have grown up in their ignorance and the moral helplessness of their orphanage. Besides those who are orphans, there will also be found a large number of others in the mills who are ignorant of the simplest rudiments of knowledge. Yet these are the people who have most need of the firmness of mind and protecting influences acquired by a sound education. Where there is an aggregation of numbers—particularly if there be a lack of education amongst them—there is sure to be moral danger.

The nature of an employment is often favorable or otherwise to virtue. The labor of the field, every body knows, is favorable to simplicity of manners and godliness; whilst, on the contrary, mill operations exercise the worst influences, vitiate the feelings, poison the affections, and give gloominess to the passions. "Private vice," says Thomas Wyse, "has but to make a few steps and a few proselytes and it becomes public corruption;" it is not difficult to appreciate the awful calamities a few vicious wretches in a mill can bring upon their ignorant fellow workers, whilst at the same time they are leading society into confusion and immorality. When we find an uneducated woman in one of those immense mills, we find the weakest and most destitute of human creatures in the weakest and most dangerous of places. We see her, the poor mill girl, young in years, mature in the strategies of the world, old in physical conformation and decay, and surrounded by those who are subtle in words, crafty in adventure, loose in principle, and thoughtless in conduct. Her face is always pale and haggard, her eyes are always moist, her brow is ever knitted, her cheeks become more hollow and hectic day by day, her hair grows unnaturally dry, and she saturates it with the foul

smelling oil of the machinery ; her lips are thin, pale, and pressed together, a smile seldom brightens her countenance, and when it does it travels so gloomily over it that it is like one of those light clouds that of an autumn evening glide past a waning moon, shewing that there is radiance beneath, but with mist and shadow checking its display. Her features were pretty when she was a child, but now they are irregular, rough, and sinewy ; her neck is short, her hands are hard and feverish, her figure is growing uncouth, her feet are uncovered and her inner ankles touch the ground : a tattered shawl makes a hood for her head, and her dress is bare. Her whole look is that of anguish ; her mind is uninformed, and her ignorance leads her to an unnatural contentment with her lot and submission to its penalties ; but it is absurd, and opposed to every social and ethical truth, to applaud the contentment that springs from ignorance. Physical hardship and moral peril are the conditions of the poor mill girl's life—is there any succour for her, is there any anchor to cast into the dark sea of life in which she sails that will secure her against misfortune when virtue is assailed or faith begins to totter ?

We find by the 21st Report of the Commissioners of National Education that there were forty-six Evening Schools in connexion with the Board on the 31st of December, 1854 ; and included in that number were seven schools for females. We have learned that very few adult females ever attended the latter schools, and that the number of junior girls in attendance was even very inconsiderable. They were evening schools for female children rather than for female adults. No one was heard to repine at this state of things ; there were no remonstrances made through Parliament or the Press against Government or Board, or any body else, for neglect or inaction ; indeed, adult female education on a large scale had been, in fact hitherto regarded by educationists as impracticable.

There were objections, natural enough in their way, raised to any scheme that would lead females from their homes at night and expose them to the dangers and temptations of the streets. "*Ignorance and innocence* were thought more precious than *knowledge and vice*." This was a soothing and philanthropic fallacy for those to rely upon who thought female adult education a hopeless, undesirable, and unrealizable project. It was reserved for woman to ameliorate the condition in this respect

of the forsaken and ignorant of her own sex, and to declare the difficult and protracted problem solvable. The Sisters of Mercy, in Belfast, are the first *who, on a scale of greatness and national efficiency*, conceived the idea of educating adult females. They saw the mill girls in the state we have just depicted them, they saw them frightfully ignorant in the presence of the great commercial Mammon, and, with a courage and devotion akin to that which led so many of their order to eastern lands to comfort and console their noble compatriot soldiers, they tried an experiment which civilization had been so slow to attempt, and statesmen and economists so reluctant to approve.

The school was opened in the beginning of March, 1854. The crowd of grown females that sought admission on the first night, amounted to about twice the number the school could conveniently accommodate. The sisters made every exertion to reduce the number, by excluding those who could read or write, no matter how imperfectly; but the attempt was ineffectual on account of the persevering eagerness of *all* to remain. They rushed, and pushed, and cried, and begged, to be permitted to stay in the school. Organization, classification, arrangement of any kind were accordingly out of the question, and at the end of the first week, the sisters thought it the safest and most prudent course to close their doors altogether for a time. They hoped that the temporary closing of the school would allay the ardour of some of those who fought so hard to be admitted; and that the novelty of the thing would soon in a measure pass away. The school was, however, re-opened in a month, (in April), and the same old applicants with new and impetuous recruits in addition made their appearance. The sisters were then constrained to make such arrangements as would secure admission to all who came. They divided them into two classes. One class consisted of 250, who could read tolerably, and who were anxious to learn writing, arithmetic, &c.; and the other class was composed of 300 who could not read at all, and the greater number of whom did not know their letters. The former class attended on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and the latter class on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The pupils of both classes were adults and very many of them were married women. This plan prevailed for a year, and in April, 1855, the school being then in perfect working order, the sisters determined to place

their evening department in connexion with the Board of National Education. Previously, however, to their doing so, they sent away 150 of those who were most advanced, and reduced the school to 300, that *all* might attend the five nights of the week, and learn geography and arithmetic, as well as reading and writing. The Board of Education, oddly enough, was slow to recognise the claims of the school, and their grant, to which we shall refer hereafter, only dates as far back as June last.

We may now conduct the reader to the school and describe its operations. We visited it on a cold, rainy, cheerless evening in the early part of January. As we made our way towards the building, we found the streets empty, for the wind was biting, the rain cold and incessant, the footpaths heavy, the lamps flickering, and the atmosphere dark, thick, and sickening. Is there anything in the world, we thought, so attractive as to draw women who have been for twelve hours pent up in a mill to-day from their homes and firesides, and make them indifferent to the inclement blast of to-night? In all seriousness it was a dreadful night, and we were prepared to find the school-room empty. In this we were agreeably disappointed. When we entered the room at seven o'clock, there were 205 young persons there assembled; their work in the mills had ceased at six o'clock, and in the meantime, they had gone home, washed themselves, arranged their hair, and dress, and then made their way dark, and stormy as it was, from various and remote parts of the town in all comeliness, and cleanliness to school. There are two school-rooms in the establishment, a large one about fifty-five feet long, and twenty-five feet broad. In the latter room are the girls who have only recently entered, and who are still unable to read: in the large room are the girls who have passed the small one, or who have entered the school with some knowledge of reading. The rooms are plainly and humbly, but adequately furnished. Maps of every kind are suspended from the wall, the classes are well supplied with books at the expense of the nuns, the desks are of a convenient size, and well arranged upon the floor. The rules of the National Board of Education are conspicuously placed on the wall, over the principal rostrum, and the beautiful lesson published by the Commissioners, which inculcates christian charity and forbearance "to mankind of every description," is also in a prominent position

in the rooms. The records of the school, with a register and a report book are so accurately and neatly kept, that a stranger finds no difficulty in comprehending them, and learning at a glance what has been the history and progress of the institution since its establishment. We wish that teachers generally had the book-keeping and statistical genius of the good nun who has charge of these records, for, if they had, the annals of education would be more complete and reliable than at present, and visitors to schools would be saved a world of trouble.

The pupils pay 1d. per week, and for this they receive instruction, books, pens, slates, &c., gratis. An unalterable rule of the school is, that no one deficient in personal cleanliness or questionable as to morals and general propriety can be admitted. The nasty and unwholesome practice of daubing the hair over with the oil of the machinery, and the refuse grease of the mills, has been entirely abandoned by the girls attending the evening classes, and this alone, as a social improvement, is most creditable to the discipline of the school.

The course of education is so limited and humble that a stranger to the wisdom that directed it might over hastily pronounce it worthless and incomplete. It consists simply of reading, writing, and the rudiments of grammar and geography. As far as practicable, no girl is admitted who already knows how to read; it was to make the ignorant wise, and not the wise wiser, that the school was opened. In 1851, there were no less than 1,563,636 females in this country who could neither read nor write, and Belfast had its own large proportion of these. It is the resolution of the Sisters of Mercy to reduce this terrible quota of ignorance, and a noble task they have undertaken to accomplish. *As a rule, therefore, none are admitted to the evening school unless those who enter for the first, or lowest class.* As soon as they advance to the 4th, or highest class, they are requested to retire from the school altogether to make room for outstanding applicants, of whom there are always on the books a considerable number. On an average it takes only about five months, a very remarkable fact, alike illustrative of the system of teaching and the diligence of the pupils, to lead a girl from the lowest to one of the highest classes. By this arrangement there is a regular influx and efflux of scholars, and a constant tide of intelligence making its way into the mills. There was an average on the

school rolls of 425, and an average attendance of 275, for the last year. On the evening that we visited the school there were, as we have stated, 205 females present. Of these—

13 were 12 years of age.	29 were 18 years of age.
12 were 13 years of age.	19 were 19 years of age.
19 were 14 years of age.	14 were 20 years of age.
26 were 15 years of age.	9 were 21 years of age.
24 were 16 years of age.	4 were 22 years of age, and
29 were 17 years of age.	8 were 23 and above.

The average age is then about 18½ years—the very period of female life when moral danger is most imminent, when the affections and the passions are most active and least fixed, and the enemy to virtue sees in woman his richest prize. At such a stage in her life, Knowledge is offered as a shield of sweet protection, and the school in which the offering is made is as thronged as theatres in gayer places on gala nights. Of the moral phases of the school and the inducements to attend it, however, more presently. The employments during the day of those present were varied as follows:—

Working at mills . . . 180	Muslin Workers . . . 2
Servants . . . 5	Fruiterer . . . 1
Waistcoat maker . . . 1	Book-binder . . . 1
Dress makers . . . 5	Not employed . . . 10

The classification, according to the proficiency of the pupils, was as follows:—

- 25 in first Book (still unable to read).
- 63 in second do.
- 42 in the sequel to second Book.
- 46 in the third Book, and
- 29 in the fourth Book.

One hundred and seventeen were engaged at writing on paper, and, for apparently sound reasons, the nuns had relinquished in the evening school the practice of writing on slates—176 were learning the arithmetical tables—151 were learning the easy rule of mental arithmetic—29 were working at commercial arithmetic upon slates, and the latter girls were also employed in the study of the rudiments of grammar and political geography. The classes were examined, and we found 4 who could read with care and expression, and about 90 who could read with as much clearness and intelligibility as the general mass of educated



people. 659 of those, who were able to read with sufficient fluency and expression, as to be characterized *fair readers*, had entered the school ignorant of the very letters of the alphabet; 22 girls had learned a fair share of the rudiments of grammar, and 29 were pretty intimately acquainted with the outlines of the maps of the world, Europe, America, Ireland, &c., &c. 30 girls were able to write a free and agreeable hand, and there were a few who had attained to a bold, clear, and gentlemanly style.

The order, attention, and neatness of the pupils were amongst the many remarkable and satisfactory features of the school; and the whole tone and *ensemble* appeared to be an expressive picture of industry, skill, efficiency, and happiness. The school is open to persons of all persuasions, few Protestants, unfortunately, avail themselves of the advantages the school affords. The rule of non-compulsion and non-interference in matters of religion is one of the fundamental regulations, and we believe that we have valid reasons for asserting, that the nuns would sooner quit their cloister and renounce their vocation than intrude upon the sanctity of conscience, or attempt, in this school, to alter the religion of any one. Their function, they say, is to rebuild the sanctuary of society—not to perpetuate the wreck by the introduction of any unholy engine of discord—in the school-room their task is to teach, not to preach—to reform, not to proselytize.

To coax people together for a temporal object, as for instance, for the purpose of educating them, or feeding them, or clothing them, and to have as a secret motive, for effecting those humane objects, the undermining of *their* religious principles, and the propagation of *one's own* faith, are practices so repugnant to the honor, openness, and dignity of Christianity, and sustained by reasonings so fanatical, and untenable, that we pause on them only to state our conviction, that a wise regulation in imitation of what has already been done in Prussia, Austria, and the Continental states, will, bye-and-bye, declare it to be felonious to entrap the conscience of a pupil at school or obtain a proselyte under false pretences. The development of national principle, decency, and intelligence will inevitably lead to this. We look on it as no mean testimony of the sanctity of their mission to see the sisters of Mercy, in Belfast, actuated by the high and glorious principle of non-compulsion and non-in-

terference ; and, as far as we have been able to learn, the female religious orders in Ireland, generally pursue the same course.

The religious exercises of the school were confined to the recital of a simple and beautiful prayer, five minutes before the school dispersed, for the evening: and were we Mahomedans or Jews, instead of Christians, deeply interested in the moral culture and religious perfection of our fellow creatures, we do not know how we could have witnessed this large assemblage of females, on their knees, and heard, them in accents of sincerity and deep emotion, make the response to the prayer that was recited by the officiating nun, without heaving a hopeful sigh for humanity, and feeling that there are voices amongst the lowly and the unfortunate, the utterance of whose praise to God, is as fervent as the worship of angels, and as propitiatory as the outpourings of a martyr's heart. Deep, solemn and simultaneous came their responsive tones, that God might spare them to cultivate their intellect, and prepare them the better to enjoy His wisdom and His glory. At the time, we wished we had some statesman of heart, and noble purpose, by our side, that he might learn how achievements worthy of a nation's praise are often made outside the Senate House—far from the warrior's tent or the philosopher's retreat—and that great national good can be effected without the proscription of laws.

We wished him near us that, in the deep, loyal and angel-like, devotion of the creatures on their knees, he might see a claim for a statesman's solicitude, and might witness a scene which would impress him with the importance of making Female Adult Education part of a legislator's care.

Our opinion of the good this school is doing may be anticipated. The simple truth is, we have no human standard, by which to measure it.

Some of the sisters in the Order of Mercy are far away in the Crimea giving succour to our brave soldiers; the celebrated Mrs. Bridgeman, who won her first laurels in humanizing Kinsale, and distinguishing herself, as the most comprehensive and practical female educationist of her time, is the chief of the little band from Ireland—but we opine that the sisterhood of Belfast is effecting successes of a more lasting, and by no means a less merciful or urgent nature. It is not by the amount of reading, writing, or arithmetic which they learn, that the advantages conferred on those adult girls are to be estimated.

Gentleness of manners, peacefulness in their relations with

their neighbours, love of order, the observance of the precepts of virtue, the avoidance of sectarian bitterness, and the upholding of the dignity and purity of their sex, are amongst the inestimable advantages gained from the admonitions and teachings of the nuns.

Those happy results have been already accomplished, and the sisters have received the most gratifying assurances, from mill owners and employers, that the increased intelligence of their works has not only made them now moral, and religious, but also more punctual, painstaking and laborious. The amiability, quiet manners, and good nature of most of those who were present on the evening of our visit, struck us very forcibly as we passed from class to class through the school. When those girls quit the school, finally, they become propagandists of those principles, which the nuns, their teachers, had led them to reverence and cherish: they become patterns of virtue to the mill girls, who work in the same room, and to the men and women who live under the same roof with them. The streets lose many a wandering tenant by night; and to the hearths of many a poor father and mother are preserved the daughters who, through ignorance, and wicked example, might otherwise be lost.

When females grow up in ignorance, their case is like that of a tender sapling that shoots high into the air in early spring, but falls beneath its own weight before the summer sun has time to strengthen and rectify it. There is a protecting staff required to sustain it, else the plant withers and dies away. Education steps in as the staff, and she is indeed a sweet messenger of mercy—lay or religious—that lifts the fallen plant from the ground, and turns its face upwards towards the God who made it. It is horrible to contemplate an ignorant multitude of men, or of men and women, but still more horrible to view an ignorant multitude, composed exclusively of *females*. Think of the 1,563,633 females which the last census shows us can neither read nor write, and then turn to the six or seven hundred which we find *one* community able to train and educate annually, to diminish by so many, the frightful return of the census report. What a national good is here effected! There are upwards of one hundred and forty nunneries in Ireland, about forty of them belonging to the Sisters of Mercy, and if each Convent, were even these of the Order of Mercy only, to imitate their sisters in Belfast, who could calculate the

results in the aspect of the social, moral, and religious phases of our people.

How does it happen, however, that the young women congregate about the nuns in Belfast in such numbers—in such numbers, in fact, that the nuns are obliged to keep a register of applicants and make it a prize to obtain admission—whilst adult education languishes elsewhere, and female evening education is almost unattempted! A sentence explains the secret. Because it requires either great individual enthusiasm on the part of noblemen, landlords, philanthropists, &c., or the higher enthusiasm created by religious influences and associations to kindle the flame in the first instance, and afterwards to keep it alive. Much as we should desire to see knowledge appreciated for its own sake, we are, withal, bound to confess, that in the case of ignorant adults, jaded, weary, and feverish after twelve hours' hard work in a mill, it is no wonder that they require some extraordinary stimulus to induce them to leave their homes, and still less wonder that the magnet which attracts to the blessed ways of Heaven, should also lead them captive to the temples of knowledge. Ladies, too, have reliance upon the competency of the nuns to discharge their duties; they know them to be persons of a superior education, purely disinterested in their motives, and bound by solemn vows to pursue education and the acts of mercy—without fee or reward—as the business of their lives. Mr. Joseph Kay, in his *Social Condition and Education of the People*, vol. 2, 399, thus expresses himself as to the fitness and success of the nuns who had charge of the schools in Switzerland:—

“At the present time it may be truly said, that in nearly the whole of Switzerland, every boy and girl, below the age of seventeen years, can read and write. The education of the girls is in perhaps a more satisfactory condition in the Catholic Cantons than in the Protestant. It is confided to the special care of the nuns, and, I can bear testimony, to the gentle, patient, and religious spirit in which these excellent women affectionately tend the progress of the young girls. The self-denying life which the Catholic nuns lead, and the excellent education which they receive in the nunneries, admirably suit them for the important duties confided to their charge in the Cantons. After examining the schools conducted by some of the sisters in Fribourg, the abbess of the nunnery, to which the nuns who had charge of the female schools belonged, allowed

me, in company with a very intelligent priest, with whom I had been spending some days, to visit the nunnery. We went over it in company with one of the sisters. When I entered, I found myself in presence of about twenty of the nuns, who, under the direction of a very venerable old abbess, of about eighty years of age, were seated in the entrance hall, engaged in making clothes for the poor.

The apartments of the sisters were of the plainest possible description. They were in beautiful order and perfectly clean; but furnished very meagrely, and literally destitute of everything that was not absolutely necessary. The sisters have no servants and no assistants. They prepare their own food, clean their own chambers, take charge by turns of the dining-room, hall, and room of the abbess, and, in fact, perform by turns, all the humblest duties of domestic servants. They, at the same time, give a very excellent education to the young persons destined to take the veil, comprising, reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, grammar, and singing. The novitiates are, therefore, in every way admirably prepared for the duties of instruction which they undertake after having taken the veil, whilst the humble life to which they are accustomed during the years of their novitiate, and during the rest of their lives, in turn with their other sisters, make them admirably well qualified for intercourse with the poor, and renders them patient, gentle and persevering in their efforts in their schools. They certainly are living examples of the class of teachers a good training is capable of producing."

It is natural, therefore, that the poor mill girls should throng in such numbers around the nuns; for in addition to having all the merciful and zealous qualifications reported by Mr. Kay of the Swiss nuns, they have, it is generally understood, a much higher claim to distinction than their continental sisters, as scholars and teachers.

This school, as we have stated, is a National School in connexion with the Board of Education.

It is national in every sense, for it has great public good for its object, and its object it happily attains. The principles of the Board are paramount in it—no interference, no bamboozing into an unwelcome religion by fear or entreaty, by profession or covert design. We have never met with people more intensely abhorrent of all proselytising notions than the nuns, and we are bound in all candour and justice to make

this statement as public as we can. Finding their usefulness so unparalleled, their principles so identical with those of the Board, their discipline and method of teaching so much in consonance with our idea of the National system, and their labours so very great, we were certainly astonished at the inadequate grant the Commissioners have made the school—£7 per annum for every hundred adults in *actual average attendance rightly*, or about £8 10s. for every hundred on the roll. There are seven nuns regularly engaged, and this gives exactly ten shillings to each for every hundred she teaches, or something less than a *penny-farthing per head per annum*. Yet there are people so utterly blinded by a spirit of pugnacity and intolerance as to rail at the Board for endowing convents. Endowing them indeed!! The grant to the Belfast Evening School hardly pays for the gas consumed. However, there are odd people in the world. Those who are opposed to the National System think that the convent ought to be denied participation in the public grants, because grants are refused to schools conducted by Protestants on proselytising principles. And these good opponents, forsooth, fancy that there is a parity between their case and that of the nuns. In what does it consist? The nuns enter in all heartiness into the spirit and letter of the system; offer obedience and respect to its rules, open their doors to children of *all* denominations, and solemnly guarantee that the wishes and scruples of parents shall be respected, and that the religion of no one shall be tampered with. The opponents to the system, on the contrary, condemn and stigmatize the rules of the Board, refuse their allegiance to the system, and repudiate its principles, found and maintain an institution in open hostility to the system, and close their doors to children of *all* denominations, unless they yield themselves up, body and soul, to whatever mysteries, prayers, and dogmas may be preached and recited in their schools. Is this a parity? It is asserted that B is black and W is white, and, because it is so, the opponents of the national system asseverate that B and W are incorporate, identical, and entitled to the same privilege. For sagacious people we must certainly pronounce this to be a very childish dialectic delusion.

We shall not, however, enter further into the general question of sustaining the Convent National Schools out of the public funds. It is a question of little or no complication,

and in its proper place can be easily disposed of in a paragraph or two.

We allude to it here simply because the smallness of the grant to the Belfast school suggests the necessity of exposing the absurdity of the cry that the Education Commissioners are endowing the convents. The nuns support themselves. They have generally ample means for the purpose, but they think, legitimately enough, that their school ought to be supported out of the funds granted by Parliament for the purpose of National Education. We trust that the award to this school is only experimental, and that, as soon as the Commissioners become cognizant of its immense public advantages, they will, by making a commensurate grant, encourage others to embark in the merciful enterprize of Adult Female Education.

When the evening business had concluded we entered into earnest conversation with the Superioress and the sister in charge of the school. They saw their success, but feared to name it so. We have seldom met with persons who were better fitted for their positions and their high and peculiar duties. The Superioress was affable, learned, and accomplished; she had a countenance expressive of an enduring enthusiasm; no project that was destined to make her fellow creatures wiser and better was too formidable for her; no check, no baulk, nor cross, nor frustration could apparently sink her heart or diminish her hopefulness. Her voice was of that right womanly kind, it was sweet, firm, and impressive; and she moved from class to class amongst her devoted pupils with the dignity and gentleness of a hostess passing from guest to guest, and had a smile and a word for each, that all might feel the assurance of her welcome and her desire to make them happy. The sister who had charge of the school was one of the cleverest and most practical teachers we ever met. Her brow was radiant with intelligence; she was thoughtful, inventive, and eminently preceptive; her features were naturally vivacious, but subdued and softened by discipline and religion. She knew the name and could tell something interesting of every pupil in the school; her heart and soul were lost and absorbed in the glorious mission of her life; and her mind was of that delicately cultivated order that she was esthetical whilst saying or doing the most commonplace things.

We were anxious that our memorandum book should con-

tain the names of two such benefactors of the human race ; but true worth, instead of wishing its laudation often defaces the recording word of praise engraven on the tablet. We could only learn that the superioress bore the name of Mother Mary Philomena, and from the skilful, learned, and intelligent superintendent of the school, we could gather no more than that in religion, she bore the name of Mary Borgia. Mary Philomena, uttered her name as the proud title of some sainted one, she would imitate, and Mary Borgia whispered her title in religion, as the name of some one in the Calendar of Heaven, whom she felt it her glory and her privilege to revere.

There were seven sisters present on the occasion of our visit, and, in addition, the superioress of a neighbouring convent (at Downpatrick,) who happened to have had business in town, was also present, and efficiently acted as a volunteer in the good work. We have seen the best training institutions, and visited the highest order of schools ; but we are bound to confess that the Belfast evening school is of a kind entirely different from those in which the education of the poor is usually conducted. When we were returning from the school, we observed a large number of the school girls standing waiting in the hall ; they were waiting for ointments, plasters, &c., which the nuns were distributing amongst them for maimed or sick relatives at home, or for ailments of their own ; and thus do these christian teachers, complete the beautiful mission of their lives, by adding the last link to the long chain of the attributes of mercy.

In addition to the great school which we have just described, there are a few other evening schools in Belfast ; but, like those of Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland, they are merely gasping for life, and are attended more by children who ought to be at day-schools than by men and women whose early education has been neglected ; they are mere speculations, and bad ones, of the poor teachers ; come into existence, live fretfully, pine and die away, without eliciting the pound of the Capitalist, the sympathy of the Philanthropist, the interest of the clergy, or the countenance of the public ; for *all* are equally indifferent to the national good on this question. Dublin has the wretched old excuse of a metropolis that has little or nothing to say to the manufacturing operative ; but Belfast has no such apology for its neglect. We are saddened to find our great manufacturing town so slow to acknowledge its duty in reference



to those who are ignorant,—whether children or adults—and we are as much astonished as grieved to find a town, once in the enjoyment of the pet name of the Athens of Ireland without a Mechanics' Institute, or anything analogous to one for the elementary instruction of young artisans and labourers. There are young men's societies, religious societies, reading rooms, &c., all very good in their way, and no doubt creditable to their promoters and conductors; but it is, nevertheless, a patent fact, and a very deplorable one too, that there is little or no provision for the *elementary* education of an adult. The existence of an evening school in connection with the convent, we suppose can only be traced to the zeal and enterprise of its own conductors: the town, as a municipality, has done nothing for adult education. It takes sage men to make a town *great*, but it takes sager to keep it so. The seducing jingle of the gold must not lull men into an unconsciousness of their duty, or an obliviousness of their sins of omission; and yet we fear that when the censor, a watchful public man, upbraids,

"Then music, with her *silver* sound,  
With speedy help doth lend redress."

This state of things, however, will not do and cannot last long. Mill owners must tread the way to the school-house as well as to the exchange or bank—and they must, *for their own sakes*, and in the interest of humanity, take care that their mills shall not be huge depositories of moral and intellectual wretchedness.—The immortal Milton called the forefathers of the great men of Belfast, "highland thieves and redshanks," and fixed the geography of their town "in a barbarous nook of Ireland." History has shown that the stigmas were unjust, but if the mill workers of the town are forced, through want of opportunity, to remain buried and lost in their ignorance, we fear that the writers of some other time may be looking back at the corner which Belfast occupies as indeed "in a barbarous nook of Ireland." We trust that the path has only to be pointed out, and that their good sense will lead the Belfast merchants for the honour of their country to pursue it. The school we have described will be an incentive to them to establish similar institutions in the town; and we can fortunately point to a school in the *neighbourhood* of Belfast that in many respects is one well worthy of imitation. Long before school organizations were so perfect as they now are, Miss Grimshaw

had a nightly gathering of some of the female workers of her father's mill, in the National School of the village of Whitehouse. This village is about two miles from Belfast, and is the first station which is met on the Belfast and Ballymena Railway; and perhaps the comfort and comparative independence which the people of the village can boast of, through the kindness and consideration of its factory proprietors, are only minor blessings compared with the good fortune they have for years back enjoyed in the beneficent interest taken in the education of themselves and their children by Miss Grimshaw. With the assistance of a few friends, this excellent lady was able to gather together for instruction a goodly muster of the mill girls every evening. She classified and arranged them in due working order. The number of pupils was not very considerable, and this in many respects was an advantage at the commencement of the experiment; for the school assumed the appearance of a family group, in which words of confidence could be spoken and friendly chidings made without much exposure.

Miss Grimshaw and her friends taught many a poor mill girl how to read and write; how to use a Bible or a prayer book: or to communicate with a father and mother far away. There was no price paid by those poor mill girls for what they received; it was not an affair of barter; no offering of conscience or gold. The good Protestant benefactor saw the victory that was before her, and she saw that it was to be won, if worth the winning, by respecting religious scruples and deferentially regarding a religious conviction as unpurchaseable and outside the circle of commercial exchanges. She went night after night to meet her pupils; and by perseverance, by sacrifice, by enthusiasm and by labor, she succeeded in spreading a taste for education amongst the mill workers of the locality—This taste for the acquirement of knowledge, naturally spread to the young men who were engaged in the mills, and to satisfy their desires, and to extract the advantages of the school as much as possible, a department for boys was soon opened—This led to the regular appointment of Teachers, and to the retirement from the position she had so ably and so humanely filled, of Miss Grimshaw—Since then she has been an active patroness of the school; to her continued support, is to be attributed much of its present efficiency and success. The school now consists of boys and

girls indiscriminately; about one-half of the number in attendance being girls—a system by the way which we look on as extremely dangerous and to be always avoided if possible—but arising in the Whitehouse school, we presume, from the difficulty of procuring a really superior mistress to conduct the Female department. There are three Teachers, one male, the principal, assisted by two females and a paid monitor, a Catholic, and a little more than half the pupils are also Catholics. There is no religious instruction given at the evening school; the special object of the evening being to develop their hearts and intellects, and to prepare their understandings for the exhortations of their respective pastors. The average attendance numbers about 60, the average in the book 110, and the average age of the pupils about 15 years. The grant to the school made by the Commissioners of National Education, is £10 annually, independent of books at reduced rates and free stock; and there being 110 pupils on the books and 3 teachers in the schools this shows that each teacher receives only about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per head per annum for each pupil.

The state does not always obtain its prizes at so nominal a cost, *sevenpence farthing*, (a penny farthing in the Callender-street School,) for the tuition of an adolescent for a year!!! As a financial curiosity which has been hitherto denied the light, we publish this fact; but whilst our feeling is partly regretful, that the grant is so small, we must state that it is also in a large degree a hopeful one, that the wisdom of the Board will soon lead them to deal more generously with adult evening schools. This little school at Whitehouse is performing its work nobly; it is held in a building which, in the year 1832, was amongst the first upon which the inscription "National School" was ever placed; and it is under the immediate supervision of one who passes by the door of her fellow-creatures, not with the high airs in which fashion would warrant her to indulge, but with the meek and assuasive influence of a messenger of peace and of comfort.

In bringing this brief narrative of what Belfast is doing, and not doing, in respect to Adult Female Education to a termination, we have only to express our extreme anxiety, that the discussion of the question to which our paper refers, may soon become familiar to the pen of the educationist, the reflections of the philanthropist, and the deliberations of the Statesman.

## ART. VIII.—IRISH FISHERIES.

*Opinions of the Press on a Pamphlet by Thomas Edward Symonds, R.N., on which is based the proceedings of the London and West of Ireland Fishing and Fish Manure Company.* Published by Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly. Dublin: J. M'Glashan, Sackville-street; Hodges and Smith, and W. B. Kelly, Grafton-street. 1856.

Within the small compass of six years, we have seen spring up, arrive at the full maturity of their fungus growth, and die out hopelessly, five, indeed, we may say six different political Societies, (for there are few so bold as to affirm that the Tenant League exhibits any substantial evidence of vitality,) created with much apparent, and it may be with much actual sincerity, to work out comprehensive ameliorations for the Irish race. Fame, with her thousand tongues proclaimed the future success of all; the Liberal Press teemed daily with high-flown eulogiums on their admirable principles, and spoke glowingly of their practical tendencies, and of the noble achievements which were to crown the labors of those who upheld and disseminated their doctrines. They have, however, vanished like shadows, leaving behind them no good result, save and except the experience which they have given us of their utter unfitness to carry out the objects which they were intended to accomplish. Our bitter knowledge of these unpalatable facts must make us hail with tenfold the pleasure which we should feel under different circumstances, the appearance of a Society amongst us so well calculated as is "The London and West of Ireland Fishing and Fish Manure Company," to improve the condition of a large portion of our people, to encourage habits of industry in a country where such encouragement has been so necessary, and to invite so many capitalists to our shores; and this not only by the peculiar nature of such a Company, but, also by the business-like manner in which its affairs are to be conducted. The inexhaustible supply of the most wholesome and nutritious fish which the Coasts of Ireland afford, has been no discovery of a modern date; it is a fact which has been known for centuries. We are told by Captain Symonds, the Managing Director of this excellent

Company, that "Philip the Second of Spain paid into the Irish treasury £1,000 for liberty to fish on the Irish Coast."

"In the reign of Charles the First, the Dutch were allowed a similar license on the payment of £30,000, and they founded a fishing establishment on the Island of Innis Boffin, off the Mayo Coast, where many of the descendants of the Dutch settlers are to be found at the present day.

"In 1650, Sweden was permitted as a favor to employ one hundred vessels in the Irish fishery.

"About the year 1800, the Americans fitted out a vessel, and fished the Irish Coast for three years. The result of the experiment was that, if the permission of the British Government could be obtained, they would settle on the coast for the purpose of carrying out a fishery, and were ready to bring £100,000, if so permitted, requiring neither premium nor bounty. However, the permission was not granted, and so the proposition fell to the ground."

In the Morning Post for September 6th 1855, we have seen an extract from a report made by Mr. Tuke, who says:—

"While standing on the magnificent cliffs at Achill, overlooking the wide Atlantic, I saw the deep inlets and bays of that island literally filled with shoals of mackerel and herring, indeed the whole surface of the sea seemed completely alive with them. Around me stood groups of hungry creatures, who looked down upon this inexhaustible supply of food, wholly unable to procure it to allay their cravings. One fishing-boat, or three or four curraghs, alone were engaged, where there was employment for hundreds, and food for thousands of hungry creatures on the island."

In the same paper, an extract from Colonel Thompson's evidence given before the Government Commission in 1836, informs us that

"The fish on the coast, from Achill Head to Galway, would supply all Ireland. It is a fact not generally known, that about 200,000*l.* is annually paid by Ireland for Scotch herrings, although there is around her shores not only an ample supply for her own consumption, but also sufficient to form an article of export were proper means adopted to render this bountiful supply available."

Every description of fish is to be found on the Coast of Ireland; turbot, sole, brill, plaice, dorys, lobsters, ling, eels, mackerel, salmon, herrings, and sprats. Captain Symonds tells us that simply from want of buyers, turbot are often cut up for bait; he also adds:—

"That at Innis Boffin, on the Galway coast, an acquaintance of

his made a bargain to purchase turbot of a man who himself bought them from the fishermen. To meet these two profits he paid eighteen shillings per dozen of thirteen turbot, and the fish were of the finest quality, and from nine pounds to twenty-six pounds in weight. In England they were probably selling at the same time for about thirty shillings apiece. On the spot no doubt it answered better to sell them even at this price than that the fishing-boats should be obliged to leave their proper business and run, perhaps against the wind and tide, fifty miles to the Galway market on the chance of a better."

In a report made in 1855, by Mr. Howard, a gentleman largely engaged in the fisheries of the North Sea, and the Coast of Norway, he states, (speaking of the Southern Coast from Cork to Berehaven)—

"I have no hesitation in saying, that, both as regards quantity and quality, the banks off the coasts and the Irish shores are richer in fish of all descriptions than those of any country I have ever seen. On returning from Berehaven to Bantry, we came by boat, and literally rowed across that fine bay through a bank of herrings. I feel confident that with nets such as those used in Scotland, the Isle of Man, or on the Cornish coast, 40,000 barrels might have been taken that night. In fact, the coast was swarming, and if properly fished would rival Scotland in her annual take."

In the winter of 1854, we are informed, Captain Symonds fished between the Saltees and Helvick Head, on the Coast of Waterford, exploring the more distant grounds, and collecting all particulars about the south-eastern fisheries.

"Twenty-five trawlers fished in company, and all had taken an average quantity, but the wind blowing off shore, they were not enabled to make Dunmore in proper time to send the fish by rail for the Dublin market on Friday. They had from ten to fifteen tons, chiefly turbot, sole, brett, early plaice, cod, &c., which might have been bought for 5*l.* a ton, though in any of the good markets the ton would have readily fetched from 20*l.* to 25*l.* In summer, the take would have been almost profitless if the weather were equally unfavourable, the more delicate fish running to taint on the second day. Though the weather was very bad, the trawler of forty tons, in which Mr. Symonds was, cleared nearly 40*l.* in three weeks, and during that period threw overboard five tons of unsaleable fish, out of which M. de Molon, of Finisterre, would have manufactured prime fishguano, worth at least 12*l.* a ton."

The following extract from a letter, written by Eneas MacDonnell, to the Editor of "The Dublin Evening Mail," and in which reference is made to the valuable pamphlet of Captain Symonds, will make manifest among many other agreeable disclosures, the very great variety of fish to be

found along the Western Coast of Ireland. Mr. MacDonnell received some valuable assistance in his researches from Mr. J. Redmond Barry, the Commissioner of Irish Fisheries, to whose excellent judgment he bears willing testimony :—

“I shall now turn to the publication issued by Captain Symonds. Referring to the supply of fish on the west coast of Ireland, Captain Symonds observes, (page 17)—‘It is notorious that all writers on this subject, during the past and present century, agree on the most essential point—the abundant supply of every description of fish and shell-fish, and that it only needs proper boats and gear, common energy and skill, to capture any quantity.’

This opinion is fully borne out by the result of every experiment, government or otherwise, up to the present date.

The Committee of the British Association for extending the fisheries of Ireland and Scotland, made an experiment on the west coast to test this point in 1847, and report as follows :—

‘The Committee are of opinion that the fisheries on this coast may be successfully developed so as to afford a considerable profit on the capital employed by carrying out effectually the principle of the government curing stations. That principle is to afford a steady price to the fishermen for the fish which they may catch. The agents of the government curing-stations have been restricted as to price, and, also, as to the kind of fish they should purchase ; turbot, and all other fish not fit for curing, has not been purchased, and as this class of fish is the most abundant on that coast, it has followed that no sufficient stimulus was given to induce the fishermen to go out.’

Captain Bennett, the gentleman who conducted this experiment, adds—‘I am satisfied from the quality of the fish, the abundance of it on the coast (even in the unseasonable time of year we commenced the fishery, cod and ling being out of season), that with perseverance and due exertion, and an adequate provision of gear, &c., laid in and kept on hand, that the next season’s fishing would realise a profit exceeding fifty per cent., and that the natives would cheerfully and immediately present themselves to embark in the undertaking. We have turbot, soles, brill, plaice, lobster, crabs, &c., in abundance.’

Captain Symonds states (page 28), ‘Periwinkles, collected near the Isle of Sky, on the coast of Scotland, are carried in steam-boats to Glasgow, and are found to pay railway carriage to London for sale in Hungerford Market ; also, mussels are sent from Exmouth, in Devonshire, to London per rail.’ In page 29, he adds, that ‘many of the largest dealers in fish in the United Kingdom have expressed an anxious desire to see increased supplies coming from Ireland, stating that such was the growing demand for fresh fish in the interior of the country, that every new line of railway opened additional markets far beyond the present means of supply.’ Again (page 30), ‘Mr. Leonard, a respectable owner of several fishing vessels out of the port of Dublin, is quite convinced of the abundance of fish there (the north-west coast), and also of herrings and sun-fish.’

‘The idea has gone forth that the her-

ring has forsaken the western shores of Ireland; this is, however, far from being the case, having witnessed the contrary on several occasions, and received abundant satisfactory proofs of the same from parties incapable of deception. . . . The fact is, that they have always been on the coast, though not embaying in the same numbers or localities as heretofore, and on their coming to unusual places, nets have not been procurable until they were departing. One instance of this occurred in Clew Bay last year. In others, where they had no means of buying nets, they were altogether unmolested. Had the natives boats and nets fit for deep water, it would be found that the herring fishery on the west coast is second to none; and from its numerous islands in the deep sea, and good harbours, is peculiarly adapted to it, and possesses facilities for prosecuting it no other coast can boast of.\*

Captain Symonds states, in equally favourable terms, the abundant supply of cod, ling, turbot, haddock, soles, dorey, mackerel, and bait on the west coast of Ireland; as also sun-fish or basking-shark, and lobster, observing, that 'in no country in the world are lobsters more numerous, or in greater perfection, than on the coast of Ireland, especially the west and north-west; and if the fishery was properly worked, and means devised for preventing the capture of the young, the supply would be sufficient for all the markets of the United Kingdom that now have recourse to foreign sources.'

I shall now set forth a list of the fishes and shell-fish of Clew Bay, according to my recollection, and favoured by the revision of a gentleman particularly well qualified to correct any errors:—

Turbot, sole, plaice, brett or brill, flounder, fluke, john-dorey, ray, skate, bream, herrings, salmon, white trout, mullet, cod, ling, hake, haddock, mackerel, grey gurnet, red gurnet, whiting, sprat, black pollock, white pollock, coal fish\* or glassen, dogfish, halibut, conger eels, sand eels, smelts, pilchard, whilks (bait), lug (do.), lobster, crab, oysters, large scollop, small scollop, cloosheen, razor-fish, cockles, mussels, shrimps, perriwinkles, craw-fish, prawn.

Clew Bay is frequented, also, by sun-fish or basking sharks, seals, and angel sharks.

It produces slouck or laver, dillisk, cranagh, carrigeen moss, seaweed for manure or the manufacture of kelp, shell sand or gruanogh, and samphire. As I trust that you will favour me with the admission of another letter upon those interesting subjects, I shall not now trespass further upon your indulgence than to state, that shortly after the visit of the British Association to Dublin, I dined in the company of that distinguished artist, the late Sir David Wilkie, who, in reply to some inquiries as to his route in Ireland, said that after the business was concluded, he proceeded to the west, reached a town called Westport, and ascended a hill in the neighbourhood; that he had seen the Bay of Naples, and other bays, and picturesque scenery in Italy and other parts of Europe, but that none of them equalled the scene then before him. I thanked him, in the name of

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\* Coal-fish in England, glassen in Ireland. The young glassen may be taken in large quantities, and produce a large quantity of oil,



my native place, and asked his permission to mention the *fact*, which he freely gave—and again subsequently, in his own house, saying that I might repeat it wherever and whenever I chose, for it was perfectly true.

I am, Sir, &c., &c., &c.,

ENEAS MACDONNELL.

*Rathmines, September 1, 1855.*"

These facts being made evident to us, how painful does not the reflection on a calculation which we have also *quoted* become, namely, that "about £200,000 is annually paid by Ireland for Scotch herrings." In order that the pecuniary advantages resulting from an extended development of these resources may be perceptible, it is only necessary that we should cast our eyes over the Prospectus of the Society, which contains a declaration signed by the principal fish dealers, whether as factors, salesmen, or retail fishmongers, carrying on business in Billingsgate Market, which states that "the present supply of the principal kinds of fish to the London Market is not equal to the demand," and that, "such supply being extremely irregular, they frequently sustain loss." But let us now see in what that insufficiency consists, which we are enabled to discover by referring to the Billingsgate return of fish for 1850. In that year, there were sold in Billingsgate,—

"203,000 salmon; 400,000 live cod; 750,000 barrelled cod; 1,600,000 salt cod; 2,470,000 fresh haddocks; 19,500,000 smoked haddocks; 97,520,000 soles; 23,620,000 mackerel; 8,375,000 fresh herrings; 50,000,000 red herrings; 147,000,000 bloaters; 17,920,000 whittings; 86,600,000 plaice; 800,000 turbot; 1,220,000 brills and mullet; 495,896,000 oysters; 1,200,000 lobsters; 600,000 crabs; 498,428,628 prawns; 9,797,760 eels; making of fish alone, a total of 402,978,000, besides some 10 millions of eels, near 500 millions of oysters, the same quantity of prawns, and near 2 millions of lobsters and crabs."

It is cheerful to find that a plan has already been set on foot, and will soon be in working order, which bids fair to remedy the negligence which has so long been causing the non-development of those splendid fisheries. In a pamphlet the excellence of which cannot be too highly praised, Captain Symonds, to whose office as Managing Director of "The London and West of Ireland Fishing Company" we have already alluded, furnishes us with a very lucid statement of the manner in which

the designs of the Company are to be carried out, and we feel it impossible to refrain from expressing our great admiration at the adaptability of the means, or rather at the intelligence which devised them. Galway has been made the base of operations, and we think that in this there has been much judgment evinced. Its geographical position is particularly advantageous. "Situated at the head of a magnificent Fishing Bay thirty miles long, and seven miles broad," as we are informed by Captain Symonds, "abounding with fish and bait of every species, with good harbours, and a fishing population of 7,297 men, 497 boys, with 1,811 boats, and extensive salmon and white trout rivers, from which the fish may be cheaply obtained;" there is no reason why Galway should not be one of the most flourishing fisheries in Europe. "There is," adds Captain Symonds, "great local demand for both fresh and cured fish, (especially for that of an inferior class, which would not always pay carriage to another market); good and capacious docks, with any amount of storage and building for curing houses at a moderate rent, and cheap markets for provisions; a railway within six hours of Dublin, eighteen of Birmingham, and twenty of London. The Capital to be expended is £30,000."

There are to be at least six Directors, and not more than ten for the Management; to conduct local affairs two persons will be employed, having a thorough acquaintance with the subject, whose salaries are in a great measure to depend on the profits of the concern, and who will hold a certain amount of shares.

The floating Establishment will consist of Vessels of from seventy-five to eighty tons, some of which will be fitted with wells to keep the fish, lobsters, and bait alive. A smaller class of Vessels will also be employed of from twenty-five to thirty tons, for the drift net fishing. Some of these will also have wells for inshoal, turbot, trout, and long line fishing. There will also be row boats, from thirty to thirty-five feet long, for the bay-herring, mackerel, seine net, and other fishing.

Besides these, there will be a fore and aft schooner well boat, with an auxiliary screw, for transporting fish and lobsters from the fishing banks or outlying stations; a curing station, with smoking house and oil works, with appliances for making manure, and ice-houses for packing fish in ice in warm weather; and to crown all, a steam Carrier for conveying the fish, purchased from the poor fishermen, and for prosecuting the valuable

Sun fishing, the oil of which fish is estimated as worth £40, and for other useful purposes.

It is also intended to convert the coarser kind of fish, and such as are of an unsaleable abundance, into an artificial guano of a very rich description, which in itself will be a great source of profit, and will form an article by which the impoverished lands on our Western Sea board may be considerably enriched. We will now proceed to quote a few passages from an article in "The Field," respecting Captain Symonds' able brochure.

"The importance of this field of industry has been fully appreciated in France, although it has not been sufficiently attended to in this country. M. Payen, the agriculturist, and M. Pommier, the chemist, made a report of the manufactory of M. de Molon to the French Agricultural Society. This establishment is at Concarneau, in the department of Finisterre, and the experiments which have been carried on for a period of four years have proved most satisfactory. The fish is first boiled, the water and oil extracted, and the remainder then dried and reduced to powder. Repeated analyses showed that this powder was nearly as rich as the best Peruvian guano, the chief ingredients of which consisted of ammonia, comprising 15 to 16 per cent., and of phosphate of lime 22 per cent.; while in the dried fish there was 12 per cent. of nitrogen and 14 per cent. of bone-earth. This manure was eagerly bought by the French farmers at the rate of 8*l.* a ton, or about one-third less than the price of the best Peruvian guano. M. de Molon is about to establish a manufactory at Lowestoft, in Suffolk, which it is to be hoped may prove as successful as the original establishment, and be the means of introducing into this country a new source of national wealth and industry.

The subject of fish manure has also now assumed additional importance from the proposed operations of the London and West of Ireland Fishing Company—a subject treated very ably in a pamphlet on the Fisheries of the West Coast of Ireland by Captain T. E. Symonds, R.N. The enormous value of these fisheries is clearly demonstrated; and while carrying out this part of the plans, the company propose also to make use of all refuse matter, as well as the coarser kinds of fish, in the manufactory of a manure, the properties of which, as stated above, almost place it on a level with the best guano. In Professor Way's lecture on the subject he observed it was a question only of a supply of the raw material, not of any difficulty in the process of manufacture; and Captain Symonds answers this by collecting all the information possible from the best sources to show that the supply was almost inexhaustible.

Here, then, we have a satisfactory solution of the only doubt upon this subject, the question of supply. It may or may not be a fact that the deposits of guano are inexhaustible; but circumstances may arise to intercept the supply, which would be productive of the most serious consequences. It is fortunate, then, that the conversion of

fish into a manure is attracting attention. A new source of industry will thus be created, our soil enriched by employing products of our own shores, and increased occupation thrown open for the working classes, in addition to the almost imperative necessity there appears to be for obtaining new raw materials for the manufacture of manure; for, as Professor Way justly observes, 'without this a term would be reached when the competition for manufactured manures, with an insufficient supply, would raise the price up to the extreme limits at which their use would be remunerative. For a time the deficiency would be met by adulteration and inferiority of the article, and this, together with the scramble to get manure, would soon wean farmers from their partiality to artificial manures. Then indeed the progress of agriculture in this country—at all events, in the use of artificial manures—would receive a serious check. He did not wish to draw a gloomy picture; but such a state of things must inevitably result if the increasing demand for manures was not met with some new and abundant supply of the raw material.

The subject of our home fisheries, in addition to its immense importance as a question of food-supply, thus assumes a high and national character. We can only hope that success may attend every endeavour that is made to increase and improve our own sources of national industry and wealth."

Another considerable advantage which will accrue from the working of this excellent design will be the employment of the immense fishing population of Galway and Mayo, who, owing to the smallness of their boats, and to the insufficiency of their gear, have been unable to avail themselves of the rare advantages of their valuable fisheries.

Nor does Captain Symonds foresee any disadvantage to arise from the employment of the Claddagh fishermen. On the contrary he bears testimony to their peaceable and orderly demeanour, and to their fitness to the task allotted to them.

"I feel satisfied," says this intelligent gentleman, "that, with judicious treatment, these men may be made a valuable acquisition to the Company by employing them in the different branches, with leading fishermen from either the English or Irish banks to command, by which means the vessels will be sailed much cheaper, and the ground more efficiently fished than by strangers."

And, he adds his belief that, with all these facilities of nature and art, and with the application of enterprise and capital, Galway can be made to rival those towns in Holland, whose wealth and prosperity originated in much smaller beginnings, far less accessible to them than those at the disposal of our own fishing population.

Here at last we have a practical undertaking whose future success is obvious, and for which we have to thank the

Limited Liability Bill. In this uniform system our mind are not dazzled by the presence of imposing theories, or perplexed by the enunciation of scientific wonders. Its beautiful simplicity can be comprehended by all, and the most minute details of its principles bear the stamp of usefulness impressed upon them. In such a part of Ireland as Galway, where habits of practical industry, (notwithstanding the many good and noble qualities of its people) have never been remarkably prominent, a society such as the one under our consideration, must of necessity be productive of good and plentiful fruits, in the incentives to active industry which it will supply. The genealogical talent of the people may be more profitably employed in studying the substantial peculiarities of the finny tribes, than in discussing the relative merits to ancestral distinction of the human tribes of that Milesian Colony, and the reclamation by means of artificial guano, of the swampy marsh, and the barren moor, will be a more laudable employment, than either laying out race courses, or enclosing deer parks. The indolent nature of the Celt has long been the pet expression which flew to every Englishman's lips whenever the subject of Ireland's grievances have been mooted; it has come down to us, hand in hand, with that triumph of alliteration, "Pigs, Priests, Politics, and Potatoes;" though the unequalled industry of our countrymen, in France, in England, and in America, have made it evident to the world, that circumstances, and not nature, were the causes which prevented its appearance in our native country.

We have now given us an excellent opportunity of still more strongly exhibiting the injustice of the calumny, and that opportunity is afforded us by the people, who, hitherto ignorant of our real character, have attributed to us vices which their experience of us will shortly teach them were less natural than acquired. If this project succeeds, and for its success we need seek no higher pledge than the fact of having such a man as Commander Symonds as its managing director, we have every just reason to suppose that the rest of our well-sheltered and capacious Sea Ports will become more known and more appreciated; and that with that knowledge and that appreciation, will come some practical measures for the benefit of the commercial world, and the employment of the impoverished but hardy population which lives along their shores. Irrespective of the vast agricultural resources of Ireland, its highly

valuable mineral productions are of a nature sufficiently attractive to tempt speculation to any extent, were their localities but rendered accessible to the merchant vessel or the waggon. Nor would this be a task of insurmountable difficulty. Into the very waters of that Bay, which has been chosen as the fitting spot upon which to carry out a great fishing enterprise, Lough Corrib flows. Were there but a channel or canal large enough to float vessels of a few tons burthen, cut for a distance of two or three miles, the navigation of the Corrib would be accomplished, and through that noble sea avenue the beautiful Connemara marble, and the produce of the Tin, Lead, Iron, and Copper mines of Mayo and Galway, could be transported to the English manufacturers. We do sincerely trust that the only society set on foot for many years in Ireland, which promises to benefit a great portion of the labouring classes, may also become the foundation of practical undertakings in this country, and that our people, by observing its application so thoroughly laid open to their inspection, may bring their experience to bear upon enterprises of a similar kind. If so, its formation will become a turning point in our history, which will serve to mark the line between the darkness of our utter prostration and the dawning of our prosperity; recording the period when wild theories, supineness, or the unhealthy excitement of the public feelings, with all the horrors of agrarian agitation, ceased to form our national characteristics, and when in their places business habits, industry, development of the vast resources of our country, with all the other sinews of a nation's strength, began to be perceptible.

Now particularly, when so many of our countrymen are recrossing the Atlantic to settle again at home, it is pleasant to reflect that for many of them there is really "a good time coming," which will lay open to them a field upon which they may follow out the good example they have learned from our western neighbours, nor have any cause to regret their having obeyed those instincts which knitted them to Ireland. In the mean time, we heartily wish success to the "London and West of Ireland Fishing Company," and to its able managing director, Commander Symonds: we sincerely believe that no distant day will behold the realization of many of his hopes, and we as sincerely trust that he may live himself to see it, and to receive the thanks of a people for being the instrument under Providence of unfolding, and of turning to profitable

account, their inexhaustible "mines under water," as they have been called by Sir William Temple, and of being the first to give a fitting example in their own country of what an enterprise, carried on in a practical and business-like manner, can accomplish.

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ART. IX.—LORD BROUGHAM'S SPEECH ON  
JUDICIAL STATISTICS.

*Speech of Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, on Monday, 3rd March, 1856. Specially Reported in "The Law Amendment Journal, being the Weekly Journal of the Society for Promoting the Amendment of the Law." Vol. I. No. 4, March 13th, 1856, p. 21.*

"Omnes comites et barones una voce responderunt, quod nolunt leges Angliæ mutare, quæ hucusque usitatæ sunt et approbatæ." Just six hundred and twenty-one years ago, a British Parliament thus expressed themselves, and from that epoch to the present era, wise, and able, and earnest men have but too frequently found later Parliaments as unwilling as that of Merton to change the Laws of England; without, however, the sound objections against particular mutations which that Parliament could urge against the revocation of the law of special bastardy.

It happens, unfortunately, that men confounded, in all these past-by years, amendments with innovations; and although the law reformers of one age may have been considered as patriots, and as benefactors of the nation in the next; yet in their own time they were, in all probability, met by the reproaches of upsetters "of the glorious pillars of the Constitution," "wild theorists," "jacobins," possibly "traitors."

When one comes to consider all these things carefully and closely; when he remembers how earnestly Romilly, and Mackintosh, and others of their era, toiled and wrote, and when reasoning failed, "coaxed," the legislature into wise measures of amelioration of the old laws of the kingdom, one

can only feel regret that so much genius should have been required to persuade reasonable men into reasonable measures.

There is, however, to the student of our history of legislation, one bright and cheering point amidst all these clouded records—all great amendments in the law have been the work of **Lawyers**. And it is right that it should be thus. If law be a science, who can see its defects, and appreciate its perfections so clearly as its student or its adept—and thus it comes to pass, that from Somers and the Bill of Rights, to Brougham and the Reform Bill, our legal reformers have never forgotten that in repairing those decays which time has made in the constitution, still greater rents may be caused by rash or by unskilful alterations. When Sydney Smith said, that every man thought he could drive a gig, cultivate a small farm, and write a leader for a newspaper, he stated a truth; but he might have added, that every man considered himself capable of amending the laws of England; yet, as Jeremy Bentham most truly wrote, referring to law reform,—“ Adding to the mass in the Augean stable, every ox had wisdom for—every ox that ever was put into it: to employ a river in the cleansing of it, required, not the muscle, but the genius of a Hercules.”

To no man now living, possibly to no man, does England owe more than to Lord Brougham, who has applied, not alone his “genius,” but also his “muscle,” to the repairing of the grand edifice of the national legislation, whilst preserving its fair and noble proportions. Eight-and-twenty years ago his memorable motion upon Law Reform procured the formation of two most important Commissions, one on Judicial Proceedings, the other on the Law of Real Property; and, irrespective of the amendments effected through the recommendations of these Committees, their *Reports* will ever be considered as the most valuable and important of those, but half-worked mines of information, the Parliamentary Blue Books.

England is deeply indebted to Lord Brougham for his long, and never-ceasing struggle to render her code of legislation worthy her constitution. When he began to work this great question, he was accused of deserting his own principles, because he did not oppose all plans of legal reform less comprehensive or well considered than his own. Because he was thus anxious and thus unselfish, he was accused of adopting this conciliatory course from motives of personal ambition,



and these accusations were made at a time when he had taken most effectual measures to prevent even the offer of the post indicated by his rivals being tendered to him. *But, living down these slanders, he has earned and secured the gratitude of his country, and has long possessed, despite bitter political and party hatreds—*

“ The unwilling gratitude of base mankind.”

Amongst all Lord Brougham's various schemes of Law Reform there is not one more admirable in design, or more elaborate in its details, than that developed in the Resolutions upon Judicial Statistics which we shall just now present to the reader. Doubtless, to the general mass of readers, these Resolutions do not appear so important as to the few who are, like ourselves, engaged in the investigation of the subjects to which they immediately refer ; yet no man reading these Resolutions, with ordinary attention, can fail to comprehend the vast amount of important information, we may write, of infallible knowledge, which must of necessity accrue from the adoption, by the legislature, of the well considered and wise principles contained in the document.

The Resolutions are as follows :—

- I. That a Judicial Survey should be made, to be continued quinquennially ; showing,
  1. The Number of Courts in the United Kingdom ;
  2. The Geographical Limits of their respective Jurisdictions ;
  3. The Nature of the Subjects they have to deal with ;
  4. The Number of the Judges and Officers attached to them, whether salaried or not ;
  5. The Amount of Salaries and Fees received by such Judges and Officers ;
  6. The Funds out of which they are paid ;
  7. The Amount of Business brought before them ; and
  8. The Proportion of such Courts to the Population, and Character of each Court or District :
- II. That as respects Criminal Statistics accurate Tables should be annually prepared ; showing,
  1. All Offences brought within the Cognizances of the Police, classified under different Heads ;
  2. The Number of Persons apprehended and charged with Crimes and Misdemeanors ;
  3. The Number of those summarily proceeded with, distinguishing those discharged and punished ;
  4. The Number of Persons committed and bailed for Trial to Sessions and Assizes ; and
  5. The Courts to which they stand so committed and bailed :
- III. That such Tables should show all such Particulars as may be obtained relative to the Individuals so committed, as to their

- a. Sex,
  - b. Age,
  - c. Degree of Instruction,
  - d. Condition, whether single or married, and, if married, having Children or not,
  - e. Place of Birth,
  - f. Place of Domicile,
  - g. Trade and Occupation, and
  - h. Antecedents of the Criminals, showing in case of Re-committals how many Times they have been committed, and the Crimes they had committed, and the Punishments they had undergone ;
- IV. That the above Information and Particulars should be given in relation to the different Classes of Crimes, and to the Counties where they have been committed :
- V. That the Causes of Crime, as far as they may be traced or ascertained, should also be given in connection with such Classification of Crimes and Criminals :
- VI. That the Number of Offences detected and undetected, and Number of Persons committed for Trial, should be shown in proportion to the Population of each County ; distinguishing Crimes committed by the Rural and by the Town Population :
- VII. That the Results of the Trials should be given ; showing :
1. The Number of Persons acquitted and the Number convicted ;
  2. The Kind of Punishments or Fines awarded in relation to the different Crimes ;
- the same classified by Counties, and distinguishing the Courts by which the Punishments or Fines are awarded :
- VIII. That Accounts should be given of the Execution or Commutation of Punishments or Fines, whether by Death, Transportation, Penal Servitude, or otherwise ; and, in the Case of Transportation, to what Penal Colony the Criminals have been sent :
- IX. That the Number of Tickets of Leave granted to Criminals in the Prisons of the United Kingdom or condemned to Penal Colonies should be given ; shewing :
1. The Crimes such Criminals had committed ;
  2. The Punishments to which they had been condemned ; and
  3. The Length of Time they had already been punished :
- X. That Accounts should be given of the Number of Coroners' Inquests or Inquiries for Murders, Homicides, and Accidental Deaths, and also of the Number of Suicides in each County, and in each Month of the Year :
- XI. That Prison Returns should be prepared ; showing :
1. The Number of Prisoners entered and disposed of, according to their
    - a. Sex,
    - b. Age,
    - c. Place of Birth,
    - d. Trade or occupation,
    - e. Crime, and
    - f. Punishment ;
  2. The Number of Re-committals in the respective Prisons ;
  3. The Duration of Punishment the Prisoners have already suffered, and that which they have yet to undergo ;
  4. The System pursued as to separate Imprisonment, or otherwise ;
  5. The Nature of Employment of Prisoners, and the Amount of their Earnings ;

6. The Degree of Instruction, religious and industrial, possessed by the Prisoners on their entering and on their leaving the Prisons;
7. The State of Health; showing,
  - a. The Rate of Mortality,
  - b. Cases of Insanity,
  - c. Diet,
  - d. Ventilation and Warming; and
8. The Cost of Prisons:
- XII. That special Returns should be given respecting *Juvenile Delinquents*: showing,
  - a. The Sex,
  - b. Age,
  - c. Degree of Instruction,
  - d. Trade or Occupation,
  - e. Having Parents living or not, and which Parents; distinguishing, in Cases of Re-committals,
  - f. The Crimes they had before committed,
  - g. The Punishment they had suffered, and
  - h. How many Times they have been committed:
- XIII. That Returns should be given of the Number of Reformatory Schools established, showing the Number of Youths admitted and disposed of, classified according to their.
  - a. Sex,
  - b. Age,
  - c. Degree of Instruction, and
  - d. Trade or Occupation:
- XIV. That as regards Civil and Commercial Judicial Statistics, all Courts of Justice, of whatever Nature, should be required to give annually Returns of their working; showing,
  1. The Number of Complaints entered;
  2. The Number of Appearances;
  3. The Number of Causes tried;
  4. The Number left in arrear:
  5. The Nature of the Causes tried, classified under distinct Heads, such as Causes
    - a. of Property,
    - b. of Wills,
    - c. of Divorce,
    - d. of Bills of Exchange,
    - e. of Insurance, &c., &c.;
  6. The Amount of Property in Dispute;
  7. The Number of Motions for new Trial;
  8. The Number of new Trials;
  9. The Courts to which the Appeals were carried;
  10. The Courts from which they were brought;
  11. The Number of Judgments affirmed or reversed;
  12. The Causes of the Reversals
  13. The Duration of the Suit, and Appeal (if any);
  14. The Costs allowed upon Taxation;
  15. The Number of Juries summoned;
  16. The Number of Causes tried without Juries; and
  17. The Number of Interlocutory Orders:
- XV. That the Admiralty Courts should give Returns of,
  1. The Number of Vessels proceeded against, distinguishing Cases where other Vessels or Parties were proceeding;

2. The Nature of the Causes ;
  3. The Duration of the Suits ;
  4. The Amount for which the Actions were entered ;
  5. The Number of Causes decided for Plaintiffs and for Defendants ;
  6. The Number of Causes where Appeals have been made ;
  7. The Courts to which such Appeals have been made ;
  8. The Number of Judgments affirmed and reversed ;
  9. The Number of Causes referred to the Registrar and Merchants ;
  10. The Amount reported by them, and whether confirmed or not by the Judge ; and
  11. The Amount of Costs :
- XVI. That the Ecclesiastical Courts should give Returns,**
1. As regards Testamentary Matters ;
    - a. Of the Number of Grants of Probate and of Administration,
    - b. Number of Cases in which Probate or Administration has passed unopposed,
    - c. Number of Cases in which they were opposed,
    - d. The Duration of the Causes,
    - e. The Number of Causes appealed,
    - f. The Courts to which such Appeals were brought,
    - g. The Results of such Appeals,
    - h. The Cost of Suits ;
  2. As regards Matrimonial Causes ;
    - a. Number of Cases, distinguishing those instituted by Husband and by Wife,
    - b. Number of Judgments for Husband and for wife,
    - c. Number of Causes appealed,
    - d. The Courts to which such Appeals were brought,
    - e. The Results of such Appeals,
    - f. The Duration of Suits, and
    - g. The Cost of Suits ;
  3. As regards Ecclesiastical Offences ;
    - a. Number of Cases,
    - b. The Nature of the Causes,
    - c. The Number of Judgments for Plaintiffs and Defendants,
    - d. The Number of Appeals,
    - e. The Courts to which such Appeals were brought,
    - f. The Results of such Appeals,
    - g. The Duration of the Suit,
    - h. The Cost of the Suit :
- XVII. That the Courts of Bankruptcy should give Returns of**
1. The Number of Bankruptcies in each County or District ;
  2. The Amount of Bankruptcies, under different Heads ;
  3. The Amount of the Debts, distinguishing those secured from those upon personal Obligations ;
  4. The Amount of Assets, distinguishing real from personal ;
  5. The Amount of Dividends paid, under proportional Heads ;
  6. The Trades of the Bankrupts ;
  7. The immediate or proximate Causes of Bankruptcies ;
  8. The Amount of the Expenses to the Bankrupt Estate of working the Fiats :
- XVIII. That all such Returns should be tabulated in some uniform Manner, so as to admit of Comparison with each other :**
- XIX. That the same Returns should be given for England, Scotland, and Ireland, and published simultaneously :**
- XX. That a Department for the Collection of Judicial Statistics**

should be formed in connection with the Home Office, or other Statistical Department already in existence, to which all such Returns should be annually transmitted, except the quinquennial Account respecting the Judicial Organization; and that the same Department should make an annual Report to Parliament at a stated Time, presenting such Returns in a collected Form, illustrative of the State and Progress of the Administration of the Law throughout the United Kingdom.

These Resolutions have been read, and earnestly considered, by some of the ablest lawyers, and legislators in England, and we have not heard of one objector whose opinion was worthy of the slightest regard. Indeed all have given them the fullest approval. An old friend of Lord Brougham's has, as a friend and fellow-laborer should, applied his own knowledge to the subject, and has recommended the following additions to the Resolutions:—

## II.

4. I think it important that the number of recognizances estreated for non-appearance should be given with the classification. Prisoners under bail, witnesses, &c. I believe it would turn out that very few accused persons who are admitted to bail, forfeit their recognizances. This fact coupled with the reflection, that the individual in default becomes an exile and thereby incurs a severe punishment, will tend gradually to increase the numbers admitted to bail, and thus diminish a great hardship.

## VII.

1. Bills ignored should be distinguished from acquittals.
10. Not only the number of Inquests, but the verdicts should be given, and where the death is accidental or by the visitation of God, the cause of death should be indicated.

## XI.

5. The disposition of the earnings should be given.

## XVI.

2. Divorce Bills with their fate.  
Divorce Bills though in form Legislative measures, are or ought to be Judicial acts.

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of these Resolutions; and, in our mind, they will be perfect if the suggestions of additional points which we have, through the foregoing letter noted, be adopted. If Lord Brougham's Resolutions were proposed to any assemblage of men who have been engaged in the consideration of Social, Statistical, and Legislative questions, they could not fail to be received with unanimous approval; but, proposed as they are, to the House of Lords, one is by no means sure of their adoption. We hope, however, that their plain, patent good sense, will

prevail in inducing the Lords to adopt them, even though the reasons for their adoption may not be so evident to their Lordships as to others outside the Peerage.

If law is ever to become a science in these kingdoms, it can only be raised to this position, through the adoption, fully and completely, of such rules and principles as are indicated and contemplated by, and developed in, the above inserted Resolutions. At present, to be an English lawyer, worthy the noble title, implies that the man possesses the mind of a philosopher, the sharpness of an attorney, the memory of a detective policeman, and the constitution of a prize-fighter.

At the outset, he is overcome by the statutes at large; he is overwhelmed by the reports extending from the Year Books to *The Jurist*; he is confounded by Saunders, astounded by Chitty, confused by Selwyn, and lost in Archbold and Roscoe. Having mastered a series of modern acts of parliament, an act to amend an act overturns all his knowledge; and after wading through cases without number, the conflicting opinions of judges leave him floating away on a black sea of doubt, hopeless, and despairing of certainty; and at length, driven by that inexorable Harpy, an anxious attorney, he is forced to write *some* opinion, and in the deep depths of his uncertainty he begins to feel that, like Necessity, *he* has "no law."

And why is the Law of England in this condition, this shameful condition, when considered as a science, and when contrasted as a science with the state of the Law in other Nations? Simply, because codification, and a reconciliation of conflicting judicial decisions have never been attempted, and because our absurd separation of law and equity, with our rusty, useless ecclesiastical courts, upheld as special institutions, have prevented the adoption of any wide and comprehensive measures of reform, through the difficulties raised by influential and interested persons.

However, information, such as Lord Brougham's Resolutions must procure, will, if the Resolutions be adopted, speedily, safely, and surely, enable the legal reformer, and enable the Society for the Amendment of the Law, to overturn, by facts and figures, the whole edifice of stupidity, selfishness, absurdity, and red-tapism, raised around the time-honored abuses of our legal "institutions."

Why do we thus delay the reader by words of ours, in support of these Resolutions? Their best advocate is Lord Brougham, himself, who thus spoke, in introducing them to the House of Lords:—

“I rise, in pursuance of my notice a fortnight ago, to bring before your Lordships the great subject of *Judicial Statistics*. When that notice was given, my noble and learned friend (Lord Chancellor) desired an explanation of the term. It signifies the regular and constant record of the whole particulars connected with the administration of the law in all its branches: its administration by all courts, civil and criminal, general and local; the state of those courts, as to judges and other office-bearers; their whole proceedings through every stage; together with every matter concerning the working of the law, though not having come within the cognizance of any tribunal—in a word, the record, in minute detail, and for the most part in a tabular form, of all the facts connected with the execution of our laws. Needs there more be said to show I will not say the great value, but the paramount importance, nay, the absolute necessity, of this knowledge to the makers of those laws? Can we, I will not say conveniently, but rationally, nay, can we safely, can we honestly, exercise our legislative functions without having this information upon the action of the laws which we make, or of those made by our predecessors, and which we are constantly required to abrogate, or alter, or continue? We make some change in the system. We are bound to examine how that new law works: unless we know all the facts connected with its execution, how can we tell whether or not it was wisely, that is, usefully adopted?—whether we should persist in our course, or retrace our steps, or proceed in another direction? Jurisprudence is eminently a practical science, and the work of a safe because a prudent lawgiver is for the most part of a tentative kind. It behoves him to carry it on with a constant reference to the effects which his measures have produced. He can but dimly see even to the shortest distance before him; therefore is he bound carefully to look behind, and on each side, that he may be well assured he has made no mistake, and be full sure of his ground. When we are sailing upon an unknown coast or a coast little known, where we cannot have the benefit of a chart, how shall we hope to be safe, if we possess neither compass to guide our course nor lead to give us soundings and keep us secure from shoals and sunken rocks? Full and minute statistical details are to the lawgiver, as the chart, the compass, and the lead to the navigator.

When I referred my noble friend (Lord Chancellor) to the French reports and tables as the specimen of such information which approached nearest to perfection, the Lord Chief Justice said, I was not aware that we possessed a body of statistical facts in the yearly Returns of criminals, to which the learned judges often referred in their charges to grand juries. I was fully aware of their existence and their uses, as I then told my noble and learned friend; and

it was because I was well acquainted with them that I pronounced our judicial statistics to be at the opposite point from the French, and to be the very worst which any country affecting to have such Returns possesses. It will presently appear why I rated the French so high, and ourselves so low in this great department—a department which alone can make legislation a branch of inductive science and bring it, so to speak, within the scope of Lord Bacon's rules.

In 1853 an important congress to discuss the various statistical questions with a view to the intercourse of different nations, was assembled at Brussels, summoned by the King of the Belgians, who with his sons attended on one of its three days. The Minister of the Interior presided, and nearly a hundred delegates, mostly persons in official stations, attended from all parts of Europe save Russia, and from the United States also. Some years after, in last autumn, a similar congress but much more numerous attended, was assembled at Paris under the patronage of the Emperor, and presided over by the Minister of Public Works, Agriculture, and Commerce. The representatives of England were Dr. Farr, appointed by my honourable friend Major Graham, (Registrar-General); Mr. A. Fonblanque, of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, accompanied, I believe, by his assistant, Mr. Valpy; and Professor Levi of King's College, representing different Chambers of Commerce. My noble friend Lord Ebrington represented the Statistical Society of London. These gentlemen had also attended the Brussels Congress: and there, as well as at Paris, the important department of Judicial Statistics largely engaged the attention of the body. It formed, indeed, the subject of one of the four sections into which the whole of their inquiries were distributed. The desire was universal at both the meetings for the promotion of this branch of economics; and the wish was strongly expressed that a third congress should be held in London this year. How imperfect our system is—how little it ever could bear a comparison with that of France at any time—how much it has become even less to be commended of late years—how entirely we are left by it in the dark as to all the facts which it is the most essential that we should know regarding the administration of our laws and the condition of the people their subjects, will speedily appear if your Lordships will bear with me while I enter into some necessary details upon the whole subject. It is needless to beguile with the notion that this explanation can be accomplished without some trespass upon your time: but I engage not needlessly to encroach upon it.

I begin with our Criminal Returns, the only portion that has any the very least pretence to be called a regular branch of Statistics—all the others being irregular, occasional, accidental. Now, I pray you to observe how exceedingly defective are these returns, tabular as they are, made by the care and ability of an excellent officer, very ill supported, Mr. Redgrave, of the Home Department; and I will first of all show you how a paltry saving has of late years made them more imperfect than they were before. In 1839 the Age and Instruction of the prisoners were omitted—their Age and Education



in connexion with their offences. In 1851 a further step was taken in the course of petty savings, and the Sex of the persons was left out; so that the spirit of false economy, of expensive parsimony, had to boast of saving three columns out of four-and-thirty. But its triumph is confined to England: for the Scotch returns still continue as formerly to give these most important particulars. Some, I am aware, set little store by the details of Education, as if they were little to be relied on, or, if accurate, of no great value. Of their importance I can have no doubt; and how far they can be made trustworthy I think we have some indication from the experience of our neighbours in France. We find that the proportion given for the average of five years ending 1820 of prisoners wholly illiterate—that is, quite unable either to read or write at all—was 612 in 1000. In 30 years this proportion had been considerably reduced, for the average of five years ending 1850 was only 509 in 1000. Of persons not wholly illiterate, but very imperfectly taught to read, above 300 were to be added, making the uneducated class 14-15ths of the whole. When the proportion of Education in criminals, as well as its progress, is compared with the same matters in other classes, as the conscripts, we find such a diversity as might be expected. In the 15 years ending 1850, half the period formerly taken, the number of the illiterate conscripts had come down from 480 to 362, or as 4 to 3 instead of 6 to 8; so that the returns, being according to what the diversity of the classes would lead us to expect confirm each other. I have said that the returns from Scotland continue to give Education, together with Age and Sex as before the rule, the tyrannical rule of wasteful parsimony. But neither there nor in England, at any time, was there ever given the very essential particular of the number of offences, without which no estimate can be made of the amount of crime at any period, or in any district. The number of persons alone is given, and has ever been. Yet, see how this is calculated to mislead. I observe, by to-day's account of the assizes in Northumberland, six persons tried for one murder; in our tables this would be recorded as six murders. The gravest offences—murder, manslaughter, burglary, arson—are often committed by more than one; but so too are some misdemeanours; for instance, riot and conspiracy must needs involve several parties. Why all these defects in our statistics—defects which render them not merely useless, but deceptive rather than instructive? Above all, why this retrograde movement, so that the defects have become greater, the usefulness less? All arises from a wretched, a false, an expensive economy. In no country is it more the habit to overpay insignificant, and underpay important service. We positively appear to take as serious the sarcastic description of “penny wise and pound foolish”—to make of the sneer a maxim—not taking it as a warning against folly, but as the guide of our conduct. Nor, I greatly fear me, is this confined to such paltry savings on our criminal statistics as I am now speaking of. An alarming report has reached me utterly impossible to have any foundation, I would fain hope; and from such apprehensions I trust my noble and learned friend will at once relieve me.

The story, the incredible story is told, that the Government intend to cut down the salaries of the County Court judges from the sum voted by Parliament—I will not say in its generosity, but in its wise providence, for securing efficient services in those most important stations; and this while my noble friends have, I rejoice to say, listened to my often-repeated demand of repealing the taxes upon proceedings in those courts. But to lower at the same time for the miserable saving of a few hundreds the remuneration awarded by Parliament, and thus to narrow and fetter the choice of fit judges—and this by those who profess themselves the friends of Local Judicature—it is not to be believed! Well may those Courts pray to be saved from their friends, and ask what their enemies could do worse! They may, perhaps, remind us how near friend and foe can come together; and though they may not say that friend and fiend differ but by a letter, they may think it likely enough that the monstrous attacks upon the system will be, I do not say universally hateful, but let us say only disrelished in the greatest degree by the people with whom local judicature is in great and justly great favour, and who desire nothing more strongly than to see it exercised by the ablest, the most learned, and the most honourable men.

But I revert to the glaring defects in our statistics, especially as compared with those of France. Our tables, whether for England, Scotland, or Ireland, give no proportion of the criminal to the whole population, either of the country at large or of the particular districts. In the French you can tell this at a glance, both generally and in detail. On the average of five years, ending 1860, the proportion for the whole country was 1 in 4568; but this varied exceedingly in the different Departments. In the L'Ain it was as low as 1 to 10,523. The highest was that of the Seine, 1 in 1385; and nearly on the same level with the most refined portion of the community, the inhabitants of the capital, was the least civilised, the Island of Corsica, where the proportion was 1 in 1672. As might be expected, the offences against the person formed a large proportion in the latter, and a small proportion in the former Department. In Paris 14 per cent. or one-sixth were offences against the person, 86 against property; in Corsica it was reversed, 83 against the person, or five-sixths, and 17 only against property. Now, I have no manner of doubt that this extraordinary amount of crimes of violence being brought before the minister of justice, himself a Corsican, as indeed are also some in yet more exalted stations, he will direct his attention and theirs to the means of so improving the administration of the law in that island, as to bring the inhabitants to a greater uniformity with the rest of the people, so far as the diversity of temperament, character, and social habits will permit. Such is the practical tendency of the information which these Statistical Returns afford, such the useful lessons which they inculcate, and the needful remedies which they compel the Government to apply.

Another defect, and a very great one, in our returns is, that they give no account whatever of the length of time during which criminal proceedings are pending, no means of ascertaining how long persons

have been in confinement, or what interval has elapsed between arrest and final sentence, between final sentence and execution, between the commencement and termination of the case. In this particular the French tables are admirable; they approach as near perfection as possible. The result is satisfactory as regards the administration of the criminal law in respect of dispatch. Of the cases tried at the Cour d'Assize, nine-tenths take no more than six months in the whole. Of those tried by the Tribunaux Correctionnels, nineteen-twentieths are finished in three months. As to dispatch, therefore, the return is satisfactory. As to the merits of the trial itself, I cannot by any means pronounce the same opinion; for their criminal procedure is extremely defective, being by far the worst part of the Code. It was, indeed, left imperfect: and I have learnt with the highest satisfaction that the Emperor's government is disposed to remove this great blot from the most important of his celebrated kinsman's works, that which he himself foretold would form his title to renown with after ages.

Such, then, is the inferiority of our Statistics in whatever regards proceedings in courts; and such the great superiority of the French. But, suppose all the defects of which I have been complaining were removed, all the omissions supplied, there is this grand objection to these returns—to the Statistics which my noble and learned friend, now gone the circuit (Lord Campbell), described as so important; they are confined to persons tried at Assizes and Sessions, and are silent as to all other trials and all other proceedings. Not one word of police courts—not one word of summary convictions of any kind: forming, really, the greater part in number, though not in magnitude, of the whole criminal proceedings of the realm. All the arrests, and discharges, and penalties at police courts—all the proceedings at petty sessions; all the penalties inflicted summarily out of sessions, are entirely left out; and your Lordships will observe, that the jurisdiction of magistrates has lately received a very large extension both voluntary and contentious, both where persons plead guilty, and where they elect to be tried at once and without jury, by the Act of last session, which I have often taken the liberty of calling the Carlisle Act, because it originated in the petition presented by me from my friends the Cumberland justices, last session and the session before, though a right hon. friend elsewhere (Sir John Packington) had proposed a like measure somewhat earlier. This new Act has been found to work so admirably that a most able and learned judge now on circuit (Mr. Justice Coleridge), lately pronounced a high panegyric upon it, the more valuable because his Lordship had formerly, as he states, entertained a somewhat different opinion, before the experiment was tried. The whole results of summary jurisdiction are thus left out of our criminal statistics. But I will now suppose this omission also to be supplied, and that we have these results as well as the proceedings at assizes and sessions, still our accounts are confined to crimes which actually appear before different courts.

Hitherto I have spoken of offences and offenders as recorded in the proceedings of Courts, whether of trial or of police; but it is of the greatest importance to ascertain as far as possible the number

of crimes which never reach any Court: nothing can be more essential to the formation of an estimate touching the state of crimes in the community, and the action of the law in detecting and in preventing them. I can give no better illustration of this than is afforded by the inquiries of the Commission on the Constabulary force, whose report was made in 1839; at the head of it was my Right Hon. friend the Speaker (Mr. Lefevre,) Colonel Rowan and Mr. Chadwick were the other Commissioners; and it would not be easy to name any persons whose authority stands higher in all respects, but more especially on the subject matter of their enquiry. I may say that they soon found their progress stayed, if not altogether stopped, by the want of statistical information. They were obliged to issue above two hundred questions for obtaining necessary details from various departments, all which details, had their enquiry been conducted in France, would at once have been furnished by the inspection of the yearly Tabular Returns. On one subject they had access to accurate information regarding untried, indeed unprosecuted offences, that of forgery. From the Bank they obtained the number of forgeries for a series of years, and the result of the comparison is very instructive. The average number of forgeries for the years 1816 and 1817 was 28,000; the convictions, 110. The average of forgeries for 1820 and 1821, was 24,000; the convictions, 240. So that, while the convictions show an increase of the offence of more than double (24 to 11), the offence had actually decreased in the proportion of 7 to 6. So in the 20 years ending 1826 the convictions had doubled, while the offence had fallen to one half. Well may the commissioners observe, that if our view is confined only to the transactions in the courts of criminal justice, we may be seriously misled in our inferences, as may likewise the community in its feelings; and the legislature and even the dispensers of mercy may be misled, if the calculations founded on judicial proceedings are not corrected by a reference to the actual state of offences in the country. That there exist the means of obtaining such information cannot be doubted. We have it in some of our own great towns by means of the police. We have it generally in Ireland; and the Tables of Crime and Outrage record such information—the result, however, as almost all our returns are, of occasional exertions, arising from the accident of motions in Parliament. I will take the returns from the Dublin Metropolitan Police; I have here those for 1852. It appears that there were 60,886 offences of all kinds, and only 54,261 persons apprehended; so that above 6,000, or a tenth part of the offences, are reported without any proceedings having been had. Of the whole there were 40,256 sentenced, 13,050 discharged, and 955 committed for trial. I must add, in justice to my worthy countrymen of the sister kingdom, that by far the greater number of the sentences, or 43,000: were for small offences; for instance, 16,000 were for vagrancy. But this return shows that we may obtain accounts of crime independent of judicial proceedings. The French tables go further, they give a minute account of the causes which are supposed to have operated in producing the offences—as passion, poverty, sordid pro-

pensities, irregular habits; and no doubt this may be regarded as somewhat a speculative statement. Compared with the other heads of the returns it certainly is so; but it is very far from therefore meriting no attention. If, for a small number of instances, or for a single year, we were to rely upon such an account, manifestly we should be led into error. But as the same causes of inaccuracy, the same want of complete information in individual cases, the same sources in short of error, most probably exist in each district, and in each year, we may more safely rely upon the comparison of district with district, of year with year. As to time, if we cannot with perfect safety compare the returns of two single years, we can with greater certainty institute a comparison between any two years and any other two; and if we take the average of six or seven years at one period with the like average at a subsequent period, according to all the doctrine of chances, we shall be probably safe in the conclusions we draw from the result of the comparison.

Let me now lay before your Lordships in one view the result of the whole French Annual Statistics; and that not as a mere matter of curiosity, but as fruitful of proofs how far they are superior to our own, and as leading to some remarkable illustrations of the consequences that spring from our great deficiencies. We shall find that light is thus thrown, for example, on three subjects which much and justly occupy the attention of Parliament at the present day: the establishment of a rural police, prison discipline, and the secondary punishment consequent upon the disuse of transportation, connected with recommitment and ticket-of-leave. In 1853, the last year for which I have the tables, the offences of the whole country were 5440, and 7317 persons were tried at assize courts, 208,699, and 261,147 persons of lesser offences tried correctionally—in all 213,139 offences and 268,466 persons. Of the assize cases 4194 were persons in the rural districts, 2821 in the towns; and of the rural, 2458 were charged with offences against property, 1646 against the person; while of the towns 2115 were against property, 715 against person. I need not stop to observe that these are general results; but the tables give every thing in the most minute detail, specifying the offences and offenders in each district, the proportion to the population, with all the other particulars on which I have already commented. Then, we have similar returns in the like detail as to police proceedings; and the total is 543,407 persons apprehended or summoned, of whom 474,359 were punished by fine, 24,748 by imprisonment, and 42,433 were discharged. The offences of course were, for the most part, of a trivial description; thus 25,203 were cases of keeping shops open at undue hours. But one very important head is given, especially in the graver cases, that of *recidives*, relapse, or recommitment: we find that of the 7317 tried at assize courts, 2401 had been punished before. It is true that 15-16ths of the number had only been sentenced by the Correctional Tribunals; but 983, or nearly one-seventh, had been condemned to a year's imprisonment, 278 to more severe punishments, and no less than 169 to *travaux forcés*, indicating very grave offences.

It is from the view of these facts, and facts such as these, that the Government had been led to consider very anxiously the necessity of making some alteration in the system of secondary punishments, as well of the law itself as of its execution; and one most important use of these details, indeed the great value of such Statistics, arises from their holding up to the Government the state of the criminal law and its administration. Here we are continually desiderating such lights; and we are fain to obtain the mere glimmering afforded by occasional returns, required by mere accident and by accident furnished, instead of having them regularly supplied at all times, and systematically as well as symmetrically arranged, like those of our French neighbours. When I presided over your Lordship's Committee on Transportation some years ago, we had to circulate our questions in various quarters, and to examine for many days, I might say weeks, a vast number of witnesses, the greater part of whose testimony would have been rendered unnecessary had our criminal statistics been like those of France, because the inspection of the tables would have given very much of the information required, and given it without the partial one-sided view inevitable in the statements brought forward for a particular purpose. The information afforded by the French tables is further of the very kind most wanted to shed light upon the question, the all-important question of a Police establishment. A noble friend of mine who attended the Brussels and Paris congress, and has given his valuable opinion in the letter I am to move for (Lord Ebrington), could well speak to the want of such Statistics in this country. He was, with one or two others, lately engaged in the plan of establishing a rural police for the county with which he is connected, that of Devon. They had recourse to the experience of places where it had been tried. All was diversity and variation. In some counties, as Oxfordshire, they found the experiment had been made with superintendents and no assistants—with officers, as it were, and no privates; in other places, privates and no officers; in some, as Lancashire and Hampshire, both officers and privates. But there were no returns of the practical working; no steady light was shed on the effects of the plans severally pursued. The inquirers were not helped, but hindered: sometimes in the dark from the total want of details; sometimes misled and not enlightened, but bewildered by false lights and cross lights; so that in despair they gave up the attempt to guide themselves by the experience of others, and Devonshire has not had even the trial of a Rural Police.

I have now shown your Lordships how defective the Criminal Returns are in almost every material particular; how entirely they are made without system; and, excepting that most imperfect account of the assizes and sessions, how much their existence in any form depends upon the chance of some motion or other proceeding occurring; so that in the result, for the most part, there are no Returns at all. But bad as this is, the want of information respecting Civil Proceedings of all kinds is incomparably more disgraceful to us. There is absolutely not a return of the kind made regularly either to the Government or to Parliament—not the least record left of the state of any of the courts of Law or Equity, Admiralty

or Consistory, except that once a motion of mine to your Lordships, was made with a particular view, and by this chance we had a list of the judges and their salaries—nothing like an account of the business transacted by these courts, except that the Commons also for a particular purpose directed a return of the County Court causes, which account happens to have been repeated; but there exists no return whatever of the causes in any of the other courts, either general or in detail; and any one looking at our parliamentary returns connected with the administration of justice, returns which it would be a cruel mockery, a very sarcasm, to call Statistics, must conclude, if he had no other means of information, that there was no business at all carried on in this country of a civil nature—no causes tried, no judgments pronounced, no costs incurred, no delays to wear out the suitor's life, no expense to consume his substance. Only see, my Lords, the consequence of this most lamentable defect in the information promulgated by authentic documents—this total want of such information from official sources as to all that passes in our courts of civil jurisdiction! See the sad effects of our having been left ignorant of all these particulars, that is, left without their being brought together and in one view, so as to produce the impression which can only be made by the light of such a concentration! Does any one dream, for instance, that the defects in the Court of Chancery could have continued so long to vex the suitor and discredit the law, had the whole of the suits been chronicled regularly here as they are in France, with their results, and the periods of their endurance? What possibility would there have been of the Legislature, but still more of the country, bearing for years, ay, and for generations, I might say for ages, those defects—we may now call them grievous abuses, for they have been at length, after a more than Chancery length of time, condemned and partially removed—these abuses which ended in making the name of the court a term of reproach? My belief is, that a regular yearly table, exhibiting the causes, the delays, the costs, would, even without a Department of Minister of Justice, have sufficed to produce, years and years ago, this great improvement. From that subject I willingly abstain on the present occasion. I have often urged it strenuously on your attention; but it is now, I trust, safe in the abler hands of a right hon. friend elsewhere,\* and he I know will persevere after the success which attended his appeal, as learned as eloquent, to the Commons upon a late occasion. I may, however, remind your Lordships of the slow progress which has been made in the great cause of law amendment from want both of a Minister of Justice and of regular records of judicial statistics. The mere dates of measures propounded and adopted, distinguishing the times of the proposal and enactment, will show how truly the great sage's† maxim that proposal has wings, execution leaden feet, applies to all plans of amendment brought forward by men not clothed with official authority. I may well instance the greater part of my own plans for reforming

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\* Mr. Napier.

† Lord Bacon.

our laws. Of the nine bills which in 1845, with the concurrence and support of my learned colleagues of the Law Amendment Society, I presented to your Lordships, and of which the greater part have since become law, I will venture to say all, certainly eight of the nine, would have passed easily if patronized by a person having the influence of Government to support him; and of those which did pass, by far the most important, that which has really altered the whole face of procedure in courts of civil judicature—the making the parties competent witnesses in civil causes, was postponed from 1845 to 1851; and though the judges now admit that it has had the most blessed effects upon the administration of justice, the suitors and the courts were kept from its benefits, the discovery of truth obstructed, the triumph of falsehood secured, for six years and a half of utterly needless delay. Again, of the four courts, the establishment of which I urged upon your Lordships—and all of which by many years' experience, are found to have been changes in our judicial system at once safe and beneficial—mark the dates of the proposal and adoption. The Bankruptcy Court Bill, presented in 1831, passed the same year. The Central Criminal Court Bill passed in less than six months after it was brought forward. The Judicial Committee was formed and in action within a few months after the Court of Delegates had been abolished. In all these cases of sure and speedy legislation I sat upon that woollack, now so much more worthily occupied (I speak most sincerely and unaffectedly) by my noble and learned friend; but the Evidence Bill, which lingered six years in its passage, was presented after I had long ceased to hold office. To one, the greatest of all these changes and the most important, the establishment of Local Judicature, no doubt, my present argument does not apply; for though originally propounded in the other House,\* and before my accession to power, it was afterwards submitted once and again to this House with the advantage of official weight; and I bear your Lordships no malice for rejecting it by the narrowest majority in a moment of party controversy.† This blessed measure was some years after introduced and carried by my noble and learned successor, and though too long deferred has produced the happiest effects.‡ Such postponements of beneficial changes are, however, to be deeply lamented; and I cannot avoid recollecting, perhaps, the most remarkable instance of this delay, and which never could by possibility have taken place if all that passes in the Courts of Chancery had been, as in France, regularly recorded, and promulgated, and held up, as it were, in the face of the Parliament and the Government by periodical display of the facts. It affords a striking instance of our great loss in the want both of a Department of Justice, and of a Department of Judicial Statistics. The most important change, and the greatest improvement of that court and its proceedings, is on all hands confessed to be the abolition of the Master's office. When was this first propounded? In 1842, by my honourable and learned relative,§

\* 1830.

† 1833.

‡ 1845.

§ Master Brougham.



then a Master, whose experience of 10 years had led him to consider (and one or two of his brethren, I believe, agreed in the opinion) that there was no other remedy for the evils so loudly and so long complained of. In answer to the demand for his opinion by the Chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst), he reported to the Master of the Rolls (Lord Langdale) the very measure, with its details and the reasons for it. He and his colleagues could see no other means of effacing the blots on the system, than the root and branch reform of entire erasure. They said of their court, as the old Roman (or rather Spaniard) did of his own epigrams: *Non possunt nostros multæ, Faustine, lituræ.*

*Emendare jocos*—if sport to them, their proceedings were death to the poor suitor; so they mercifully concluded—*una litura potest*, and urged the total abolition. But when did my honourable relative make this proposal to Lord Langdale? In 1852; and for want of the departments I have named, above all for want of the concentrated light which must have been cast upon the evil and its causes by the constant promulgation of the whole particulars connected with the Master's office, ten long years were suffered to elapse of unspeakable suffering to the parties, utter disgrace to the tribunal, and general discredit to the administration of justice.

I have stated the contrast which France presents in this respect, and I pray your lordships to mark how the facts bear out my assertion. We have a perfectly full account regularly given to the Minister of Justice yearly of all the proceedings of every court within the realm in the most minute detail. That functionary makes his report to his Imperial Majesty, and presents the reflections also which the facts are calculated to suggest with a view to the improvement of the law and its execution. I am now dealing with the subject of delay. See how that is chronicled in these reports. We find that of the causes in the Court of Primary Jurisdiction (*Première Instance*) one-fourth on an average last above a year, one-third three months; but in the next superior court (*Cour d'Appel*) only one-fifth are disposed of in three months, while one-third take a year. I have already shewn that the dispatch is much greater in the criminal courts, nine-tenths of the proceedings for greater offences occupying six months, nineteen-twentieths of the proceedings for lesser offences three months only. The Minister of Justice is immediately struck with this difference of expedition in courts composed of the same judges, and he reports upon it. He is of opinion that it arises partly from the criminal proceedings being under the superintendence of the Public Prosecutor, somewhat from the greater complicity of the civil procedure—but chiefly from the operation of professional interest—professional men, and, it should seem, some official persons also being benefited by the protraction of suits. He calls the attention of the Emperor to this important subject, and promises his assistance in devising and effecting such measures as may (I cite his own words) “give to the administration of civil justice that promptitude which is an element of its efficacy.” One may venture to conjecture that a report upon the Master's office would not have required the “*decies repetitum*” in France as

with us ; that the denouncement of the minister would have called forth that vigorous arm which brooks not the delay of a 10 years' siege ; and that the stronghold of abuse would have fallen in far less than the classical period of time during which it was suffered to mock the prayers of the suitor, and defy the assaults of the amenders of the law.

My statements have already extended to a considerable length, and I feel thankful to your Lordships for having so patiently borne a discussion upon matters somewhat dull in themselves, interesting as are the great subjects with which I hope their intimate connexion has been demonstrated. I must, however, still claim your attention to another subject of very great importance upon which the Judicial Statistics of our neighbours throw some light, I mean the Process of Reconciliation, the proceedings in the *Bureaux de Conciliation*. I have, unhappily, never been able to obtain your concurrence in the measures often propounded by me, chiefly in the County Court Bills, for establishing this most beneficial tribunal in England ; but I hope that either I shall be spared to see such a consummation of all the great reforms in our law, or that in other and more powerful hands it will be accomplished. It needs no proof surely from experience to show how unspeakably great would be this blessing—the extinction of all, or nearly all, the unjustifiable litigation, that which being groundless is the mere torment of society. Facts we have in abundance to prove the success of the plan, wherever it has been tried and had fair play. In some countries it has at once cut off four-fifths, in others even more, of all the suits previously brought and carried through the courts. But can any one doubt that this must be the result, or require the proof from experience of what the least reflection must show to be infallibly certain before any experience is had ? Needs more be done to secure its favourable reception than simply to tell what the plan is ? If the parties who can by no possibility have an interest in continuing a hopeless litigation, shall go before a judge without the presence of a professional man who may have such an interest, and shall hear the opinion of a person whose station commands respect, whose judgment they trust, and who stands perfectly impartial and indifferent between them—if the one be told that he has no chance of succeeding should he prosecute his suit, or the other that his defence must prove unavailing, can there be any reasonable doubt that in a great majority of instances this advice will be taken, say rather this warning will prove effectual ; and so the hopeless demand or desperate refusal will be at an end, and the greater part of the causes stopped, such only going on as involve matters of fact properly in dispute, or points of law really requiring to be settled by trial ? The French process of this kind is by no means so well devised as that of Denmark and some other countries, where the effect of its introduction has been to clear the tribunals of a very large number of that class of causes to which I have referred. But comparatively inefficient as the *Bureau de Conciliation* is, in consequence of the less satisfactory provisions of the law, it nevertheless produces very important results. We find, for example, by the tables for 1853, that of 211,000 proceedings of Con-

ciliation, no less than 154,000, or three-fourths, were successful in wholly and finally adjusting the conflicting pretensions, or settling the cases without further litigation.

I must now add, that whatever doubts may be entertained or, if I may respectfully to your Lordships so speak, whatever prejudices may prevail, against Courts of Reconciliation, surely there can be no hesitation in approving of the *Conseils de Prudhommes*, and envying our French neighbours for the possession of so useful an institution, one so much wanted amongst ourselves. These, as your Lordships may be aware, are councils composed of respectable individuals not professional, for arbitration upon matters connected with the work and the differences of artisans, and especially for settling by voluntary submission disputes between masters and workmen. The successful working of this excellent plan is universally admitted. Thus I find that of 28,429 disputes in 1850 all were settled save 1041, and of this small proportion, only  $\frac{1}{7}$ , the greater part were subsequently accommodated by parties who at first had refused to yield. The proportion in Paris was much less satisfactory, less so indeed than in any other Department, probably from the turbulent habits of the working classes in that capital—not above two-thirds of the disputes were settled. In the great manufacturing districts it was very different. Thus at St. Etienne of 2818 disputes all but 70, that is all but one-fortieth, were accommodated. Only conceive how beneficial it would be if for our Birmingham (the St. Etienne of this country) you had a Domestic Forum which cut off 39 in 40 of the disputes between masters and men, by an amicable and comfortable and immediate settlement!

I have described the evil consequences of our only having occasional and chance returns upon the most important heads of both Civil and Criminal Statistics—that one accidental motion in either House obtains our only information on the numbers and salaries of judges, another on the business transacted in courts of a single description only, the County Courts. But I should except two others, Admiralty and Bankruptcy, from the statement that there never have been any returns; for by mere accident there have been in both these cases, but once only; and the information never has been continued, so that it became entirely useless for any practical purpose. The unhappy accident of the war occasioned a return to be called for from the Prize Courts, and it was of considerable use in showing the effects of the blockade; but nothing could be more interesting than an account of all the admiralty cases, as well as the Prize causes. Thus, in cases of collision and seamen's wages there is a concurrent jurisdiction with the courts of common law. It would be important to compare the proceedings in these concurrent courts, were it only to show what preference is given by suitors to the one or the other jurisdiction; and these returns should manifestly not be limited by the duration of the present lamentable hostilities. On the Courts of Bankruptcy we happen to have returns dated some years back, not from any systematic course of furnishing this important information, but because there chanced to be a Commission appointed for inquiring into the state of the

Bankruptcy judicature, and also a committee moved for by my noble and learned friend (Lord St. Leonards), who had doubts, or more than doubts, on the new system of class certificates.

Much evidence was examined for many days by both Commissioners and Committee; and I will venture to affirm that a great part of it might have been obtained by an inspection of tables, if we had possessed anything like those of France, on the same subject.

The Commission obtained very full returns; they are the only ones ever made, although the new judicature has been in existence and in full operation for a quarter of a century. They have never been continued since the Commission acted three years ago: they are liable to all the objections of being occasional, imperfect, one-sided, as compared with the full and regular tables of the French Government; though they are of use as far as they go, and for the period now gone by to which they relate. Than the French nothing certainly can be more admirable; they are full to minuteness of detail, and except that they omit the expenses of parties (the defect, and the only one, in the other tables of civil proceedings), they may be truly said to exhaust the subject. Thus, to give a summary, and no more: taking the year 1853—there were 2126 bankruptcies; of these 319 for less than £200 (I translate into our money), 468 between £200 and £400, 348 between £400 and £2000, 200 between £2000 and £4000. The assets amounted to £1,320,000, of which £480,000, real estate; the debts £4,480,000, of which £520,000, secured by mortgage. Then the dividends are given in minute detail, so that at a glance you can tell how many, and in respect of what debts, received so many shillings in the pound (or sous in the franc) under the heads of various sums. I can imagine nothing more worthy of praise than this class of their Statistics; but indeed the whole of the great work is an object of admiration and of envy—a work renewed regularly year by year ever since the department was finally formed in 1829, Napoleon having begun it in the consulship, and afterwards more fully arranged it in 1811; but the execution of this important design was not consummated before his fall.

The precious volumes which are its yearly result, and which considering the infinite number and minuteness of the details, are of no startling size, two moderate quartos only, are accompanied with the minister's full and somewhat special report on the great value of which, for purposes of practical legislation as well as for administrative uses, I have already more than once commented.

Let me set before your Lordships, in conclusion, the remarkable picture which they present of the general state of litigation for the last 30 years before the war broke out. Notwithstanding the great increase in the numbers of the people, the number of causes had apparently somewhat fallen off, a real diminution of no inconsiderable amount, if we keep in mind the progress of the population.

But in one class of causes there was no decrease; commercial causes had doubled. Heaven be praised! Humbly, devoutly, but most heartily, let us pour forth our gratitude to the Great Disposer, for this happy consummation, happy for England, for Europe, for the civilized world, for France herself above all—indicating as it full surely does, the vast increase of trade, the application by that

great people of their indomitable energies, their varied ingenuity, their untiring industry, their matchless perseverance—to the blessed pursuits of peace; for of commerce, we may say, as a great orator of ancient times did of his own art: *Pacis comes, otiiq; socia, et jam bene constitutæ republicæ alumna*—the offspring and the pledge of peace abroad, order at home!

My Lords, I will not further weary you by reading these Resolutions which I now move; they embody the recommendations I have made, and shew how these may best be carried into effect.

I have had, in framing them, not only the example of the French Statistical Department and its labours, and the co-operation of my colleagues in the Statistical Committee of the Law Amendment Society—more especially, I have had the invaluable assistance of Professor Levi, whom I have long known, and than whom I have never met with a person of greater ability, and more extensive information on all subjects connected with the Science and Statistics of Commercial Law, whereof he is the distinguished teacher, or one of industry more indefatigable. In framing the Resolutions, which relate to the Admiralty and Consistorial Courts, we have had the aid of my friend, Mr. Rothery; and what concerns the Bankruptcy Court has been settled by communication with persons of that department.

From the Statistical department of the Board of Trade under Mr. Fonblanque's able superintendence, I have derived liberal and valuable assistance, and his correspondence with Professor Levi, on Judicial Statistics, is one of the two papers for which I have now to move you: the other is, Lord Ebrington's letter to Lord Palmerston, on the same subject. The Resolutions I only desire may be laid on your table and printed, and I shall move that the debate on them may be adjourned.

This admirable speech, the result of seventy-eight years experience, requires no comment from us. The Resolutions the adoption of which it advocates, and the full advantages of which it explains, are of importance not alone to the legislator, to the lawyer, to the statistician, and to the political economist; they are important to every man in the community who has a right to uphold or a wrong to redress.

These kingdoms owe much to Lord Brougham. As a champion of the oppressed, as a law reformer, as a bold and unflinching defender of the popular cause, as a never-ceasing cultivator of literature, as an earnest and ever constant supporter of free education befitting a free people, as a writer in whose pages good sense, and learning, and genius are ever found, Lord Brougham stands before his country, a patriot judge in the truest sense of this grand title, and as has been well declared of Hale and of D'Aguesseau, we may declare of him, and never more truly than at this moment—"Happy is the nation, on whom Providence bestows such magistrates; they equally benefit their own times and posterity."

THE  
IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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No. XXII.—JUNE, 1856.  
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ART. I.—SLICK'S HIGH LIFE IN NEW YORK.

*High Life in New York.* By Jonathan Slick, Esq., of Weathersfield, Conn. A Series of Letters to Mr. Zephariah Slick, Justice of the Peace, and Deacon of the Church, over to Weathersfield, in the State of Connecticut. New York: Bunce and Brother, 1856.

THERE are two classes of readers from whom the work before us has but a small chance of welcome. Those, who, confiding in the strength of their mental digestion, prefer taking their “*utile*” unmixed, and who hold in utter contempt, minds weak enough to relish the addition of the “*dulce*,” probably consider, that Judge Haliburton has retrograded sadly in giving to the world a series of mere humorous sketches. According to their views, he for the first time, “really promised something great” in his *English in America*,\* and no doubt had his present work been of a similar cast, instead of being so lamentably mirthful, they might have been inclined to forgive and forget in the sober political historian, the trivial varieties of Sam Slick. But, fortunately for Judge Haliburton, and indeed it may be for society at large, the possessors of intellects so far exalted, are decidedly in the minority. The public appetite is in general pleased with variety, and evinces a repugnance to intellectual dyspepsia, which must be very discouraging to those lofty-minded beings, who, forgetful of the days when James’s Powder was rendered grateful to their juvenile palates, by the addition of raspberry jam, deny the utility of humour, as a vehicle for wholesome truth. The opposition of the class of enemies to humorous writing, is founded on the

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. I. p. 523.

belief, that vulgarity and wit are synonymous, and that mirth is incompatible with "gentility." To all of this dreary creed, the very title, *High Life in New York*, is of course conclusive; it satisfies them at once that the book must be "dreadfully low," and consequently it is returned unread to the highly genteel circulating library, with a request, that Mrs. Gore's latest novel, and the last work on Crotchet collars, may be sent up the moment they come in. There is one reflection however which cannot fail to infuse comfort into the soul of Judge Haliburton, and cheer him in his banishment from the reading tables of these worthy people—Shakspeare is undergoing a similar sentence in company with a distinguished circle of malefactors, convicted of Vulgarity at the bar of Ultra-R refinement. Against one or two of the more modern culprits, Dickens in particular, there is a second charge, to wit, that they did remove, crush, drive into obscurity, and totally eclipse, the Eau Sucrée School of novelists, whose works had for a long time formed an intellectual repast, both grateful and suitable to minds of delicate organization. In them were to be found no dull descriptions of every day life, in coarse every day language, no character was open to the objection *Mr. Partridge* brought against Garrick's acting.\* No hero held a lower position in society than a Viscount, or at least an amiable cut-throat, who, to make up for the laxity of his morals, expressed himself like a Chesterfield, and had the manners of any polished gentleman, say, George the Fourth, and who, when it became a necessary to abduct the heroine (*Lady De' &c. &c.*) performed that duty with engaging suavity, and removed her to his private dungeon to be kept till called for in the third volume, when the hero had satisfactorily proved himself to be the son and heir of *the Marquis*. It is easy to understand that persons who admire this style, as emphatically the genteel, may feel a sublime contempt for works of fiction, in which the characters, many of them drawn from low life, are represented as speaking and acting just as people in their position might be expected to speak and act, and in which dialogues given in the dull monotony of the vernacular, and unrelieved by scraps

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\* "He the best actor," cries Partridge, with a contemptuous sneer, "Why I could act as well as he myself; I am sure if I had seen a ghost, I should have looked in the very same manner, and done just as he did." *Tom Jones*, Book 16. Chapter 5.

of French, Italian, or any foreign language, have often a tendency to produce laughter, and other external symptoms of enjoyment; but it is by no means easy to comprehend what are their notions of vulgarity, so gutta-percha-like in its own elasticity, and extensive in its application, does that word become, when used by them in reference to anything which is unfortunate enough not to meet their approbation \* They seem to forget that vulgarity is a quality, not inherent, but altogether dependent on circumstances, and that words and phrases, which may be vulgar in some positions, are not necessarily always so. For instance, it would be undeniably vulgar for an author in describing the parting between *Mr. William Styles*, and *John Noakes*, to say, "they wet their whistles, and then bolted;" but he might represent either of those gentlemen as using the same figurative expressions in his own account of the effecting event, without violating propriety, in any sense of the word, more than the author of *Adela, or the Outlaw of Oxfordshire* does, when he makes his heroine dismiss her lover, with the assurance that "poverty and contempt she could endure with him, but a father's anger, a parent's wrath she cannot, will not, &c." Of course there are many expressions in use among the lower orders, which no circumstances could render fit to appear in print, but vulgarity is altogether too weak a word to express the offence of any man, who would so far forget his duty to society, as to introduce such as these into his writings. In short propriety, as well in representing naturally, as in avoiding what is of itself offensive, is perhaps the surest guide the Novelist can have. As long as he keeps this landmark in view, he will steer clear of vulgarity or coarseness, even though his *Styles's* and *Noakes's* speak with all the idiomatic terseness of their class; unless indeed the objection be deemed a valid one, which those, whose refinement is of extra delicacy, have to the appearance on any terms whatever, of such characters in a picture of life; but as the prototypes are to be found in the original, it is probable that most persons will be content to join us in lamenting that at the outset, the organization of society was not entrusted to people, who would have no doubt, given us a world of ladies and gentlemen. As we have already stated; it is to be feared that the title under which the subject of the present notice is published, will

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\* Sir Walter Scott used to say, "nothing is vulgar that is not vicious."



be damnatory in the eyes of this class, that designates as vulgar everything outside the Drawing-room door; yet, if our recommendation have any weight, we would suggest a perusal however slight, if it were only for the purpose of correcting a mistake, to which the devotees of sublimated gentility, are of all people, most prone, namely, that the humour of our transatlantic cousins never shows itself in any other form than those facetious anecdotes usually charged upon American papers, of men so tall, that they are obliged to climb a ladder to comb their own hair, or of ghosts of such preternatural brightness as to render smoked glass indispensable to all who may wish to contemplate them. As to our utilitarian friends, deference to their lofty, though prejudiced minds, renders it impossible for us to recommend a work of such levity as Judge Haliburton's, on any other grounds than that many of the sketches of domestic life contained in its pages, may add something to their stock of "useful knowledge" concerning Social America. It is true, that the tendency of humour is to place its object in a state of inferiority, so as to cause laughter, but it does not follow that the inferiority is necessarily such as to excite the feeling of contempt; to delineate harmless peculiarities and good-natured simplicity, is just as much the province of humour, as to expose the less amiable failings; no doubt the pleasure we derive from the consideration of the clearness of those two great parallels in fiction, *My Uncle Toby*, and *Mr. Pickwick*, arises in a great measure from a sort of self-congratulation, at being unencumbered with their excess of simple benevolence, but the mind that could DESPISE those worthy creatures, must be of a very unloving and unloveable cast; when humor takes this turn, the inferiority does not pervade the whole conception; it is then merely a lowering of one part to throw another into relief, as the wood engraver reduces the surface of the block, where the lines traced on it are meant to be subordinate. There would be nothing humorous in *Uncle Toby's* widely extended philanthropy and tenderness of heart, unaccompanied by his bashfulness and childlike enthusiasm about the art of war, or in the intense *bonhomie* of *Mr. Pickwick*, were it not for the little traits of credulity, pompous simplicity, and occasional quickness of temper which render that dear man such a delightful study. Nor is it essential that the part of the conception thus thrown into relief should be of an amiable

nature ; our admiration for *Falstaff*, with all his wit and philosophy, is of a much less kindly description than that inspired by *Uncle Toby*, yet, in spite of his sensibility and cowardice, we are far from feeling contempt for him as we do for *Dogberry*. In fact this species of humour represents certain qualities in a ludicrous light, not so much *thus* to excite laughter, as to supply a foil for others, which would, of themselves, excite admiration rather than laughter ; and hence arises that incongruity which forms the essence of the humorous. Of a far different nature is the incongruity which causes our enjoyment of humour, when it has for its object, the peculiarities of a nation, or class, of which we ourselves are not members, it then springs from our mentally contrasting the manners, habits, dialect, or whatever the immediate subject may be, with our own. But this is not all ; there is nothing humorous in the idea of a party of Cannibal Islanders dining off a grilled enemy, although the contrast between such a repast and a European family dinner, is about as great as can be well conceived ; there must be also a certain amount of that unusual combination of circumstances, incidents, or objects, which would render the representation humorous, irrespectively of its origin or locale, or in other words, what, speaking metaphysically, we might call an internal incongruity. The latter is of course just as perceptible to an individual of the particular class or nation, and our enjoyment of it proceeds from a feeling of temporary superiority to, or a sort of contempt for the object humorously treated. We may here remark, that this contempt is by no means identical with the feeling which our dictionaries, explain by the words "scorn;" certain words such as "pleasure," "pain," "delight," "congruity," acquire a conventional meaning in metaphysics, from being always used in their most abstracted sense, and perhaps, one of the greatest difficulties the student in that science has to encounter, is the training his mind to use that conventional meaning, and forget for the time being, the more ordinary one.

To return to our more immediate subject, as we of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland have an additional source of enjoyment in Judge Haliburton's *High Life in New York* ; the work itself, being a collection of American sketches, may be considered as doing double duty ; first, as a work illustrative of the manners, the domestic life, and the various

provincial dialects, as well as of the humor of the Americans, and secondly, as a book of that sort which one takes up simply for amusement. Its efficacy in the former capacity will, we know, be doubted by a class of readers we have already alluded to; the sticklers for the solid and serious will scout the idea of a humorous work containing useful information regarding any country, and undoubtedly they are right in doing so, if they consider useful information to consist exclusively in statistics of births, deaths, marriages, gaol-deliveries, and prison discipline, or in lists of exports, imports, public buildings, and capital offenders. If to be well "made up" in such matters, is to know a nation thoroughly, then humour, which has ever had a rooted antipathy to the blue books and figures can avail but little. But we would respectfully (as dealing with persons of such severe taste) submit that something more is necessary. Which of us would think of establishing an intimacy with a person whose friendship was desirable, by finding out the name of his tailor, or the sum to his credit in the Three Per Cents, if we admired the cut of his coat, or had a marriageable daughter?—information on these points would be no doubt very acceptable; but if he were a man for whom we felt respect, apart from that inspired by his paletot, or his pocket, it is probable we should feel just as much curiosity about his tastes and habits, whether he was the same, in an arm-chair and slippers, by his own fireside, as he was in public, whether he was sociable or morose, playful or austere to his own family, whether it was he who kept the household in order, or the grey-mare was the better horse in his home circle. If information on points like these assist us in forming a just estimate of individual character, surely the study of the corresponding problems in national character has its claims to utility, especially in the case of such a nation as America, a nation which, with all her weak points, we cannot but respect (we do not use the word in a diplomatic sense.) A nation which still feels, and it is to be feared not without cause, a certain amount of jealousy and heart-burning towards her progenitor, while every day shows that something more than a mere speaking acquaintance is desirable. Although a small library might be furnished exclusively with books on American subjects, yet of what may be called Social America, of the manners, ways of thinking, fireside chit-chat of the middle (for democratic as she is, America has a middle)

class,—we as yet know little or nothing. The *Dots* and *Pecrybingles* of England have become Household Words in many a home between New York and New Orleans, but, though no doubt the cricket chirps just as loudly on the American hearth, as it does among the coal and turf-ashes of our two "right little, tight little islands," its voice has not come across the Atlantic. The native authors seldom give us a view of domestic life. The witty *Clockmaker of Slickville*, himself, avowes a preference for political or metaphysical disquisition, and the sojourns of foreign writers on America, have been generally too limited to allow them to acquire the necessary intimacy with the people, even supposing they had not travelled, as too many obviously have, only to collect evidence to prove some pet theory respecting the evils of democracy; there are few descriptions of American life or portraits of American character, in the works of Messrs. Hall, Dickens, Marryat, Trollope, (every one who has read the *Lady's* production, will admit her claims to the masculine title), that do not show the steam-boat, the stage-coach, the boarding house, or the public assembly to have been the field of observation. What a striking contrast to these is presented, by Washington Irving's admirable essays on English character, in his *Sketch Book* and *Bracebridge Hall*; long and useful study of the national peculiarities, and frequent intercourse with the people, have made his sketches as true, as they are elegant in diction, and full of that genial humour which laughs with rather than at, its object. It is, when humor adopts this tone, that it becomes a useful element in description; there are a thousand and one weaknesses, foibles and failings in human nature, which approach faults so nearly, as to render it impossible to pass them over in silence, pure satire is much too keen a weapon against such as these; to use it as a corrective, would be to break the butterfly upon the wheel, and though we may admire its brilliancy, it too often leaves a scathed mark, to show where the flash took effect; but humor plays round its object with a mellow continuous light, like the harmless lightning of a summer's evening.

*Jonathan Slick*, the son of *Zephariah*, and the younger brother of *Sam Slick*, leaves Weathersfield as supercargo of a freight of onions, garden stuff, and strong cider, shipped per the sloop of *Captain Doolittle* for New York. Arriving at

the latter city, *Jonathan*, committing the disposal of the cargo to the *Captain*, goes into the city, and calls upon his cousin *John Beebe*, at his counting-house. *John* receives him kindly, and invites him to a quiet dinner at which are present only *John*, his wife *Mary*, also a cousin of *Jonathan's*, and *Jonathan* himself; and here *Jonathan* is overcome by what he calls, and fancied to be, "spring cider," but which was in reality very good champagne.

After this dinner *Jonathan* feels himself rising in the world; he offers himself as a contributor to *The New York Express*, which engages his services, and thenceforth, instead of writing to his father by post, he addresses him through the columns of that journal. His letters are found advantageous to *The Express* and people begin to talk of him, and he takes an office in Cherry-st., concluding that he will set up in New York as a literary man.

Before we proceed to make extracts from this most amusing book, we think it right to state that it is, all through America, known to be the work of Judge Haliburton; and we have heard, from friends in all quarters of the Union, that it is High Life in New York to the fullest and most admirable point of accurate painting.

Becoming famous, *Jonathan* is invited by *Mrs. Beebe* to "a swarry," of which we have the following account:—

One morning a little black boy cum into my office with a heap of letters, and he gave me one without speaking a word, and went off agin. I opened the letter, and there dropped out a square piece of white pasteboard, and on it was printed in leetle fined letters, "Mrs. Beebe at home—Thursday evening."

Wal, sez I to myself, if this don't take the rag off the bush—cousin *Mary's* got to gadding about so much, that she has to send round word when she is a going to stay at hum one evening. I do wonder how Mr. Beebe can stand it. I shouldn't blame him if he took to drink, or got into bad company, if his wife goes on so; for if a woman won't stay to hum nights, and keep every thing nice and snug agin her husband comes away from his bisness, a feller must have an all-fired good heart, and a good head tu, if he don't go off and git into scrapes on his own hook.

I sot down and histed my feet on the top of the stove, and begun to think it all over, till it seemed to be my duty to go and talk to cousin *Mary* about the way she was a going on. I remembered what a purty, smart little critter she used to be when she lived in Connecticut, and how kind hearted she was; and then I thought of her queer stuck up ways since I'd seen her here; and it was as much as I could du to keep the tears out of my eyes, for if cousin *Mary*

had been my own sister, I couldn't a liked her better than I did when she was a gal.

Wal, arter thinking it all over, I made up my mind to go and ask John if he didn't think it best for me to go and talk to her, for I felt kinder loth to meddle with his business, if he didn't want me tu; and anyhow, I didn't expect much thanks for giving her advice—for when a feller steps in between man and wife, it's like trying to part a cat and a dog, and he is lucky enough if he don't git scratched by one and worried to death by t'other; but I looked at the piece of paste-board agin, and made up my mind that something ought to be done, and if John didn't take it up, I would; for if there's any thing I du hate on arth, it's a gadding woman—and I didn't feel as if I could give cousin Mary up quite yit.

Wal, I took my hat, and put my hands in my trousers' pockets, and walked along kinder slow through Cherry street, till I cum to Franklin Square. I didn't seem to mind any body, for my heart felt sort a heavy with thinking of old times. I kept a looking down on the stun walk, and felt eenamost as much alone as if I'd been in a Connecticut cramberry swamp; yit there was more than fifty people a walking up and down the Square. I'd got jest agin the old Walton House, that was built afore the revolutionary war, but was so busy a thinking, that I forgot to look up at the arms and figgers carved out over the door, every one of 'em put up there by a British tory family afore Ginerel Washington drove them out of house and hum—when all to once somebody hit me a slap on the shoulder that made me jump eenamost into the middle of next week. I looked up, and there was cousin Beebe a larfin like all natur because he'd made me jump so.

"Hello, cousin Jonathan!" sez he, "what the deuce are you thinking about?"

"About that," sez I, a forking out the piece of pasteboard from my trousers' pocket, "a little stuck up nigger jest gin me that ere."

"Wal, what of it?" says cousin John, "it's all right I see, I suppose you'll come of course?"

"Yes," says I, "I was a jest a going down to see you about it, and if you'd jest as livs I'll go right straight up and talk to her now; I feel as if I could say enough to break her heart, if it has got ever so tough."

With that cousin Beebe bust right out a larfin. "That's right," says he, "you're coming on bravely, don't talk about one heart, I havn't the least doubt but you'll break a dozen—you literary chaps carry all before you in that way."

I felt kinder unsartin how to take his meaning, for it seemed as if he was a poking fun at me, for wanting to give his wife some good advice; at last I spoke up, and sez I—

"If cousin Mary has got *one* good sound heart left to break, since she came here to York, she's a good deal better off than I took her to be."

With that John begun to stare, and at last he bust out a larfin again.

"Why," sez he, "you haint no idee of getting up a flirtation with

Mary, have you? upon my word, cousin Slick, you are a shaking off all your steady habits in a hurry. It generally takes a feller, though, some months' training in fashionable society, before he can bring himself to make love to another man's wife."

"Now," sez I, "cousin Beebe, what on arth do you mean? as true as I live I shall git wrathy if you keep on in this way. Aint my father a deacon of the church? Aint I sot under Minister Smith's preaching since I was knee high to a toad? It's an all-fired shame for you to talk to me as if I was going to demean myself by making love to anybody, much less to another man's wife. When I du make love, sir, I can tell you what, it will be with a hull heart and an honest one tu; I'll never be afeard to look a girl in the face when I ask her to take me, or to let her look in mine for fear she'll see villain writ out in my eyes. As for your married women, they needn't be afeared that anybody, I don't care how imperdent he is, will make love to them, without they begin first. Now, Cousin Beebe, seeing as we have gone so far, jest look a here, see what your wife has sent to me!"

With that I give him the paper which the pasteboard was done up in, where Cousin Mary had writ, "Mrs. Beebe hopes Mr. Slick will not fail to come."

Cousin John read it, and sez he, "Wal, what harm is there in this? I'm sure it was very thoughtful of Mary, and I'm glad she did it. You will go of course; there will be a good deal of company, and they are all anxious to see you since your letters come out in the Express."

"What," sez I, "is Miss Beebe a going to have a party—why didn't she say so then?"

"Oh it's only a *swarry*, she often has them," says he.

"A what?" sez I.

"A *swarry*—a *conversationny*," sez he. I couldn't think what he meant, but I remembered that jest afore Mary was married she us'd to have hysteric fits, now and then, and I thought they give them things some other name down here in York.

"Dear me," sez I, "I'm sorry, but if I can do any good I'll come up, I s'pose you'll have a doctor."

"Oh yes," sez he, "there'll be two or three, besides lots of lawyers, and poets, and editors."

"You don't say so," sez I, "why what will you du with them all?"

"Oh Mary will take care of them," sez he, "she does those things very well, indeed, considering she was brought up in the country."

"But I thought you wanted us to take care of her," sez I.

"Why, of course you will all make yourselves as agreeable as you can; there will be lots of harnsome wimmen there, and I haint the least doubt we shall have a pleasant party."

"A party!" sez I, "is Miss Beebe a going to have a party?"

"Certainly," sez he, a looking puzzled; "didn't you understand that by the card and the note?" I felt my heart rise up in my mouth, and I could have begun to dance on the stun walk. I do believe nothing on arth makes a feller feel so happy as to find out that somebody he can't help but like, but has been a thinking hard things

about, don't deserve them. Cousin John kept a looking at me, and I begun to feel awful streaked, for it seemed to me as if he suspected all that I'd been a thinking agin his wife. Arter a minit, I up and took my hand out of my pocket, and I took hold of his'n, and, sez I—

"Cousin John, I've been making a darned fool of myself; I didn't know what this ere piece of pasteboard meant, and I"—

"Never mind, Cousin Jonathan," sez he, all of a sudden shaking my hand, "you know what it means now—so come up on Thursday. Now I think of it—you had better git a new suit of clothes; that blue coat and those shiny brass buttons did very well for Weathersfeld; but here something a little more stylish will be better—supposing you go over to the Broadway tailors and let them fit you out."

"Not as you know on," sez I, a taking hold of the edge of my coat, and a dustin off the buttons with my red silk pocket handkerchief. "The picter that they printed of me in the Express newspaper was taken in these clothes; and if you'd jest as live, I'll keep 'em on."

Cousin John warn't to be put off so, and at last he cum his soft sodder over me, till I agreed to git another suit of clothes, New York cut, for parties and meetings. So we shook hands, and he turned and went back to his store agin, for he was a coming up to my office; and I jest turned into a narrow street, and took a short cut across to the Express Office. The Editors give me some money, for they aint no ways mean about paying me for what I write for their paper; and they put on the soft sodder purty strong about my letters. They said that everybody was a reading them and a trying to find out something about me, and that lots of young ladies had seen my picter and were a dying to git acquainted with me. I warn't much surprised at it. Arter putting the poetry in my letters so strong, I was sartin that all the gals would be a talking about me. Nothing takes with them like poetry. I had my eye teeth cut when I wrote that, I can tell you. I couldn't help but feel tickled to hear them praising me so; but somehow one gits used to being puffed up, and arter a little while a feller don't seem to care so much about it.

Wal, I pocketed the cash and went to the tailors' store; it was a plaguy harnsome place, and there were two or three spruce-looking chaps standing about; but they looked at me kinder slanting, as if they thought I didn't want to buy anything; and I could see one on them looking arnestly at my coat, as if he didn't like the fit on't. I declare I begun to get ashamed of the old blue, when I cum to see the harnsome coats and vests and trousers hanging around.

"Have you got any first rate superfine broadcloth coats and trousers to sell here?" sez I, a chinking the loose change in my trousers' pocket a leetle, jest to show them that I was as good as the city banks, and held out specie payments yit.

"Yes," sez one of the clerks, a bowing, "what color do you wish to look at?"

"Wal," sez I, "I ruther think I'll take that color that looks so much like burnt coffee, or else a rale indigo blue, I aint particular, only I want it in the tip of the fashion—a rale harnsome fit, and all that, for I'm a going to a swarry and a conversationanny, and I want to shine like a new pin."



While I was a talking, a knowing sort of a feller cum out of the back room, and when he see me a looking at a coat that I seemed to take a notion tu he cum up and begun to talk about it—he pinte out the silk lining and the way it was stuffed and quilted under the arms, and would have me try it on. So I stripped off the old coat and put the new one on. I can tell you it sot as slick as grease: there warn't a wrinkle or a pucker in it, from the top of the velvet collar to the eend of the flap. I looked as trim and as genteel as could be in it—when it was buttoned over tight it seemed to me that I warn't bigger round than a quart cup.

Sez the gentleman, says he, “that’s a capital fit, sir, you won’t du better than to take it.”

“Wal,” sez I, “I don’t know as I shall, I kinder seem to like myself in it—how much do you ask, hey?”

“Why,” sez he, “that’s a fust rate coat, superfine cloth and beautiful trimmings; but the times aré hard, and I’ll let you have it low for cash;” and then he sot his price; “but, sez he, “you mustn’t tell how cheap you got it, for I couldn’t sell any more at that price.”

“Wal,” sez I, “I ruther guess I’ll take it; now let us look at some of your vests and trousers. I shall have to beat you down a leetle on them, for I’m raly afeard my money won’t hold out.”

“Not much fear of that,” sez he, and he opened a drawer and took out an all-fired heap of trousers. Arter I’d tumbled ’em over a while, I picked out a pair of rale harnsome checkered ones, and then I bought a black vest with yaller stripes all over it, and between us, I ruther guess it made a considerable hole in the money that I got from the editors of the Express, to pay for ’em all. The man had done ’em up, and I was jest a going to take ’em hum under my arm, but sez he—

“Where will you have them sent, sir?”

“Wal,” sez I, arter thinking a minit, “you may direct them to Mr. Jonathan Slick, and send them round to the Express office, if you’ve no objection.”

I wish you *could* a seen the feller! he seemed to be all struck up into a heap when I said this, and the clarks looked at each other, and cum towards us as if they had never seen anybody that wrote for newspapers afore.

“Mr. Slick,” sez the head man, making a bow eeamost to the ground, “I’m much obliged for your custom, and I hope you’ll cum agin. If you find the clothes suit you, perhaps you’ll send any of your friends to our establishment, who happen to want any thing in our line. We shall always be happy and proud to sarve Mr. Slick or any of his friends.”

Here he made another bow, and I stepped back, and bent for’ard a trifle, jest to let him see that his soft sodder warn’t put on at all coarse; and, sez I, “Wal, I’ll try the clothes, and if they turn out fust-rate, mebbey I’ll mention where I got them in one of my letters. There is a good many chaps jest a going to be married about Weathersfield, and it won’t do them no harin to know where to come for the wedding clothes.”

With that the tailor bowed agin, and, sez he, "Mr. Slick, where shall I have the honor of sending you one of my fust-rate vests, or a pair of harnsome pantaloons? I'll take your measure, and have them made on purpose for you."

"Wal, now, I don't know as I can afford to buy any more jest yit," sez I; "but when these are worn out, I think as likely as not I shall cum agin."

"Oh," sez he, a rubbing his hands a little, and a smiling and bowing agin, "let us take your measure, and weshan't quarrel about the pay, we shall be most proud to supply you with a good article; and if you will accept of them, the honor"——

"Oh," sez I, a bowing, "you are very obliging, I'm sure, Mr. ——."

"Where shall we send them when they are done?" says he.

"Direct them as you did the others, to Mr. Jonathan Slick, to the care of the Editors of the Express. And look a here, Mr. ——, I wish you'd try and make the trousers so they will stay down, and not keep a hitching up to the top of my boots, if you can."

"Depend on it they will please you," sez he, a follering me to the door, "Good mourning, Mr. Slick, I'm very much obliged to you for calling;" and with that he made another bow, and I give him back one again, and made tracks for Cherry street, as tickled as could be.

Wal, when Thursday cum, I begun to feel mighty anxious about the party: I had all the clothes sent down to my office, besides a prime hat, which I got, and a pair of real dandy boots that sot to my foot like wax.

As soon as it was dark I shut myself up and begun to fix. I declare I never did see anything fit as them checkered trousers did; they sot to my legs like the tin moulds to a pair of tallow candles in freezing time, and I felt as if I'd been jest corked up in a junk bottle, foot foremost. Arter I got them on, and all buttoned up tight, I begun to think that I should have to go to the party in the blue mixed socks that marm knit for me, the last thing afore I cum away from hum; for my feet had got hung in a slip of leather, that was sowed across the bottom of the trousers' legs, and how to get 'em out, so as to put on my boots, I couldn't tell. I pulled and kicked till I eenamost bust off my gallows' buttons but they wouldn't give a morsel, and at last I jest took hold on the leathers, and I give them an all-fired jerk till they slipped over my heel, and arter that I made out to roll up the trouser's legs till I could pull my boots on. When I pulled them down again the leathers stuck out from the heel of my boot behind, as if I had got spurs on; I didn't exactly like the feel of it, but "Who cares," sez I to myself, "a feller may as well be out of the world as out of the fashion, especially down here in York."

As soon as I'd got my trousers purty well braced up I put on the vest, and it sot like a button, for there wur holes behind and strings that laced up like a gal's corsets, and I girted up purty tight I can tell you. I snuggers, them yaller sprigs did glisten, and arter I'd put on the new stock that I bought along with the clothes, I ruther guess I cut a dash. It was all bowed off and curlacued over, with

red and yaller sprigs, and it made my neck look as skinn and shiney as our big red rooster's used to when he stretched his head out in the sun to see how many old hens and spring pullets he'd got about him.

I swanny, if I hadn't been in such a hurry to git on my new things that I forgot to wash my hands and face till jest as I was a putting on my coat! I peeked in the little looking-glass that I've got hung up in my office, and my hair was standing out every which way; and somehow my teeth looked as yaller as if I'd been chawin' tobacco a hull week. What to do I couldn't tell, but I picked up the *Express*, and looked into the advertisements to see if I could find out anything to make my grinders white—there warn't nothing there; but I happened to think that I'd seen Doctor Sherman's tooth-paste puffed in some of the papers: and though I don't mean to patronize anybody that don't advertise in our paper, I thought, seeing as I was in a hurry, per'aps it would be as well to go out and get some of it. I slipped on my old coat, and down I went into Nassau street, eena-most to the corner of Fulton street, and I bought a little cheney box full of red stuff, about as thick as hasty pudding, and as sweet as honey, and back I went again to the office like a streak of lightning.

I didn't know how to use the stuff, but think siz I, they must rub it on their teeth somehow, so I spread some on the corner of my towel, and began to polish away like all natur. It warn't two minits afore my teeth was as white as a niggers; so I jest washed them off in the hand basin, and went at my hair, tooth and nail.

How on arth these York chaps make their hair curl so, I can't guess—I tried to coax mine to twist up a little, on each side of my face, but it warn't of no use. I combed it out with a fine tooth comb, and I put some hog's lard scented with some of the essence of peppermint that marm give me to use if I should git the stomach ache down here, and I twisted it round my fingers, but it wouldn't stay curled a minit; so at last I gave it up for a bad job, and put on my new coat as mad as could be.

I ruther guess you couldn't have found a better looking chap of my size anywhere about, than I was, when I put on my yaller gloves, and fixed my new red silk hankerchief in my coat pocket, so as to let one end hang out a leetle, arter I'd put a few of the peppermint drops on it—and the way I pulled foot up Pearl street and toward Broadway, wasn't slow I can tell you. It takes a feller forever to fix here in York—I'd ruther sliok up for twenty quiltings and apple-bees, than for one swarry, I can tell you. I was a'most skared to death, for fear I should be too late, for it was eena-jest dark afore I left the office, so I didn't let the grass grow under my feet on the way to cousin Beebe's, you may be sartin.

When I got to cousin Beebe's door, I pulled the silver knob kinder softly, for I felt a sort of palpitation of the heart at going into a room chuck full of quality; and I jest pulled up my dickey a little, and felt to see if my hankercher hung out of my pocket about right, afore the nigger opened the door. At last he made out to cum, and when I asked if all the folks was tu hum, he begun to show his chalkies jest as he did afore, and sez he,

"Yes, but they haint come down yit."

With that I pitched in, and, sez I, "Look a here, Cuffy, none of your grinning at me but jest mind your own bisness. I've come to see the swarry that Mr. Beebe's been a buying to treat his company with ; so jest shut your darned liver lips, and show it to me."

"Oh," sez he, a trying to choke in, "the swarry is going to be in the drawing room there, walk in."

"What, haint it come yit," sez I, "and where's all the folks?—I thought he was going to have a party, too."

"Wal, so he is," sez the nigger, "but they haint begun to come yit."

"Wal now," sez I to myself, "If this don't beat all creation. Now, in Connecticut it would a been eenamost time to go hum agin ; these Yorkers du beat all for laziness." With that I went into the room. By the living hokey, I never see anything like it! It was enough to dazzle one's eyes ; the two doors were slid back into the partition, and it seemed like one great ball-room ; and, besides that, there were too great winders at the further eend, that opened into a place that seemed kinder like a garden. I didn't know what to make of it, for it was chuck full of posies that looked as bright and as green as if it was the fourth of July, and yit it was a freezing like everything out of doors. I went down the room and stuck my head through the winder, and as true as I live it was a little room all full of bushes and roses sot up on benches ; it had a glass ruff, and the sides were one all-fired great winder, with little vines a hanging down over it, and a great tree chuck full of something that looked like oranges, a standing up agin it.

There were five or six cages full of little yaller birds a hanging among the bushes, and right back of the tree stuck over with oranges, stood a marble woman a holding up a bunch of grapes cut out of marble, with a lot of green leaves twisted round it as nat'ral as could be. It was awful harnsome, but I swan if it didn't make me feel streaked to look at her a standing there among the bushes, for she hadn't the least rag of kivering on, and it raly was enough to make a feller blush to see her a holding the grapes over her head, as if she wanted to make people look at her.

Think sez I, is this the swarry that Cousin Beebe has bought to show his company: I reckon he'd better have bought a calico frock or something of that sort to kiver over it. I couldn't bear to look at it, and so I jest turned about and stood still by the winder with my eyes wide open, for at t'other eend of the room was another garden with a naked swarry and bushes in it, as much like the one I'd been a looking in as could be. I went toward it, but stopped short, and burst out a larfin all by myself, for it was nothing but the same garden a shining in the great big looking glass, that I wrote to you about, that hung up right afore me.

Arter I'd stole another sly look at the orange tree and the swarry, I jest stuck my hands in my pockets as well as I could, considering they were so tight. and stickin out one foot, leaned back again the winder frame and looked around the room. A hot sweelthering sun in dog-days could not have been brighter than

everything was. There were two great things hung by chains from the middle of both rooms, with hundreds and hundreds of chunks of glass a hanging all over them; and they were stuck full of candles as white as curd, all a burning and blazing, till they looked like a heap of ice and snow hung up to melt in a fire. Both the mantle shelves were kivered over with them things that I told you about that looked so much like gold; some on 'em were lamps, and some had great white candles stuck into them; and there were lots on lots of flowers set in among them, that smelt as sweet as new hay, and such a shining and glistening I never did see. The best on it all was, that the whopping looking glasses on both eends the rooms made them seem twice as long, and as if they had a great many more things in them than they raly had. There were two round tables made out of some kind of cloudy stun, about as large as marm's cherry-wood tea-table, a standing at both eends of the rooms, all kivered over with leetle picters and all sorts of play-things, besides heaps of books with morocco backs and sprigged off with gold, all lying among them every which way, as if somebody had been in a hurry, and had pitched them on the tables without staying to pile them up.

Besides all that, they had brought in a whole heap more of them footstools that I told you about, and they had put square kind of back pillows all tossed off and kivered over with flowers at the eends of the two settees, besides a good many other things that I haint time to write about. "Wal," sez I to myself, "If Cousin Beebe don't take the shine off these New Yorkers in his party, I lose my guess; but I wonder where on arth he contrives to raise money to do it with these hard times, for all this must have cost him a few, I'm sartin."

Jest as I was thinking this, the cuffy come into the room, and sez I—

"Look a here, snow ball, when is the party a coming, I've seen the swarry all I want tu, and I'm eenamost tired of standing here and doing nothing."

"Wal," sez he, "I s'pose they'll be here in an hour or two,—it aint mor'n eight o'clock yit."

"I rather guess I shan't stay here all alone any longer," sez I, and with that I buttoned up my coat, and jest took a walk into the Apollo gallery to see the picters, till it was time for the party to cum. I haint time to say anything about the heap of harnsome picters that I saw, and besides, I mean to write you all about them some day afore long, for they are curios I can tell you. I felt so much pleased with looking at 'em, that it was long after nine afore I thought of it. So I jest started off agin for Cousin Beebe's. When I went in this time the rooms were brim full of people, and I was eenamost scared to death. I unbuttoned my coat and pulled up my dicky a leetle, besides giving my hair a brush—and then I went in with my head straight up, and my new fur bat in my hand; jest as I used to go in the singers' seat, there in Weatherfield. Think sez I, I'll jest let 'em know that I haint been to dancing school for nothing. So I held my hat a leetle afore me by the rim, and I

made a genteel bow, first to one side and then to t'other. Arter that, I went and sot down on one of the settees, and I looked round for cousin Mary, for I felt kinder awk'ard; and I hadn't the least idee that she wouldn't have come up, as she used to in Weatherfield, and put out her hand and ask me if she should take my hat. But there I sot with it between my hands, a fingering it over as if it had been a hot potater, and she never cum near me. I felt dreadfully, for there was a lot of harnsome gals a staring at me, and puckering up their purty leetle mouths, as if they would a gin the world to larf right out. Arter a minit cousin John cum up to me, and sez he,

"Cousin Slick, I'm glad you've cum, step in the next room and take a glass of wine with me. Mrs. Beebe is so crowdod you won't get near her jest yit."

I got up, and we went into the entry way together, and then says cousin Beebe to the nigger, "Here, Ben, take Mr. Slick's hat."

The nigger took my hat and carried it off up stairs, and, arter a few minits, cousin John went back into the room where the company was, without saying another word about the wine.

"You had better go up and speak to Mary, now," sez he, kinder low; "there she stands by Count — I didn't hear the name, but it was some darned crabbed word, that was enough to choke a feller."

I hadn't looked round much when I cum in before, for somehow my head didn't feel steddly; but arter cousin John cum and spoke to me, I didn't seem to mind it, so I jest looked round as bold as could be. I declare I never did see any body dressed out as cousin Mary was. She had on a frock of shining satin, with harnsome pink sprigs all over it, and there was a great wide ruffle round the bottom, made out of something that looked as white and thin as a gal's veil the day arter she's married: and that was hitched up on one side half way to her waist, with a pink rose, made out of ribbon with long eends, that fell down eenamost to the floor. A heap of some kind of shiney thin stuff was ruffled round her bosom, and hung down round her arms, for her frock sleeves were short, and made like a little gal's; and she had on a pair of white gloves, with ribbon tops to 'em. One on 'em was fastened round her wrist with a wide piece of gold, and three or four bands set full of shiny stuns was on t'other arm, which was plaguey white, or else I suppose she would not have let folks see it.

Mary al'ers had a tarnal purty little foot, but I never see it look so small as it did in that glistening white shoe of hern, and to own the rale downright truth, she didn't seem to be much ashamed to show it, but kept it stuck out from under the ruffler, as if she'd made up her mind to be ready to make a curchy any minit. There was one thing that kinder puzzled me a good deal; Mary's skin never was over white, but somehow it looked like wax work, that night, and you never see a meadow pink look brighter than her cheeks did; but instead of coming into her face and going away again, as every man likes to see the color in a gal's face when she's a talking, and knows that he's a looking at her, Mary's always kept jest so; it didn't seem as if an earthquake would make her turn pale.

The hair hung in long curls down her cheeks and on her shoulders, jest as it did the other day, and she had a great white rose stuck in among the curls, on one side of her head, that looked as if it hadn't but jest been picked off the bushes.

I looked at her putty earnestly, I can tell you, and I do think she would have been a critter that John might be proud of, if it warn't for that stuck up way which she's got since she cum down here to York. She don't du nothing on arth nateral, and as she did when she was a gal in Connecticut. Instead of standing up straight, and speaking to her company as if she was glad to see them, she stood with one foot stuck out and her hands jest crossed afore her, and kinder stooping for-ard, as if she couldn't but jest stand alone; I never see a critter's back stuck up as her's was, I raly thought she was a getting the rickets, and I felt so anxious about it that I turned to cousin Beebe, afore I went up to speak to her, and sez I, a sort of low—

"Cousin John, how did your wife hurt her back so? I declare it makes me feel awfully to see what a great hump she's got a growing since she cum away from Connecticut!"

With that cousin John looked at her and larfed a little, but I could see he didn't feel jest right, and arter a minit he said, sez he,

"Hush, cousin, you must not speak so loud; it's true Mary has put on rather *too* much bustle, but it's the fashion, you see." I looked round, and as true as you live there warn't a gal in the room that hadn't her back a sticking out jest the same way. Such a set of humpbacked critters I never did put my eyes on, and yit they all stood about a smiling and a talking to the fellers as if nothing ailed them, poor things! I never see a set of folks dressed out so much, and so awfully stuck up as they were. Some of the gals had feathers in their hair, and some had flowers or gold chains twisted among their curls, and I didn't see one there that wasn't dressed up in her silks and satins as crank as could be. As for the men, I thought I should have haw hawed right out a larfin to see some of 'em; there was one chap talking to Miss Beebe with his hair parted from the top of his head down each side of his face, and it hung down behind all over his coat collar like a young gal's just before she begins to wear a comb; and there was two bunches of hair stuck out on his upper lip right under his nose, like a cat's whiskers when she begins to get her back up. Every time he spoke the hair kinder riz up and moved about till it was enough to make a feller crawl all over to look at him. Think sez I, if it wouldn't be fun to see that varmint try to eat. If he didn't get his victuals tangled up in that bunch of hair, he must know how to aim all-fired straight with his knife and fork.

Advancing in popularity, Jonathan finds that a fashionable cousin is anxious to become intimate with him. This cousin, Jase Slick, had made money by *all* means, and was a regular "smart citizen" of the *Scadder* species, but he was of that class, or aristocracy, known in America as "The Upper Ten Thousand."

This Mr. Jase Slick calls upon Jonathan, and, after some introductory remarks, he says—

"Now, cousin Slick," and you can't think how easy he seemed to call me cousin; "you've done purty well since you come to York, considering that you hadn't nobody to help you along but Mr. Beebe; but you must git a peg higher yit; we must introduce you among the aristocracy."

"The what?" sez I.

"The aristocracy," sez he agin, strutting back, and poking one hand down into his trousers' pocket, as if he was a going to take something out.

Wal, think sez I, I s'pose arter he's fumbled about long enough he'll show me what aristocracy is, if he carries it about in his pocket like the rest on 'em; but he only took out a piece of pinte'd gold, and begun to poke it between his teeth; and arter he'd got through, he made out to finish what he was a saying.

"Now," sez he, "I think I've seen Mr. Beebe at the New England dinner, and at one or two places of that sort where one meets almost every body, and for a merchant that hasn't made enough to leave off business, I dare say he's a very respectable sort of a man, but he don't exactly belong to the—the; that is, to the class—who—which I mean to take you inter, Mr. Slick; a class that claim some standing from their ancestors—men of family, that can be traced back like our's, cousin."

"Yes," sez I, sort o' pleased, "I believe we never had many relations to be ashamed on. Par always used to say that grandpa Slick could make about the parnsomes't pair of cow-hide boots of any feller in Weathersfield; and as for uncle Josh, I'd be darned if ever I saw his equal at shoeing a hor. They were prime old chaps both on 'em—rale peelers, I can tell you. Now, come to think on it, there was one laxy coot of a feller that never would work for a living; but he went off when I was a little shaver, and our folks don't know what became of him. He warn't much credit to us, that's a fact."

"I don't know what on arth made my pussey cousin get so fedgety all to once, but he begun to hitch about in his chair, and turned as red as a winter apple; and, sez he—

"Cousin Slick, this isn't the way we gentlemen prove that we are men of family. If that was the way we did it, there aint many men in the country that would go back two generations without breaking their neck over a lap stone or an anvil. Now I have taken a good deal of pains to trace out our family line, and the only way I could do it was to skip all the mechanics and farmers, jest touch slightly on the merchants, lawyers and ministers, but to dwell purty particularly hard on them that lived high and did nothing; now a days it helps a feller along a good deal if he can count up an author or so; and it was considered something of a feather in a man's cap if any of his relations were sent to Congress a few years ago; but now, since they've got a kicking up a dust every other day in the Capitol, and spitting fire at each other like dogs and cats, it don't help a man much to claim any of them for connexions except here and there one



that has got decency enough to be ashamed of the rest. I begin to be glad that none of our family ever got into politics much; but step to the door cousin Slick, and I'll show you the coat-of-arms that I've got on my carriage."

"Wal," sez I, "I don't care if I du, though it comes kinder tough to leave the stove this cold day." With that I tipped down my chair, and took my feet off from the stove and went to the door. By gracious! but he had a smasher of a coach standing there. It glistened and shone in the sun like a house afire. A great strapping nigger sot on a kind of double chair with a low narrer back, kivered over with fine brown broadcloth, all fringed and tossed off like any thing—and a great bear skin was hauled up over his legs, all scolloped off with red cloth and stuck over with coons' tails. The horses beat all live critters I ever did see; they were as black as crows, and I couldn't say which glistened the most, their tarnal smooth coots, or the harness put over them. They were all kivered over and sot out with silver. The horses had great yaller roses stuck on the sides of their heads, like a gal when she's dressed up for a party. My pussey cousin, he opened the door, and sez he,

"Look a here, cousin, haint this purty well got up?"

I looked inside, and there was a leetle sort of a room about big enough for cousin Beebe to put his swarry in, if he wanted to carry it about with him. It was all lined off and stuck full of cushions, and tossed and fringed like a curtained bed. Two great spotted skins lay tumbled up in the bottom, and there were leetle glass doors with steps to them on both sides; it raly was harnsome enough to make a feller's eyes feel snow-blind.

"Wal," sez I, a looking at my pussey cousin; "this does about take the shine off eenamost all the coaches that ever stopped to my office—and there's been a grist on e'm, I can tell you, and some with tarnal handsome ladies in them too."

"Yes," sez he, sort of interrupting what I was going to say; "but you haint a lock'ng at the coat of arms—that is what I want you to see."

"Wal," sez I, a giving the nigger a purty general survey, that sot back of the horses dressed up in sort of regimentals, all fined off with buttons and yaller cloth; "The coat is well enough—I don't see much to find fault with in it, though to own the truth, Captain Wolf, of the Weathersfield Independent Company, had a training coat that berts it all to nothing. As for the critter's arms, niggers may be different to white people in that way, but I don't see much odds—mebby you mean this other chap's, and his are long enough, that's a fact."

With that I jest took a good squint at a great tall shote of a feller, with arms like a pair of flails hung up arter threshing. He was a standing up back of the coach, and a hanging on to a couple of great tossels fastened to it, as independent as a monkey in a show. His coat and trousers were just like the nigger's, and he had a great wide band of gold stuff round his hat! my pussey cousin only shook his head when I looked at the chap. The nigger twisted his neck round, and the tall varmint stuck his'n up, and they begun to grin and tee hee at each other over the coach.

"See here, this is what I mean," sez my cousin; and his fat cheek begun to grow red with the cold or something. With that he put his finger on a picter, all sprigged out with gold that was figgered on the door, and sez he, "this is the coat and arms."

"Wal," sez I, "I've seen a good many picters, but I never heard them called by that name afore. I s'pose this is some York notion that you've picked up, aint it?"

"It's the gинуine thing," sez he, "and I paid a deal of money for it, I can tell you."

"Wal," sez I, a looking at the consarn purty sharp; "them two critters a lying down there cut a considerable of a dash, that's a fact; but the rooster on the top, that are beats all. It's so nat'ral, it seems to me as if I could hear it cockadoodledoo right out."

"Yes," sez my cousin, "that is well done, aint it? But I see you don't exactly comprehend the science of heraldry. Now all these things mean something."

"You don't say so!" sez I.

"These are lions couchant," sez he, a pinting tu the wild critters.

"You don't say so!" sez I agin; "I've seen a good many lions in the shows that travel through Weathersfield, but I never saw a croushong afore. They look purty much alike, don't they though?"

With that the two varmints stuck up at each eend of the carriage begun tu tee hee agin, and my pussey cousin, sez he, "Mr. Slick, supposing we go in."

"Wal," sez I, "but if you'd jest as lives. I should kinder like tu know what the rooster means afore we go."

"Can't you guess what part of the Slick family that belongs to?" sez he, a strutting up and rubbing his hands together as proud as could be.

"Wal," sez I, "I don't know, without it belongs to Aunt Lydia—par's old maid of a sister; she sartinly did beat all natur at raising chickens. You never heard of an egg turning out rotten, or a duck gitting drowned, on her premises."

With that the two chaps giggled right out, and stuck their fists into their darn'd great tatur-traps as if they felt a cold; and my pussey cousin, sez he, "it's a glitting cold—less go in."

"Wal," sez I, "I don't care if we du; but I tell you what, if them two chaps don't jest hush up their yop, I'll give them both an allfired thrashing—I will, by gosh!"

I ruther guess the two mean critters hauled in their horns a few at this; and arter I'd gin them both a purty savage look, we went into the office agin.

What the "pussey cousin" did next is thus described, and we have a full *and accurate* description of the mode in which the rich class of Americans deport themselves, and also of their curious mode of passing New Year's Day. Let it not, however, be supposed that there are none of a better class, though poorer, in America than that described here by Jonathan—a parvenu is the same in all lands; we know him in our

own country ; let us, nevertheless, see how he looks in other lands :—

I made a leetle inquiry about how people did a New Year's Day and found out that it was the fashion for the wimmen tu stand treat that day, to set out things, and invite everybody that come tu take a bite. So arly in the morning I put a clean white towel on the leetle table in my office. Then I went into the cubby house room, where I keep my new clothes and kindling wood, besides my tooth brush and sich things as I don't want to use every day, and I drew a quart mug of that outrageous good cider, that you sent me by Captin Doolittle. I guess I looked like live when I went out agin, with the mug brimming over in one hand, and the pillow-case stuffed full of dough-nuts, that marm sent me t'other day—besides the hunk of cheese, and the lot of baked sweet apples, tucked under t'other, arm. I heaped up a pile of the dough-nuts on one corner of the table, and sot the apple-box on the other, and made room for the cheese and the cider in the middle; and it raly made me feel sort of bad because marm couldn't see how nice I'd fixed it all. Think sez I, there won't be many people in York that'll set a better treat afore their visitors than this I reckon, any how, and as marm aint here I'll stand treat to every body that comes in for her sake.

Wal, who would be the fust critter that come in but cousin John Beebe, tu see what I was a going tu du with myself all day. Arter I'd sot him a chair by the stove, I went up to the table, and sez I,

"Cousin John supposing we take a drink ; its an all-fired cold day, and you look as if you couldn't stand it." My gracious, but didn't his eyes snap when he saw what I'd got. I mixed the cider up, purty hot with ginger, and then I sot it on the stove, and kept a stirring on it up with a little ivory thing that a purty gal sent me tu fold my letters with ; it begun to foam and sparkle like anything ; then I took a sip jest to try it, and handed the mug over to cousin John.

"Here," sez I, "take a swaller ; it aint like the pesky stuff you give me when I eat dinner up to your house. Instid of kicking up a dust in your upper story, it goes tu the right spot tu once, and makes a feller feel prime all over in a giffy." I ruther seem tu think that cousin John warn't much afeard of the mug anyhow ; he gave a sneezer of a pull tu it, and then his eyes begun to glisten, and, sez he—

"I'm beat, Jonathan, if this aint prime ; where on arth did you find it ? I've sarched from one eend of York tu t'other for it a dozen times, but never made out tu get a drop yit." With that he sot into it agin like all natur. "I declare," sez he, agin, choaking off long enough tu ketch his breath, "this does taste nat'ral."

"Aint it the rale critter ?" sez I, a bending for'ard and rubbing both hands together a leetle easy. It eenamost make me hum-sick when I first tasted on it, it put me so in mind of Weathersfield. Par sent me a whole cag on it, by Capt. Doolittle."

"Then it *did* come from the old humstid ?" sez he, a eyeing the mug agin—"I must drink a leetle more, for the sake of them that

sent it." With that, he jest finished up the mug; and when he sot it down, he drew a long breath, and sez he agin, "that's prime, Jonathan."

"Aint it," sez I, starting off to fill up the mug agin, for it tickled me to see how he took tu the drink, and how much he made himself to hum in my office. When I cutn out of the leetle room agin, John he looked sort of eager at the mug, and then at the eatables laid out so tempting.

"I declare," sez he, "I begin tu feel as I used tu when we were boys, Jonathan." With that I sot the table between us, and the way we laid in the provinder was a compliment to marm. Arter cousin Beebe had eat ten of the dough-nuts, and a hunk of cheese as big as your fist, he stopt short, and sez he—

"Cousin, this wont du, if we keep on eating as much as we want, we shan't find room for all the eatables and drinkables that the folks will give us to-day, when we make our calls."

"Look a here, cousin Beebe," sez I, kinder anxious, "you know I'm a sort of a greenhorn about New Years, for we don't have no sich things ever amongst us. Supposing you jest tell me how they act and so on. I don't want tu make a coot of myself; and that pussey cousin of mine is a coming tu take me round in his carriage, where I suppose he means tu stick me up like a swarry for folks tu look at; and if I don't du everything according to gunter, he'll be turning red and fussing about like an old hen that's got ducks for chickens. What on arth shall I say to the gals, and what will they expect me to du?"

Cousin Beebe he sot still a minit, kinder nibbling away at the end of a dough-nut, for he seemed mortal loth to choke off, and at last sez he—

"When you come tu a house where you want tu call, jest go into the room where the ladies will be a waiting tu see folks, and arter a while they'll ask you to take some refreshments: with that they'll go up tu a table where there's wine and so on, if they hain't teetotalists, and if they be——"

"It don't make no odds tn tell me how *they* act," sez I, "for I don't call on anybody that sets up to be wiser than our Savior; he turned water into wine, and when I set up tu be better than him, I'll turn up my nose at it, but not afore. I wish you could a heard par argufy that question with the ministers. I rather quess——"

Here cousin Beebe sot in, and sez he, "Well, just fill up a glass for the lady about half full, not a drop more, then pour out a glass for yourself——"

"What, full?" sez I.

"Sartinly," sez he.

"Wal," sez I, "that seems kinder hoggish to give yourself mere than you du tu the lady; I don't seem tu like that."

"It's the fashion," says he.

"Oh, is it?" sez I; wal I think as like as not they know how to help themselves after a feller's gone. I always notice that the gals that are so mighty stuck up as if they couldn't swaller anything but air before folks, stuff like all natur back of the pantry door."

John larfed a leetle as if he agreed with me, and sez he, "Never mind that now, but when you've poured out the wine, just step back and make a bow, and say, 'The compliments of the season,' or any other interesting thing that you like. A person of your genius should not be at a loss for pleasant sayings—and after that drink off the wine, take a leetle of anything else that is on the table, and go away agin."

"Wal now," sez I, "I can remember what to say well enough, though it does seem to me that there would be a leetle too much soft sodder in the speech, if it warn't made to a lady; but suppose you jest go over the manœuvre about the wine, so that I can get the kink on it, if you hain't no objection."

"Very well," sez he, a taking up the cider mug, "observe me." Witn that he made a purlite bow, and give another allfired pull at the drink. I see what the critter was at; but think sez I, I ruther think you've had your share of the cider. With that, I put out both hands a leetle easy, and took the mug from his mouth.

"See if I hain't larnt it," sez I, as sober as a deacon; and with that I made him a low bow, and while I was a drinking off the cider, I jest winked one eye over the top of the mug, tu let him see that I was up tu a thing or two. The minit I pulled up, he began tu laugh as good-natured as a kitten; and arter I'd got my breath, I sot in, and we had a good haw-haw right out in the office.

Arter we'd both got sobered down, John he gave me an invite to come up and see Mary, and then he cut stick to go home and fix for visiting. I hadn't but jest time to run out and git a piece of Injun rubber to clean my yaller gloves with, and begin tu fix up, when my pussey cousin come up the street, hurra boys, carriage and all, arter me. The tall chap let himself down from behind the carriage, and knocked at the door.

"Come in," sez I, a poking round the office arter a pin tu stick my shirt-color together, where the eternal washerwoman had washed the button off, consarn her!

The feller was dressed up like a Connecticut Major-General, all in yaller and blue, as fine as a fiddle; he kinder grinned a little when he see my table, and that I hadn't got my fix on yet; but when I looked in his face, he choked in, and, sez he, as humble as could be—

"Mr. Slick, my master is a waiting."

"Tell him not to be in a pucker," sez I, "I ain't quite spruced up yet." With that he went out—I pitched on my clothes in less than no time, stuffed a baked apple and a few dough-nuts into my coat pocket, for fear of accident, and follered arter. There he stood a holding open the glass door, and a set of little steps, all carpeted off, hung down tu the ground; and there was the fat nigger a twistifying his whip-lash round the horses' heads, as crank as a white man. I jest had time tu see that Jase had got his lions and roosters and crouchants pictured off on the curtain that hung round his seat; and then I jumped into the carriage as spry as a cricket. The tall chap folded up the steps as quick us marm could undu a cat's cradle, and shet the door tu, and away we went like a house a-fire. I swanny!

but these coaches du go over the ground as slick as grease; it seemed jest like being bolstered up in a rocking-chair! My pussey cousin seemed tu swell up bigger and bigger every minit, when he see how surprised I was with the spring of it; and, sez he—

“Now, cousin, I’m going tu take you tu see somebody worth knowing, and when they know that you’re my relation, they’ll take a good deal of notice of you; so jest put your best foot foremost.”

Think sez I, it’s looky that I got cousin Beebe tu show me how it’s done; but I kept a close lip and said nothing, for it was snapping cold, and a feller’s words seemed as if they’d turn tu ice, before he spoke ’em.

The nigger driv like fire and smoke, and it didn’t seem no time afore we stopped by a great house clear up town, and the tall shote opened the door and undid the steps agin, as if he expected us to git out.

“This is my house,” sez my pussey cousin, “you go in and call on the ladies, and I’ll dive round to one or two houses, and take you with me again, by and by.”

I got up sort of loth, for it seemed kinder awk’ard to go in alone; but afore I had a chance to say so, the tall shote shet tu the stairs, gin the door a slam, hopped up behind agin, and away they went like a streak of lightning.

I stood a minit, a looking about. It was cold enough to nip a feller’s ears off, so I jest tucked my hands into my pockets as well as I could, and begun tu stomp my foot on the stun walk. It raly was fun to see the streets chuck full of fellers running up and down, hither and yon, as if the old Nick had kicked them on eend. Every one on ’em was dressed up in his Sunday-go-to-meeting clothes, and they all had their hair slicked down exactly alike, and most on ’em looked more like gals in boys’ clothes than anything else. Not the shadow of a petticoat could a feller see, from one eend of York tu the other—it seemed as if the hull city had run tu boys for one day. The streets raly looked lonesome; for, arter all, it don’t seem nat’ral to go out and not see gals and women a walking about with their purty faces and fine clothes. A city without them, looks like a piece of thick woods without any sweet, green under brush-wood and harnsome flowers. I don’t know exactly why, but when I go into a place where there’s nothing but men, it seems as if all the sunshine and posies of human natur was shet out; and as I stood there afore my pussey cousin’s house, it made me feel sort of melancholy not to see the least glimpse of a red shawl or a furbelow nowhere about.

I believe arter all, that when a chap is a leetle scared about doing a thing, the best way is tu pitch for’ard, hit or miss, without thinking on it. So as soon as I’d got a leetle grit raised, I up and pulled the door knob as savage as could be. It was an all-fired big chunk of silver though, and the piece spread out on the door was as big as a dinner-plate, and there was “JASON SLICK” cut out on it in all sorts of flourishes and curleques. Think sez I, my pussey cousin means to hang out a specie sign, anyhow. I wonder he didn’t have his rooster and lion and crouchants pictured off in his door too.

Arter a minit a tall chap that looked like a twin tu the feller that

stood behind the carriage, all dressed out jest as he was, too, like a major-gineral, stood a bowing and shuffling in the hall. As if he wanted to larn me how to dance. The way he sidled and bowed and spread out his hands as he opened the parlor door for me, was enough to make a feller burst with larfin. Wal, afore I knew which eend my head was on, there I stood in the middle of a great long room, that was enough to dazzle a feller's eyes for a month, eenajest to look at it. The settees were all bright read, and glistened with thick velvet cushions. Great, heavy, yaller curtains hitched up with spears and holes, made out of gold, or something plaguey like it, hung over all the winders—all furbelowed and tossed off with great, blue balls, mixed up with red fringe. The carpet was the brightest and softest thing I ever did see—but it was enough tu make a feller stun blind tu look at it, the figgers on it were so allfired gaudy. Every-thing in the room was as costly and harnsome as could be; but somehow it seemed as if every individual thing had come there on its own hook, and was so proud of itself that it wouldn't agree with its neighbors. The chairs looked dreadfully out of sorts with the settees, and the great looking-glasses made everything seem ten times more fiery and bright with their glistening. The hull room seemed more like a garden planted with poppies, sun-flowers, and marygolds, than anything I could think on. There was a table sot out at one eend, jest afore one of the looking-glasses, that made it seem as long agin as it raly was. It was all kivered over with silver baskets and knives and forks, and glasses, and everything that could be thought on tu eat and drink. At both eends were leetle meeting-houses with steeples tu them, all made out of sugar-candy, and hull loaves of cake with flowers and birds a lying down on top of 'em; besides some had leetle sugar lambs curled up on 'em as nat'ral as life. I never did see a table so set off in my born days; it was a sight to look on. Cousin Beebe's warnt a touch tu it; but somehow the things were all crowded on so, and there was sich heaps of every-thing, that it didn't seem half so geenteel as Cousin Mary's did. It must have cost an allfired swad of money, though.

I was so struck up with the room and the table, that it was more than a minit afore I found out that there were any folks in the premises; but by-am-by I discovered a fat chunked woman a sitting in a rocking chair all cushioned with red shiny velvet. She sot close by the fire, but when I stepped back and put my foot out to make a bow, she got up and made me a curchy—but sich a curchy I never did see—it was about half-way between the flutter of a hen and the swagger of a fat duck. It was as much as I could du to keep from snorting right out to see her; but I choked in, and sez I, bowing again, "You see I make myself tu hum, marm. Mr. Slick, my pussey cousin, out there, wanted me to come and make you a New Year's call."

I wish you could a seen how the critter strutted up when I said this; but all tu once she seemed to guess who I was, for she stuck her head a one side, and begun to smile and pucker up her mouth like all natur. Up she cum tu me with both hands out, and sez she—

"Cousin, I'm delighted to see you. Mr. Slick was telling me

about you yesterday, and sez I, invite him by all means. It ain't often we can make free with a relation, they are so apt to presume upon it. Raly, some of Mr. Slick's family have been very annoying, they have indeed ; they don't seem to understand our position ; but you, cousin, you that have so much mind, can comprehend these things."

Afore I could get a chance to stick in a word edgeways, she took my hand, yaller glove and all, between both her'n, and led me along to the fire. Arter I'd sot down, she kept a fingering over one of my hands as if it belonged to her. Think sez I, what on arth can the old critter mean ? I'll be darnd, if she was fifteen years younger, I should think she had such a notion to the family, that she wasn't particular how many on 'em she made love tu. As soon as I could gither to give up my hand, she jest let'n drop on my knee as affectionate as a pussy cat, and sez she, a screwing up her mouth, and sucking her face close up to mine—

"Cousin, you can't think how delighted I was to read your letters in the *Express*. I du like to see such upstarts as the Beebe's taken off ; only think of the idee of her giving parties, and her husband not out of business yit ! When I read that letter, sez I to Mr. Slick, 'bring the young gentleman here, where he can see something of real high life ; it would be a pity to have him throw away his talons in describing such low affairs as Mrs. Beebe's must be.' With that she looked round her blasing room as proud as could be, as if she wanted me to give her some soft sodder back agin ; but I felt sort of wrathly at what she said about cousin, and I wouldn't take the hint ; but sez I, "I beg pardon, marm, but Mr. Beebe is my friend and relation, and a chap that'll set still and hear a friend run down, don't deserve one, according to my notion ; as for cousin Mary —"

"Oh," sez Mrs. Slick, a twisting round like an eel, "she is a lovely woman, without any doubt. I sartinly should have called on her long ago ; but then one has so many acquaintances of that sort to remember, that really I have never found time." Think sez I, if you won't call till Mary wants you, I don't think you'll put yourself out in a hurry ; but I didn't say so, for jest that minit she seemed to remember something, and she sung out, "Jemima, my dear."

With that the yaller curtains by one of the winders were rustled and flirtd out, and a young gal, fined off to kill, come from where she'd been standing back on 'em to look at the fellers as they went along the street. I ruther guess there was a flirting of ribbon and a glistening of gold things when she made her appearance. She came a hopping and a dancing across the room, and when she came jest afore me, she stopped short and let off a curchy that seemed more like one of her mother's run crazy, than anything I could think on. The old woman she spread out her hands, and sez she, "Jemima, my dear, this is your cousin, Mr. Slick, the gentleman whose letters you were so delighted with"

With that the queer critter gave me another curchy and looked as if she'd been glad if she'd known enough to say something ; but the old woman sot in with a stream of talk about her till any body



on earth would have sot her down fir an angel jest out of heaven, dressed up in pink satin and loaded off with gold, if they'd believed a word her mother said. Think sez I to myself, as I stood a looking at the old woman and the gal, it's enough to make a feller sick of life to see two such stuck up critters. The gal's furbelows didn't look so bad considering she was so young, yet it always seems to me as if heaps of jimcracks and finery piled on to a young critter looked kinder unnat'ral. Wimmen are a good deal like flowers to my notion, and the harnsomest posies that grow in the woods never have but one color besides their leaves. I've seen gals in the country with nothing but pink sun bonnets and calico frocks on, that looked as fresh and sweat as full blown roses—gals that could pull an even yoke with any of your York tippies in the way of beauty, and arter all if I ever get a wife I don't think I shall sarch for her among brick houses and stun side-walks.

The old woman raly had made an eternal coot of herself in the way of fixing. She had on a lot of satin, and shiny thin stuff twis-tified round her head kinder like a hornet's nest; in front on it, jest over the leetle curls all rolled and frizzled round her face, a bird—a rale ginuine bird, all feathered off as bright as a rainbow—was struck with its bill down and its tail flourished up in the air, as if it had jest lit to search for a place to build a nest in. I never see one of the kind afore, for its tail looked like a handful of corn-silk, it was so yaller and bright; but, think, sez I, it must be some sort of a new-fashioned woodpecker, for it's the natur of them birds always to light on any thing holler—and if he was once to get a going on that old woman's head, I've an idee ther'd be a drumming. She had a leetle thort neck, all hung round with chains, and capes, and lots of things—besides a leetle watch, all sot over with shiny stuns, was hung to her side, and her fat chunked fingers was kivered over with rings, that looked like the spots on a toad's back more than any thing else. She had a great wide ruffle round the bottom of her frock, like the one cousin Mary had on at her party; but she warn't no where nigh so tall as Mary, and it made her look like a bantum hen feathered down to the claws. Wal, think sez I, if you wouldn't make a comical figger-head for Captain Doolittle's sloop. I wonder what your husband would ask for you, jest as you stand—hump, ruffles and all? I shouldn't a taken so much notice of her, if she hadnt let off such a shower of talk on me about her darter; but when a woman begins to pester me by praising up her family, I always make a pint of thinking of something else as fast as I can. If you only bow a leetle and throw in a “yes marm, sartingly,” and so on, once in a while, you're all right. A woman will generally soft-sodder herself, if you let her alone when she once gits a going, without putting you to the trouble of doing it for her.

Arter she'd talked herself out of breath, she went along up to the table, and spreading her hands, sez she, “Take some refreshments, Mr. Slick?”

“Wal,” sez I, “I haint much hungry, but I do feel a leetle dry—so I don't care if I du.”

I went up to the table, and took a survey of the decanters and

cider-bottles ; and arter a while, I made out to find one decanter that looked as if it had something good in it, and poured about a thimble full into two of the wine glasses, and filled up one for myself. Mrs. Slick and her darter took up the glasses, and then I stepped back and made a low bow, and sez I, " The compliments of the season !—or any other interesting thing that you like. A person of your genius —— " Here I stuck fast, for somehow I forgot how cousin Beebe told me to top off in the speech. But the old woman puckered up her mouth, and curchyed away as if I'd said it all out ; and the gal, she went over the same manœuvre, and laughed so silly, and put back her long curls with her white gloves—for she had gloves though she was tu hum—and sez she, " Oh, Mr. Slick," and then her marm chimed in, and sez she, " Now that you've mentioned genius, Mr. Slick, I do think my Jemima has a talent for poetry."

Think sez I, it raly is surprising how much genius there is buried up in these York brick houses. I hain't been to see a family since I've been down here that hadn't some darter that *could* write so beautiful, only she was so proud and diffident and modest, that she could not be coaxed to have any thing printed. Think sez I, if that little stuck up varmint has took to poetry there'll be a blase in the newspaper world afore long. She's sartin to set the North River on fire, if nobody else ever did.

I remembered what cousin Beebe told me about helping myself to eatables, so I sot down by the table and hauled a plate up to me, and begun to make myself to hum. There was no eend to the sweet things that I piled up on my plate and begun to store away with a silver knife and a spoon. Mrs. Slick, she begun to fuss about, and offered to help me to this, that and t'other, till I should raly have thought she didn't care how much I eat, if she hadn't contrived to tell me how much everything cost all the time. Jest as I was finishing off a plate of foreign presarves, the door-bell rung, and in streaked five or six fellers, dressed up tu kill. It raly made eenamost snicker out to see how slick and smooth every one of 'em had combed his hair down each side of his face. They all looked as much alike as if they'd been kidney beans shelled out of the same pod. When the old woman and the gal sot to wriggling their shoulders and making curchies to them, I begun to think it was time for me to get up and give them a chance. So I bolted the last spoonful of presarves, and took out my red silk hankercher to wipe my mouth. I thought it come out of my pockets purty hard, so I gave it a twitch, and hurra ! out come three of the doughnuts that I'd tucked away to be ready in case of fodder's getting scarce, and they went helter-skelter every which way all over the carpet. At fust I felt sort of streaked, for the young chaps begun to giggle, and Miss Jemima Slick she bust right out. I looked at her, and then I looked at the fellers, and then, instead of sneaking off, I bust right out, jest as if I didn't know how they come there, and sez I,

" Did you ever ! "

I didn't say another word, but jest made them a low bow all round, and was a going out, but Mrs. Slick got hold of my arm, and told me not tu seem to mind the doughnuts, and said, sort of low,

that she'd tell the gentlemen that I was a relation of her'n, and that there warn't no danger of their poking fun at me about it. Think sez I, I see how to get out of the scrape: she'll think I'm awful mean not to offer her some of the doughnuts, when I had them in my pocket, so seeing it's new-year's day, I'll make her think I bought 'em to make her a present on, for relation's sake. I jest went back and picked up the tarnal things, and heaping them up in one hand I made a smasher of a bow as I held 'em out tu her, and, sez I—

"I thought mebbly you'd like tu see how a prime Weathersfield doughnut would taste agin; so I jest tucked a few one side, tu bring up here; take 'em, you're as welcome as can be; I've got enough more tu hum."

She looked at the gentlemen, and then she turned red, as if she didn't exactly know how tu take me.

"Don't be afeared on 'em," sez I, "they're fust rate; chuck full of lassea, and fried in hog's lard as white as snow."

With that she took them out of my hand and put them on the table, and, sez she, a puckering up her mouth, "you men of genius are so droll."

Think sez I, I've made a good hit off this time, ony how, so I'll cut stick. I made anoter bow, and out I went, jest as the chaps were all a bowing and saying, "the compliments of the season," one arter another, like boys, in a spelling class.

Returning to Weathersfield for a short time, Jonathan grows weary of the country and once more goes to New York as super-cargo. On this occasion he takes up his quarters at the Astor House Hotel, and becoming acquainted with Fanny Elssler, he falls in love with her manuers, herself, and her legs. She gives him a pass on the theatre, and he resolves that she shall have a bouquet. How he procured the bouquet is thus told:—

The minit I got to the sloop I took off my coat, for I didn't seem to hum enough in the Astor House to write there. I sot down in the cabin, and stretching out my legs on a butter-tub, I turned up my riethands and wrote off the letter that I sent you t'other day on the top of an onion barrel, without stopping once, I was so tar-nationed anxious to let you know how I was a getting along.

I had to bite off short, for a chap come aboard the sloop with Captain Doolittle to bargain for the cargo of oider and garden sarse. I was afeared that they would want to overhaul my writing desk, and so made myself scarce, and went up to the Express with the letter stuck loose inside the crown of my hat, editor fashion.

I left the hull letter with the clerk, and axed him where on arth a chap could git a smashing bunch of posies, if he took a notion to want sich a thing. He told me to go right straight up to Mr. Hogg's, clear up town along the East River, and said that I'd better git aboard a Harlem car, and it would carry me right chock agin the spot for a ninepence.

"Wal," sez I, "the expense aint nothing to kill, so I guess I'll ride."

With that, I got into one of them all-fired awk'ard things that look like a young school-house sot on wheels, and running away with the scollars stowed inside; and arter shelling out my ninepence, we sot out up Centre-street, through the Bowery, and all along shore, till we stopped short nigh agin the Astoria ferry, clear up town. Arter searching around a little, I found Mr. Hogg's garden, and went in. A great, tall, good-natured looking chap cum up to me as I was peaking about—a feller that made me feel hum-sick in a minit, he looked so much like our folks.

"How do you du?" sez I, "I'm tickled to see you; they told me that you keep posies about these ere premises, but I don't see no signs of 'em."

"Oh," sez he, as good as pie, "come this way, and I guess we can find as many as you want."

"Wal," that'll be a good many, for I'm a hard critter on mary-golds and holly-hocks," sez I, "and I want a smashing heap on 'em."

With that, Mr. Hogg, instead of taking me into a garden, jest opened the door of a great long, low, house, with an all-fired great winder covering the hull roof, and sez he—

"Walk in."

I guess I did walk in, for the house was chuck full of the harnsomet trees and bushes that I ever sot eyes on, all kivered over with posies, and smelling so sweet, that a bed of seed onions, jest as it busts out in a snow-storm of white flowers, aint nothing compared to it. Didn't I give good long snuffs as I went in! This idea, to my notion, of posies amongst big trees and bushes, are like wimmen folks and young ones in the world of human natur. If they arnt good for something else they are plaguey harnsome to look at, and the world would be awful dark and scraggy without them. Some wimmen may be bad enough and hateful as henbane, but consarn me if I wouldn't rather love thorn bushes than none at all.

There was one tree that took my eye the minit I went in; it hung chuck full of great big oranges, and tell me I lie right out, if there wasn't a swad of white posies a busting out through the great green leeves in hull handfuls, all around on the same limbs where the oranges were a growing. Think sez I, this raly is a ginuine scripture lesson, spring and a gitting in love with each other and hugging together on the same bush; oh, gracious! how the parfume did pour out from the middle of that tree! I felt it a steaming up my nose and creeping through my hair, till I begun to feel as sweet as if I'd been ducked all over in a kettle full of biled rose leaves.

Mr. Hogg he went along among the great high rows of bushes sot in a heap, one on top of t'other almost to the glass ruff, with a good sized jack-knife in his hand, and then he cut and slashed among the green leaves and red roses, and piled up a bunch of posies about the quickest! Yet I wasn't satisfied, he didn't seem to pick out the rale critters, but tucked in the leetle fined buds jest as if he couldn't guess what I wanted 'em for.

"Oh, now you git out," sez I, when he handed over a hull swad of posies done up in a grist of leaves; "you don't mean to put me off with that ere! why, it aint a flee-bite to what I want. Come now, hunt up a few hollyhocks, and marygolds, and poppies, and if you've got a good smashing hidaranger, purple on one side and yaller on tother, tuck it in the middle."

Mr. Hogg he stood a looking right in my eyes with his mouth a little open, as if he didn't know what to make of it.

"The season is over for those things," sez he, "and I haint got one in the hot-house."

"Wal," sez I, "du the best you can, all things considering, only tuck in the big posies and enough on 'em, for I'm going to give 'em to a sneezer of a harnsome gal—so don't be too sparing."

With that Mr. Hogg sarched out some great red and yaller posies, with some streaming long blue ones a sticking through them, and arter a while he handed over something worth while—a great smashing bunch of posies as big as a bell-squash choked in at the neck.

Arter I'd examined the consarn to be sartin that all was ship-shape, I made Mr. Hogg a bow, and, sez I.

"I'm much obliged to you,—if ever you come to Weathersfield in the summer time, marm will give you jest as many and be tickled with the chance. She beats all natur at raising these sort of things."

He looked at me sort of arnest, but yet he didn't seem to be jest satisfied, and after snapping his thumb across the blade of his jack-knife a minit, he spoke out, but seemed kinder loth.

"We generally sell our bokays," sez he, arter haming and hawing a leetle while.

"Wal," sez I, "mebby I shall want one some of these days, and then I'll give you a call—but any how I'm obliged to you for the posies all the same."

I wanted to offer him a fourpence for the trouble of picking the posies, but he looked so much like a gentleman and a Weathersfield Deacon, I was scared for the fear he'd think I wanted to impose on him if I offered money. So I made him another bow, and went off while he stood a looking arter me as if I'd been stealin a sheep. I have wished since that I'd offered him the fourpence, for he kinder seemed to calculate on something like it. I stopped into a store, and bought a yard of wide yaller ribbon, and arter tying it round my bunch of posies in a double bow not, with great long eends a streaming down, I took the critter in my hand, and cut dirt for the theatre, for it was a gittin nigh on to dark.

Susan Reid, a young girl who had been Jonathan's companion at the Singing and Sunday School, was forced by change of fortune to leave her native place, and, with her mother, to seek support in New York as a needle-woman. Jonathan had heard that she was employed in a first class milliner's and staymaker's, and one day being disengaged he resolved to seek for her; accordingly he enters the first "grand store," or, as

we would say, shop, of millinery he meets, and here he falls into the mistake of endeavouring to buy a fashionable French stays, supposing it to be a newly invented side-saddle:—

A leetle bit of a stuck up old maid stood back of a counter, all sot off with bonnets and feathers that looked tempting enough to make a feller's purse jump right out of his trousers' pocket. She had on a cap all bowed off with pink ribbons, that looked queer enough round her leetle wizzled up face, and a calico frock, figgered out with great bright posies, besides one of them ere sort of collars round her neck, all sprigged and ruffled off as slick as a new pin. Her waist varn't bigger round than a quart cup, and she stuck her hands down in the pockets of her dashy silk apron, as nat'ral as I could a done it myself. I was jest a going to ask if Susan Reed worked there, when a lady come in and wanted to buy a bonnet. At it they went, hand over first, a bargainin and a tryin on red and yaller and pink and blue bonnets.

The milliner she put one sort on, and then another, and went on pouring out a stream of soft sodder, while the lady peaked at herself in a looking-glass, and twistified her head about like a bird on a bramble bush, and at last said, she didn't know, she'd look a leetle further, mebby she'd call agin, if she didn't suit herself, and a heap more palavar, that made the leetle woman look as if she'd been a drinking a mug of hard cider.

While the lady was trying to edge off to the door, and the milliner was a follering her with a blue bounet, and a great long white feather a streaming in her hand, I jest took a slantindicular squint at the glass boxes that stood about chuck full of jim-cracks and furbelows, for there was something in one of 'em that raly looked curious. It was a sort of a thing stuffed out and quilted over till it stood up in the glass box as stiff and pardendicular as a baby's go-cart.

I jest put my hands down in my pockets sort of puzzled, and stood a looking at the critter to see what I could make on it. Arter I'd took a good squint at the consarn, up one side. down t'other, and down the middle, right and left, I purty much made up my mind that it was one of them new-fashioned side-saddles, that I'd heard tell on, and I took a notion into my head that I'd buy one and send it to marm. So when the leetle old maid cum back from the door, I jest pinted at the saddle, and sez I,

"What's the charge for that are thing?"

"Why, that pair," sez she, a sticking her head on one side, and a burying her hands, that looked like a hawk's claws, down in the pocket of her cunning short apron, "I'll put them to you at twelve dollars; they're French-made, 'lastic shoulder straps, stitched beautifully in the front, chuck full of whalebone—and they set to the shape like the skin to a bird."

Lord a masey, how the little stuck up critter did set off the talk! I could'n't shove in a word edgeways, till she stopped to git breath, and then sez I,

"I s'pose you throw in the martingales, airsingale, and so on, don't you?"

"The what," says she, a stepping back, and squinting up in my face sort of cross, as if she didn't like to throw in the whole harnessing at that price.

"The martingale," sez I, "and the sirsingle; but mebbey you have some other name for 'em down here in York. I mean the straps that come down in front to throw the chest out, and give the neck a harnsome bend, and the thing to girt up in the middle with. Marm wont know how to use this new-fashioned thing if I don't send all the tackle with it."

"Oh," sez the milliner, "I didn't understand; you want the laces and the steel in front; sartinly we give them in. The steel is kivered with kid, and the laces are of the strongest silk."

"Wal," sez I, "I never heard of a steel martingale, and I should be afeard they would'nt be over pliable."

"Oh," sez she, "you can bend 'em double. they give so."

"How you talk," says I, "it raly is curious what new inventions people du have, but somehow it sort of seems to me that a silk girt might be a leetle too slimpsey, don't you think so marm?"

"Lor, no sir," sez she, "they are strong enough, I can tell you; jest take a look at the Broadway ladies, they never use anything else and they girt tight enough, I'm sure."

I hadn't the least idee what the critter was a diving at; she see that I looked sort of puzzled, and I s'pose she begun to think that I shouldn't buy the saddle.

"Look here," sez she, a putting her hands on both sides of her leetle stuck up waist; I've got 'em on myself, so you can judge how tight they can be fitted."

"Gaully offalus!" sez I, a snorting out a larfing, and a eyeing the leetle fined old maid; but I didn't think it was very good manners to burst right out so, and I tried all I could to choke in. Gracious me! think, sez I, no wonder the York gals have such humps on their backs, since they've got to wearing saddles like horses.

By-am-by, arter I'd eenamost bust myself a trying to stop a larfing, it come into my head that the critter of a milliner was a trying to poke fun at me, cause I wanted to beat her down; for I couldn't believe the tippies quite so bad as to girt up and strap down like a four year old colt. Wal, think sez I, I'll be up to her anyhow; so I looked jest as mealy-mouthed as if I believed her, and sez I, as innocent as a rabbit in a box trap, sez I,

"If the wimmen folk have took to wearing saddles, I s'pose they haint forgot the bridles tu; so I don't care if I take this ere pair for some old maids we've got in our parts. If I had my way, they'd all be bitted the minit they turned the fust corner. Darn'd talking critters them old maids are, marm," sez I, a looking at her sort of slanting, jest to let her see she hadn't got hold of quite so great a greenhorn as she seemed to think.

Lord a Massey, how she did look! Her leetle wizzled up face begun to twist itself up till it looked like a red winter apple puckered up by the frost. I didn't seem to mind it, but put my hand down in my pocket sort of easy, and begun to whistle Yankes Doodle.

"You haint got no bridles then?" sez I, after a minit; for she

looked wrathful enough to spit fire, and sot up sich an opposition in the pocket line, that I was raly afeard her leetle hands would bust through the silk or break her apron strings, she dug down so.

"Bridles! no!" sez she, as spiteful as a meat-axe jest ground, "but I'll send out and git a halter for you, with all my heart."

"Gaully!" sez I, "but you're clear grit—smart as a steel trap, aint you?"

"Yes," sez she, more spitefully yet, "when it snaps at some animal like you, that don't know enough to keep out of its teeth?"

Think sez I, Mr. Jonathan Slick, Esq., it's about time for you to haul in these horns of your'n. You aint no match for a woman, anyhow; there never was a critter of the feminine gender, that couldn't talk a chap out of his seven senses in less than no time.

"Gaully," sez I, "you've about used me up—I begin to feel streaked as lean pork in the bottom of a barrel. I guess I shan't tackle in with a smart critter like you agin in a hurry! but don't git too mad; it'll spile that harnsome face of your'n. I swan! but I should think you was eenamost thirty this minit, if I hadn't seen the difference before you begun to rile up."

Didn't the puckers go out of her face when I said this! She was mollified down in a minit. I don't s'pose she ever had twenty years took off from her good fifty so slick afore in her hull life; but it aint human natur to come out all to once,—at any rate, it aint an old maid's natur, when her back once gits up. So when I see her darned thin lips begin to pucker and twist into sort of a smile, I let off a leetle more soft sodder, and wilted her down like a cabbage-leaf in the sun; and then sez I, a pinting to the glass-box—

"Come, now, s'posing we strike up a trade. I've took a sort of a sneaking notion to that ere new-fashioned side-saddle. So if you'll throw in the tackling, I'll give you ten dollars for it, cash on the nail."

"That what?" said she, a looking fust at me and then at the saddle, with her mouth a leetle open and her eyes sticking out like peeled onions. "That what."

"Why, that are saddle," sez I, beginning to feel my dander rise.

"That saddle," sez she, "that saddle; why, sir, did you take that pair of French corsets for a saddle?"

With that she slumped down into a chair, and kivered her face with both hands, and larfed till I raly thought the critter would a split her sides. The way she wriggled back'rd and for'd, teeheeing and haw-hawing, was enough to make a Presbyterian Missionary swear like a sea-captain.

"That saddle!" sez she, a looking up from between her hands, and then letting off the fun again as bad as ever. "That saddle! Oh, dear, I shall die. Did you really take take that psir of *French corsets* for a side-saddle, sir? Oh, dear, I shall die a larfin!"

Didn't I feel streaked though! Only think what an eternal coot I had made of myself, to take a pair of gal's corsets for a side saddle. "Darn the things," sez I, and it was as much as I could du to keep from putting foot to the glass-case, and kicking it into the street. I felt the blood bile up into my face, and when the old maid bust out



agin, and I see a hull grist of purty faces come a swarming to a glass door, that they'd hauled back a curtain from, I could have skulked through a knot hole, I felt so dreadful mean. But by-am-by I begun think they had more cause to be ashamed than I had. Who on arth would ever have thought them stiff indecent looking things were made for a delicate gal to wear? I felt dreadfully though, to think that I'd been a talking about a gal's under-riggin, to a woman so long, but after a few minits I begun to think that I needn't fret myself much about that. The woman that stuck them things out in the street for young fellers to look at, needn't go off in a fit of "the dreadful suz," because a chap asks the price of them. "So, who cares!" sez I.

The old maid jumped up, arter she'd larfed herself into a caniption fit and out on it agin—and she run into the back room where the gals were. It warn't more than a minit before there was in there sich a pow-wow and rumpus kicked up,—the gals begun to hop about like parched corn on a hot shovel.

Every body knows that our present Viceroy, when Lord Morpeth, paid a visit to America, and of which he has given an account in some pleasant and useful lectures. However, he has omitted all mention of his meeting with Jonathan Slick, and we shall here insert the account of this interview as given by Jonathan himself, and it is certainly as amusing a sketch of the manner in which Lord Carlisle was often feted as it is possible to conceive. "I assure you," writes the friend who sent us this book from New York, "nothing is at all too highly colored in these letters referring to Lord Carlisle; the people here were as great flunkeys as Jonathan represents them, and Lord Carlisle was quite as sensible and considerate as our Yankee friend describes him."

What Jonathan writes is as follows:—

Wal, when I'd got to my room agin, there was a letter on the mantle shelf, sealed with a great whopping bunch of wax, and stomped down with a round "O," as big as a cent, with a rooster stuck right in the middle of it. I broke the consarn open, and found out it was an invite to Thanksgiving Dinner to Cousin Jason Slick's. Arter writing a hull page of soft sodder, the pussy coot let the cat out of the bag. There's an English lord a putting up here, and he wated me to ask him up to his house to dinner, and said Lord Morpeth would sartinly come if I asked him, because we were both kinder of literary together.

Now, if there's anything on arth that I despise, it's a genuine true born Yankee a hankering arter the big-bug lords that come over here, on'y jest because they've got a long tail to their names. For my part, I haint no idee of demeaning myself in that way anyhow. If a lord behaves himself like folks, he's as good as a Yankee any day, and he ought to be treated jest as well, and I don't think the

most genuine republican amongst us ought to be ashamed to ask him to take pot luck or a glass of drink, if he likes it.

As long as they treat us according to gunter, when we go to see them on the t'other side of the water, it is no more than the fair thing if we take turn about, and do the genteel by them a trifle. We ought to feel streaked with all our lands and barns full of grain, if we can't give a foreign chap something to eat and drink without grudging on it, and then agin, without being tickled to death because they don't feel too much pomposity to eat it.

Jason had sent a leetle fined letter inside of mine, doubled over and twisted up at the corners like an old fashioned cocked hat, and smelling as sweet as a garden pink in full blow. It was directed in leetle fined writing to His Highness the Right Honourable Lord Morpeth—Howard Member of Parliament, &c., &c. Think sez I, this English chap needn't be consarned that his kite won't sail high among the Yankees for want of a long tail to it, if they all tuck the etceteras onto his name so strong as cousin Jase does.

But I hadn't no idee of being waiter to my pussy cousin, anyhow. If Jase has a mind to send his invite to a lord, done up like a cocked hat, let him be his own nigger, or else send it by the post-office—I wasn't a going to do it for him nor touch it. No lord that is any great shakes will think the better of an honest Republican for acting as if he was scared to ask him to eat dinner, or tickled to death if he didn't feel tu much stuck up to come with plain Yankee asking.

I made up my mind, that if Lord Morpeth took a notion to eat Thanksgiving with Jase, he'd be jest as likely to get his paper cocked hat from the Post Office, as anywhere. So, as I was going through the Park, I took the consarn between my thumb and finger, for fear of siling it, and tucked it through a slit in the post-office, made a purpose for city letters; and off I went, a tickling myself eenmost to death, and thinking how the post-office clarks would giggle and stare, and snuff up their noses to see such a pinted critter directed to a Lord, and smelling so sweet, with a long tail of names curled up in all the corners,—and Lord Morpeth, tu, wouldn't he set our Jase down for a shaller pated coot? I've a kind of a sneaking notion that it's as like as not he would, but that's none of my business. In this country, a feller aint to blame for his relations, that's one comfort.

Wal, next day was Thanksgiving, and down come another letter to say that Lord Morpeth was a coming, and that Jase was a going to send down his span fired new carriage to the Astor House, arter Lord Morpeth and I, afore dinner time; and hegin me to understand that if I could keep the carriage a spell afore the Astor House steps, where folks could get a chance to see the new fixings and horses, there wouldn't be no harm done to nobody,—the darned mean pussy coot! When a feller tries to make me do a mean thing I'm awful ugly, my Yankee grit is up in a jiffy, and I'm jest like a skeery horse that al'rs backs up hill when you want to lead him down.

Afore this I'd been on a cyphering voyage through my purse to see if I couldn't afford to go down to Lynde and Jennings' and bye a new narrow collar'd coat and some other dandy consarns, seeing I was a going to dine with a Lord; but when this letter cum I detarmined to go in the old fix up, jest to let this Lord and my pussy

cousin see a genuine Yankee that wasn't ashamed of hisself in a homespun coat and trousers.

Howsomever I gin myself a purty good sudsing, and shaved as close as a Wall street broker; besides I did some extra fixing to my collar and hair, and paired off my finger-nails harnsomely, and scrubbed the yaller from off my teeth with the corner of a brown towel that I found in my saddle-bags; for there aint no reason that I know on, why a true born American shouldn't wash up and keep a clean face and a stiff upper lip, if he does weed his own onions and wear a humspun coat. A chap may live in a land of Liberty and let these lords know it tu, without swellin like a toad to outshine the British, or going slouching about as if we put a tax on soap and water, jest as they do on winder glass.

For my part, I didn't mean to let Lord Morpeth think that we give so much soft soap here in York without keeping enough to wash our own faces on thanksgiving day.

When I was fixed up about tu the right noch, down stairs I went with the eend of my checkered silk neck-hankercher a tucked under my streaked vest, my hair slicked down on both sides, my face a shining like a new pin, and my boots blacked up till they glistened like a gal's eye.

I tucked up my yaller silk hankercher clear into my coat pocket, for I didn't feel like showing all out to once, and I put my new mit-tens on sort a careless, and streaked the blue and red fringe up as I went down the Astor House steps through a double row of dandies that had swarmed out of the stun hall above to see my pussey cousin's carriage and horses that stood a glistening jest afore the house.

There the carriage stood right in Broadway, about the dashingest consarn that ever I sot eyes on. The wheels were a good ways apart and black as a minister's coat, and a great harnsome box swung over em, shut up tight, and a glistening in the sun till it a'most blinded a feller's eye-sight to look on it. There was a door on each side as big as them in the pulpit of our meeting house, with a whopping square of glass in the top and bottom all figgered off with gold, and then crouchonts, and lions, and roosters all pictered out in gold tu, and looking as nat'ral as life, for all they were so yaller and jammed down in a heap till it seemed as if the lions would roar right out, and the rooster give a coo-co-doo-dle-do if any body went tu tuch them.

Behind the hull consarn, was a great flat wide stair, with two pussy fellers a standing on it,—each on 'em holding to a yaller to-sel fixed tight to the coach and dressed out like folks in the theatre, with great high boots, and topped off with a wide rim of white, wide white cuffs to their coats, and white ribbons and beaus twisted round their hats.

Bight in front was a seat with a great square cushion on it, and all hung off with the finest kind of boughten cloth and piles of heavy yaller fringe, with the golden lions, and crouchants, and roosters pictered out and a glistening among the folds, till it a'most outshined the sun—and that was purtey bright for November.

A tall feller dressed out like the chaps behind, sot on this heap of gimcracks with a great long whip stuck up by his elbow, and a hold-ing in two tremendous harnsome black horses that stood hitched to the

carriage, under a hull net of black shiney leather, golden buckles, and deers' heads cut out in chunks of gold, and sot on to the blinder and saddle-trees, and every place an inch square that they could be poked in.

If there is a critter on arth that I take tu, it's a good horse, and I couldn't help but be proud of them smashing arnimals as they shook their heads up so sarsy, as if the sun hadnt no business in their great eyes that had fire enough in 'em without its help, and pawed on the ground with their fore-feet—the mettlesome varinints!—like a couple of harnsome women, chuck full of music and crazy to dance it off.

When the chaps saw me a coming down the Astor House steps, one of 'em jumped down and opened the door and let out a hull grist of steps down to the ground, all kivered over with the brightest kind of carpet, till it looked as if somebody had been a flinging hull baskets full of posies all over 'em for me to stomp down with my shiney boots if I wanted tu.

Jest as I was a thinking whether it was best for Lord Morpeth to come before I got in myself—for I didn't want to du nothing that wasn't according to gunter, if he was a lord—a feller come down the Astor House steps dressed off to the nines, with a harnsome cloak slung across his shoulder, and one side of his hat tipped up jest enough to show a hull swad of curly hair a frizzling round his ears.

He had a leetle dab of hair a curling jest under his nose, and another leetle peaked consarn up in a pint from his chin.

When this chap come down the steps, the other varmint that stood behind the carriage in his white topped stompers give a dive to the arth, and stood a one side the door which t'other one held open. Think sez I, this is Lord Morpeth as sure as a gun; so I haul'd back my foot from the fust step, for I was jest a going to get in, and I stepped back as the chap come up, and arter making him a half bow—for I never give off the extra touches in a bow only to the harnsome gals—sez I,

“Walk in, Lord Morpeth, and I'll foller arter.”

The feller looked at me sort of supercilious, and I could see the dab of hair on his lip curl the leastest mite scornful as if he smelt something that didn't agree with him. He didn't make a bow, but stepped back as if he didn't just know what to du.

I give my mitten a short flourish towards my hat, and arter stepping back agin, sez I—

“Arter you is manners for me. Make yourself to hum, Lord Morpeth.”

The chap looked at me agin, and then he went close to the feller that held the door, and said that Lord Morpeth couldn't go jest yit, but that we'd better go on and he'd come by-an-by; and with that he went up the steps agin without as much as saying, git out, to me.

Gawrie, but wasn't I wrothy to see that crowd of York dandies see me alighted so by a lord. There they stood a puckering up their faces like monkeys in a show, and there I stood feeling as mean as the meanest among 'em; but arter a minit my dander ris right up.

“Darn the critter,” sez I, a'most out loud, and a pulling my

mitten up so wrothy that a whole swad of frieze gin away in my hand. "Does the stuck up varmint feel above riding with an honest Yankee, because he haint got no title? I'll be licked if a lord ever gets a speck of good manners from me again, consarn the hull biling on 'em."

With that I gin an allfired jump, and settled down in the carriage, as savage as a young arthquake, and sot down on one of the harnsome cushions kivered over with silks and figgered off with blue and white roses, that kivered the two seats and sort of sprangled up over the sides and ruff of the carriage. A narrow finessed border squirmed all around the cushions, around the doors, and into all the corners, and the hull consarn made a chap feel as if he was shut up in a band-box, lined with silk and with a chunk of the sky, white clouds and all, shut over him for a lid.

I was so allfired wrothy, that, without thinking on it, I histed my boots agin one of the cushions, jest as it's nat'ral tu, when a feller's so mad he can't help it, and left a purty considerable smooch of blacking amongst the blue and white posies, that sot them off ruther more than cousin Jase would like, I calculate.

Them carriages do cut dirt so soft and easy like a streak of greased lightning, that there is no knowing how fast a feller gets along. It didn't seem more than a half a jiffy when we drew up co-wallop right afore Jase's house. Down got the two varmints in white topped stompers, open went the door, and out I jumped.

I didn't have to ring at the silver knob, but the door swung open of itself, or seemed tu, and in I poked, as independent as a clam in high water, but not afore I'd sketched a squint at that shaller little Jemima, a peaking out from behind the winder curtains to see who was coming with me.

A chap took my hat and things in the entry-way, and asked me what my name was, sort of low, as if it was something I ought to be ashamed of; and the minit I told him, he went to the door of the keeping-room and bawled out,

"Mr. Jonathan Slick."

I went in and there sot our Jase, in a great armed chair, as red and pussy as a turkey-gobbler, jest afore Christmas. He got up and come for'ard, but looked nation wamblecropped when he see that there wasn't nobody with me. That wife of his'n cum up with her fat hands stuck out, and asked how I was, and why Lord Morpeth didn't cum, and Jemima, she stood a giggling worse than ever, and a tossing them yaller curls of her'n about on her shoulders and couined me off to kill.

I told Jase how Lord Morpeth had sarved me, but he didn't seem to mind that, arter he found out that he was a coming by-am-by, so we sot down. I took a sort of a survey of the premises. Now if there is anything that makes me mad, it's to see a chap a selling off his harnsome things when they git a little siled or out of fashion. I couldn't no more sell a cheer or a table than any of my friends had eat off from, or sot on, than I would strike my granny. Jest think how you'd feel to see grand par Slick's armed chair sold at

Vandue, or the chest o' drawers that marm kept her "leetle things" in when I was a baby bought in by the neighbours. It makes me feel wamblecropped only jest to think of it, and yet there wasn't a single thing in the two great rooms that I went into at Cousin Jase's, that had a place where it was the last time I was there. Everything tooked spick-span new, and I haint no doubt that the hull house had been transmogrified and titivated up jest cause a Lord was coming to eat dinner there. The carpets were 'most all red, with a vine of pink and yaller a running crinkle-crackle all over 'em as if somebody had been a scattering a hat full of butter cups and meadow pinks all over it, the whole consarn giving under your feet like a flat meadow lot thick with a fall arter growth.

Great smashing looking glasses were set into the wall from top to bottom between the winders, and a hull dry-goods store of red silk curtains sot off with yaller bordering, fell in great heavy winrows from over a couple of long spikes, feathered off at the eend, and a glistening with gold, kivered both eends of the room all but the looking-glasses and winders. A whopping great picter of Jase a setting in his easy chair, and reading a book, kivered with velvet and gold, was hung over one mantletree shelf, and over t'other sot his wife, all feathers and flowers, silks and satins, with her red pussy face a shining among the whole, and all pen'd up in a gold frame, as wide as a slab, and a glist'ning like all natur.

Cousin Jase had gone into the fine arts to kill, arter he got hopes of a Lord. There was Jemima's shaller head cut out in marble, a kind of half swarry, with stun curls a hanging like iccices down her back, and a stun post to stand on, a rolling up its eyes to a corner of the room; and there were two funny sort of women, with wings that looked as if they'd been made of gold at fust, and then touched off with a thin coat of blacking, that made a sort of amalgamation critters, black and gold, stood each side of the looking glasses, a holding back the silk curtains that would have fell ca-swash over the whole eend of the room if it hadn't been for them; then out on the carpet was tables made out of black shiny stuff, and the whole round tops kivered over with picters that seemed as if they were polished down clear into the black wood, and all around was benches and footstools of the same black wood, sprigged off with gold, and cushioned off with red silk, besides the settees that had high backs and high arms at one eend, but curlecued down at the back, tapered off to a square bench on t'other, and sot out like the stools with thick red cushions.

Right over the pictered tables was a sort of a golden tree, chained to the ruff, and kivered over and over with chunks of glass that shone like tears in a gal's eyes, when she gits the grit up.

Besides all these, was tu great round silk cushions, as thick as mother's cheese tub, a sitting right squat on the carpet, and tassled off to kill, with a mess of other things that I haint a chance to look at afore the door was pushed open by the help that stood in the hall; and there stood a tall man, with a blue coat on, and gilt buttons, each on 'em pictered off like our ten cent pieces, on'y instead of the

Eagle, there was a Lion, and some kind of a one-horned animal, a pawing up hill arter of a cap with pints to it.

Afore I saw these pictered buttons, I kinder thought the chap must be Lord Morpeth himself, for he come in sort of softly, and yit independent, like a feller that felt himself to hum any where, but yit didn't want to walk over other folka, as them big bug foreigners al'ra du ; but on a second peak I see that it wasn't the chap that I had seen at the Astor House, and beside that he was shaved clean and hadn't a speck of hair, only on his head and eye-brows, and that was a little mite gray ; so, think sez I to myself, that other chap was the Lord, and this is his waiter, cum to tell Jase that the big bug has gin up cumin. For no Lord that can git dye stuff or buy a wig, would ever come a visiting with gray hairs in his head. You wouldn't ketch one of our York tippies at that, let alone a ginuine Lord.

I never saw Jase so wrothy as he was when he ketched sight of the feller, for he got a peak at the button the fust thing, and sez he,—

“By gracious! if his lordship haint sent word to say he can't come.”

With that he went to the door, and sez he to the man, sez he—

“Wal, Sir, did, you bring a note for me, or what?”

And then he strutted right in the door-way, as pussy and pompous as a prize pig jest afore killing time, und there stood the tall chap, jest afore him, a looking right into his red face, with a pair of eyes as black and keen as a weazle's, yit sort of easy and good natured, as if he couldn't think what the matter was. He took off his hat sort of easy, and kinder bent his head a lettle, and sez he,—

“Is it Mr. Slick?”

He spoke so soft and humble that it seemed to mollify Jase ; he stepped for'ard and waved his hand about as big as cuffy, and sez he, as condescending as could be, sez he,—

“Put on your hat, my good fellow, I've been a poor man myself. What word did his Lordship send? don't be afeard to speak!”

The chap looked at Jase, and I could see his mouth pucker up the leastest mite in the world, and his eyes begun to twinkle as if he'd choked back a smile from his lips that was determined to break through some where. He bowed his head a little, and then he handed over a piece of square pasteboard jest like that Miss Elsealer gave to me.

Didn't my pussy cousin look as if he'd fell through a thin place in the ice! He wilted right down, and looked as sneaking as a turkey gobbler ketch'd out in a rainy storm ; but when he see that Lord Morpeth didn't seem to know that he mistook him for a waiter, he walked into the room a spreading his hands and a sending out a storm of excuses, and welcomes, and friendships, like a junk bottle of cider letting off steam.

Lord Morpeth, he walked along into the room jest as if he'd been to hum, and then Jase he spread himself agin, and made him acquainted with his wife.

Lord Morpeth made a little slow bow, and Mrs. Jase Slick she gin her turban a toss, spread out the skirts of her velvet frock that

was jest the color of a wild cherry, and then, after sticking out her fat foot, she began to fold up her jints, till she threatened to settle down on the carpet all in a heap, before she'd a let out all her kinks agin. Jemima she come up and begun to flourish out her foot, and show her curls, and her teeth, and twitter about, while Lord Morpeth was a bowing to her. I swow, it made me grit my teeth to see what tarnaal coots the whole consarn were a making of themselves! Then cum my turn. I stood a leaning agin the mantle-shelf, detarmined to show this Lord that all the Slicks on arth warn't darned eternal chuckleheads if some of them was. I'd a seen him in Guinea and further yet, afore he'd a got one speck of a bow more than he give me.

Well, Lord Morpeth, he bowed his head rather sparing of his neck, and I stood right straight up, and gin him as good as he sent, and no more on it, by hokey: yet there was something about this critter that took my notion amazingly; he didn't seem stuck up a bit, nor yet as if he wanted to poke fun at us, but sot down on one of the curleued settees, and begun to talk about the weather, and things in general, jest like our folks. Miss Slick, she sot down by him, and purty soon let him into the state of things here in York. She went into a fit of the dreadful sus, to think Lord Morpeth didn't ride up in the carriage—it was a dreadful thing to walk in the streets among the common people—her daughter Jemima had once brushed the skirt of her tunic agin a mechanic, as she went down Broadway, and they felt it their bounden duty to keep her from walking ever since,—Jemima was so delicate, so very literary, so—here Jemima, who sot on a bench close by the settee, turned up them eyes of her'n and gin a sigh that made the pucker come to Lord Morpeth's mouth agin, and when Miss Slick got up and handed over some varses that she said Jemima had writ the minit she heard that Lord Morpeth had come to this country, the tickle burst into his eyes, and he went to the winder with the paper in his hand, jest as if he wanted to read it over agin. Miss Slick she stretched up and looked at Jase, and Jemima, and me, and nodded her head, as much as to say—

“That's clenched the business. If Lord Morpeth don't take a shine to my darter arter reading that, I want to know, that's all!”

Jase he twirled his great gold watch key, and peaked at Lord Morpeth from under his eye-brows, and Jemima she struck her head a one side and tried to look as if she couldn't help it, till Lord Morpeth he come back agin from the winder, a looking as meek as a gray cat with a dab of cream on her whiskers, jest as if he hadn't been tickling himself to death behind the curtains there; and I, consarn me, as if I didn't feel as mean as a frozen potater, to think my name was Slick.

Miss Slick she spread herself out on the settee agin beside Lord Morpeth, and give him another dose of soft sodder, till I raly felt sorry for the poor critter. She held up her two chunked hands, and rolled up her eyes like all natur, when he told her which side of Broadway he come up; but Lord Morpeth said the west side was the most crowded, and so he took t'other.



"On'y jest to to think, Jemima," sez Miss Slick, "Lord Morpeth come up on the east side of Broadway, dear me!"

Jemima she lifted up her head, and looked a whole biling of lasses candy at Lord Morpeth, and said she shouldn't wonder if it would be all the fashion to walk that side after that.

Lord Morpeth bowed agin, and looked as meek as new milk, and kinder acted as if he'd jest as lives talk about something else, but my pussy cousin stuck to him like a dog to a briar.

"Now, my Lord," sez she, a laying her hand on to his'n, rings and all, "now, arter reading my darter's poetry, jest give me your opinion; we shouldn't think of ever letting her print anything, on'y we've heard that it's getting to be the fashion for English Lords and ladies to be sort of literary, and Jemima is so full of poetry and writes so sweet and soft—don't you think so, my Lord?"

"Very soft," says Lord Morpeth, as sober as a deacon, but yet giving a sort of a sly squint at Jemima, where she sot a puckering up her mouth and half shutting her eyes, and a shaking for'ard her yaller curls, till they eenamost touched her lap, and a trying to look like a love-sick robin on an apple-tree limb.

"Oh, you can't form no idee, you can't, indeed," sez Miss Slick, "without you hear Jemima read them herself, but she's so modest, so sensitive—but mebbey she'll be persuaded by your lordship."

Lord Morpeth give another squint at the stuck up little varmint, and sed, "he was afeard to urge the young lady agin her feelings."

"Oh, but she'll do it to oblige you, I'm sartin she will," sez Miss Slick agin; "and here's our literary cousin, he will persuade her, I am sure;" and with that she cum across the room and put her hand on my coat sleeve, and sez she, "Now do, cousin."

"Oh, you go to grass," sez I; "If Jemima there is a mind to make a coot of herself, she can do it without my boosting her along." Lord Morpeth kinder give a start, and looked at me like all natur, but yet he didn't look mad.

"Why, cousin Slick!" sez my pussey she cousin, a dropping her hand as if it had gripped a hot potatoe.

"Oh dear!" sez Jemima.

Jase he let his watch-key drop, and turned as red as a tomato, "What on arth do you mean by that, Mr. Jonathan Slick?" sez he.

"Wal, I reckon I mean just what I say," sez I, a dropping my hands into my trousers pockets; and a crossing one boot over t'other as I leaned sort of slantindicular, with my shoulder agin the mantle-tree. "If there's anything on arth that makes a man sick of all the feminine gender, its the eternal hankering which some on 'em get to to show off and trot themselves out afore the men folks, jest to show that their stockings have been in a dye-tub, and that what they are lacking in brains, is made up by impudence. I wouldn't marry a gal that could get up afore a stranger, before a hull room full on 'em and shake her curls about, roll up her eyes like a pious hen, and squinch her face over a lot of poetry, whether it's her's or anybody else's. I swow, I wouldn't marry her if her heart was a solid lump of gold, and every hair of her head strung with diamonds. That's my opinion, and Cousin Jemima is welcome to it such as it is."

I wish you could a seen Jase and his wimmen folks when I burst out with that speech. Didn't they turn red and white in streaks? I ruther guess so! And Lord Morpeth! I never seed a feller's face brighten up as his did. Jase put his arm through mine, and asked me to slip into the hall a minit.

"Look a here, cousin, this is ruther too bad," sez Jase, eenamost crying; "you ought to make an apology to his lordship for speaking so afore him—what'll he think of American manners?"

"What'll he think," sez I, "darn me if I care what he thinks; if he's a genuine nobleman—one that's got good English common sense, he wont think the better of us for trying to make believe we're a notch above what we raly be, and he'll like my human natur better than your soft sodder by a jug full. If he expects the hull nation of America to pucker and twist itself out of all nat'ral shape jest to gibe with his notions, he *ought* to be disappointed and that's the long and the short of it; and if he believes that we want to see our wimmen folks to be spitting out poetry and varses afore strangers, or that the genuine wimmen of America want to du sich things, he better stay to hum and read Mrs. Trollope's books. Now jest hold your gab, Jase," sez I, as he was a going to speak again, "I'm in the right on't—if we want to give these English Lords a true idea of us, act out human natur, and give me a warm, honest welcome, but less soft soap."

As I'd spoke out, jest so, the bell rung, and a hull grist of big bugs got out of some carriages at the door and come in. There was three or four harnsome wimmen and gals dressed off in silks and satins, with the dresses all fringed off round the bottom and a hugging tight up to them white necks as close as the skin to an eel, and a showing off the wide shoulders and leetle tapering waists about the best of any dresses I ever sot eyes on. The men folks had on span white gloves, and looked as if they'd jest come out of a band-box. While Jase was a blustering about from one to t'other, I jest cut stick for the other room, detarmined not to have any more jaw with the critter if I could help it. Miss Slick and Jemima, looked sour enough to turn new milk; but Lord Morpeth he cum right up to me and begun to talk as if I'd been his twin brother. He asked me about every thing on arth, and more too; all about the way we raise onions and garden sarce, how much hay our Weathersfield meadows give to an acre, and all about our district schools, meeting houses, and the old blue laws of Connecticut. When I told him that a man was fined five dollars for bussing his wife on the sabberday arter he'd been away to sea four years, Lord Morpeth he larfed right out as nat'ral as could be. Then I took turn about and asked him a few pozers about Old England, and he answered right up like a man that understood things, for all he was a Lord. I raly took a shine to the critter, though I'd made up my mind agin it, tooth and nail, and while he was a talking I took a good squint at his head and face.

He aint so over harnsome, not quite so good looking as a sartin chap I could tell you on if I wasn't so mealy-mouthed, but then he's got an allfired big head, high up over the ears, and one that looks chuck full of brains as an egg is full of meat. His eyes aint great

black starers like some folk's, but as bright as diamonds, and as sharp as a hull paper of cambrick needles, and they know how to look right straight through a feller without flinching the first glance.

Purty soon, the gals and them chaps I'd seen in the hall cum a pouring in, and then there was no more talk with Lord Morpeth; he had to be led around like a race-horse by Miss Slick and Jemima, and I cum in for my share of the fun, for arter he and I got so thick together, they begun to think what I'd said was according to gunter, and sot it all down for eccentricity of genius instead of ginuine common sense; howsomever, I did not care so long as all was ship shape agin with 'em, for I hate to get a woman a pouting with me, for if I'm ever so right it makes me feel kinder ugly.

#### THE DINNER SCENE.

We hadn't but just got settled down when the great wide looking-glass that I've told you of, seemed to slide back of the curtains to the lower eend of the room, and by gawly! there was another room further on, with a table sot in it all kivered over with silver plates, and soup dishes, and Chiny ware, with one of them trees of gold and glass all lighted up, and swung to the wall, a glittering, and flashing, and pouring down the shine over the heap of silver things, till it made a feller ketch his breath on'y jest to peak in.

Lord Morpeth he gin his arm to my pussy she cousin—Jase gin his to a harnsome gal that stood close to him, and I crooked my elbow up to Jemima, for I kinder wanted to make up for what I'd sed about her reading—poor critter! she aint to blame if she is a little shaller. The rest on 'em followed on two and two, and arter a little we all sot down round the table with six great strapping fellers, with blue and white regimentals on, and gloves on all their twelve hands, a standing up behind our chairs. I can't give you no idea of what we had to eat, for they called every thing by some darn'd jaw-breaker of a name, and kept a carrying things on and off and giving a feller clean plates all of solid silver, till it a'most made me dizzy with seeing them a flashing about so in the critters' hands. They had all sorts of mince meat with hard names tucked to it, and fish kivered with gravy, and butter, and every thing else, and sich a darn'd heap of things that I can't begin to tell you all. I tried to take a bite of everything, but it wasn't of no use—I was purty well filled up afore the puddings, and pies, and custards cum on, and arter they were carried off I thought we'd all made a purty good Thanksgiving dinner, considering it wasn't tu hum, and I can't tell when I've felt so big and pussy; but jest as I was thinking we'd got about through, the fellers went to work and swept the hull table clean as could be, and by-am-by on they cum agin with silver baskets full of grapes, and oranges, and prunes, with a grist of fust rate apples, and hull bunches of raisins that made a feller feel wrothy because he'd eat enough, they looked so tempting a hanging over the sides of them silver baskets, and a looking so meller in the light that cum a shining down from the consarn overhead.

When the wimmen folks had jest eat a few grapes, and mebbly a

chunk of orange or so, Miss Slick she got up and off they went into t'other room, but yet a looking back sort of longing, jest as Eve did when the angels made her quit the garden of Eden, poor critter!

The minit the wimmen folks had made themselves scarce the servants begun to cut about like all possessed, and a hull regiment of decanters and cider bottles with sheet-lead caps to 'em, marched onto the table, and arter them cum another regiment of glasses, some of 'em round and bulky with short stems and kinder dark green, some white as ice, and then agin some that was short and slender, out on in squares, and red as a gal's lip, besides the long necked cider glasses that stood poking up among the rest, like a Down East general, and his officers ready to lead on the red and green militia agin the hull squad of bottles and decanters, till one side gin up beat. The help gin the first shot, for each on 'em took a bottle, and pop, pop, pop, went the corks—then the red, and green, and white glasses marched up, and cum off chuck full and a brimming over with plunder. As for me, I sent up a long necked feller, and took a swig at the cider, and Lord Morpeth he went deep into the green glasses, but they put me in mind of an old maid's goggles, and I couldn't take a notion to 'em till arter I'd drunk two hull glasses of the cider, and then I didn't seem to care what I drank out on. By-am-by some one called out and wanted a toast. I never heard of topping off a Thanksgiving dinner with toast afore, but it made me think of hum, and so I thought I'd have one tu.

"Look a here," sez I to the chap that stood back of my chair, "you may make me a toast tu, but none of your dry stuff now, but make it as marm used to, you remember Jase," sez I, "half a pint of hot milk with a chunk of butter about as big as a piece of chalk melted in, and then the hull soaked up with slices of toasted bread—hum made is best—one slice laid on top of t'other. Now you git out, and make some right off," sez I to the chap, sez I.

"Look a here, Jonoe, what are you about?" sez Jase, a poking his elbow sort of sly into my ribs. "It aint that we mean, we're a going to drink a toast."

"Wal," sez I, "I haint no arthly objection, but if the feller makes it according to rule it'll be rather tough to swaller without some chawing."

"I tell you," sez Jase agin, "we are a going to drink a toast to Lord Morpeth in wine."

"Wal," sez I agin, "I haint no objection, if Lord Morpeth likes toast and wine, it's his idee of what's good, and I can't help it; but as for me, hand over a bowl of genuine toast and cider with the bread crumbled in, Weathersfield fashion, rather hot, and sweetened well with lasses, that's my notion. Lord a massey, how marm does mix them critters up, it's enough to make a feller's nose tingle to think on it, aint it, cousin Jase?"

It warn't of no use a speaking to him, there he stood a strutting over back with a glass in his hand and a singing out, "Our noble guest, Lord Morpeth," like all possessed. Every critter at the table, excepting Lord Morpeth and I, jumped up with glasses in our hands, and begun to drink like a patch of seed onions after a six weeks'

dry spell ; but Lord Morpeth and I sot still and looked as if we didn't know what possessed the critters ; but the minit they sot down up he jumped like a house a fire, and the way he cracked jokes and said smart things, made the fire fly from every body's eyes round the table. I swanny, if he didn't take me a'most off the handle with his consarned sweet voice and harnsome manners. It raly was eenamost as good as a play, to hear him reel out the comamon sense and soft sodder about this land of liberty and old England. When he sot down, it was as much as I could du to keep from going right up and giving him a hug, if he was a lord. Arter this we mixed in the talk altogether, like lemon, and sugar, and brandy in a punch bowl, as sociable as so many chickens in a coop, till by-am-by, Jase he begun to swell up and talk to Lord Morpeth about the Slicks, and the crouchants, and lions, that belonged to the family coat of arms as he called it ; he gin us all to understand that the Slicks war'n't a family to be sneezed at by any of the English Lords, and gin out some purty broad hints about a barron-night, and a lord, that gin a start to the name ever so long back in England ; then the consarned shote branched out into a sarmon about ancient birth, and pure blood, a running from one generation to another, without being siled by anything low since the Slicks cum to this country, jest arter the Pilgrims, and a hull lot of the darndest stuff that ever a transmogrified hand-cartman thought on. I'd topped off my cider with two or three glasses of hock, the feller called it, and it made me feel dreadful smart, and I felt jest like tackling Jase in his own camp.

"Look a here, cousin Jase," sez I, "what on arth do you want to make out that we Slicks are anything but jest what we be, for aint it a darned sight more to our credit, Yankees as we are, and Republicans as we ought to be, to own it at once, that we had to hoe our own row up, and found it a purty tough one ? Now you know well enough, for all your crouchongs, and lions, and roosters,—that you've picked up, lord-a-massey knows where—that you begun life, or anyhow begun to save up chink, fust by a horse cart on Peck Slip, and that wife of your'n went out a nussing other folk's children till arter you married her, and that aint no disgrace to her nor you neither, so long as you don't try to make out that you're something more than you raly be. It is too bad you're trying to make out that you're an English big bug, when you can prove yourself as good a nobleman as ever lived, by going back to our grand-par, the brave old shoemaker, that swung his lap-stone over his shoulder when the Revolution broke out, and jined the patriots when their struggle was dark as the grave. The old man never gave way once, but fought like a lion when fighting was to be done. He clung to his companions in good and bad luck, and though he fought, and marched, and suffered with the toughest of 'em, never once gin out or got discouraged, but arter a long day's march would unsling his lap-stone, take out his rusty tools, and hammer and stitch away half the night long, to make up shoes for his tired and sore footed feller soldiers, whenever he could find a scrap of sole leather or a piece of cow skin to make up !"

I was a going on, but Lord Morpeth he got up, and sez he, "Let

us drink to the memory of Mr. Slick's ancestor, the 'brave shoemaker.'

Jase looked sort of ugly about what I'd said—but I couldn't help that, and when Lord Morpeth jined in, the hull biling on us got up, and another squad of wine glasses was put into action. When the rest had sot down, I felt as if I couldn't break off so, but I thought it wouldn't do no harm to give 'em a short specimen of Weathers-fied chin music, seeing as there was a lord to hear me.

"Now," sez I, "it's of no use denying that we Yankees do think a good deal of noble birth and pure blood, and all of them ere things that the English have boosted up their throne with so many hundred years: for my part, I du feel a kind of love and reverence for a family of any kind, whose blood has run pure from one generation to another, through brave men and good women, till it beats full of warm ginerous human natur in the heart of a true nobleman, whether he has a title or not. It gives a man something to be proud of, something to guard and keep himself good and honorable for. A man must be mean as pusley, and meaner yet, who could do a small action while he knew that his blood had been kept, pure as spring water, by a hull line of good men, all a sleeping in their graves."

"But, arter all," sez I, "what is the nobility of old England more than that which we Yankees have a right to?"

"Was William the Conqueror, that they brag so much about, any thing to be compared to our Washington? Was his conquest of Old England, half so great, or so tough a job as the tussle we had to get New England into our own native land? Now, the whole truth is, blood is like wine, the older it is, the stronger and clearer it grows. If it warn't for that, we Yankees, that had forefathers in the Revolutionary war, have as good a right to brag about our pure blood, as the greatest and oldest line of proud England." Here I stopped jest long enough to make a bow to Lord Morpeth, and on I went agin. "I say," sez I, a stretching out my arm, "there aint a true born American on arth, if he owns the truth, that haint English grit and pride enough about him to feel a kind of respect for an English nobleman, if he behaves himself like folks: but if he don't," sez I, "we've got a right to despise him more than we do one another when we act mean; for he not disgraces hisself but all the forefathers that he ought to be proud on, and a man that can do that must be mean as git out and meaner tu, a darned sight. Now," sez I, a looking at Lord Morpeth, "we Yankees and the English are purty much alike, for all. If they've got their lords, and dukes, and princes, haint we no military captins, and generals, and deacons, and squires.—rather small potatoes compared to the English, but yet it shows a sort of native notion we've got arter sich things, and don't du no sort of harm one way or t'other. Now," sez I, "in a few hundred years from this, we Americans, shall have a sort of republican nobility of our own. I aint sartin about the titles, but by-am-by, when the 'tea party,' and the battle of Bunker Hill lies clear back in our history, as William the Conqueror's does among the British, Cousin Jase there wouldn't have to make up a

story about his British ancestors; for the pure blood of this ere country will be that which goes right back to the Revolutionary war. All Yankee noblemen will have to sarch for their titles on the pension list of this ere very generation; and the old man that now draws his twenty dollars a month, will be the founder of a line, jest as noble as any that ever sprung up in the heart of old England! That's my genuine opinion. Now," sez I, "if we Slicks wanted to make out that we are any great shakes, it aint no very hard job to du it. It aint by no means sartin that we, any on us, ever had any forefathers afore the old Shoemaker, that we've been jest a telling on; but he was a hull team and horse to boot. When the ammunition gin out at Bunker Hill, he flung away his gun, and went to storming a hull regiment, tooth and nail, on his own hook, till in the eend he was shot down dead with a piece of the old lap stun in his hand, that he gripped like an Injun arter his teeth was sot, and his fingers stiff and stun cold. Old England, I must own, has got a grist of noble families and great men, that are an honor and eternal glory to it, but the blood that biled up in that old man's heart, was as red, as brave, yes, and as noble tu, as ever poured itself out on the side of old England, in the time of William, or any other Conqueror; and if I ever set up for a big bug, and put picters on my carriage door, I kinker think that I shant be much ashamed to have Jonathan Slick's coat of arms, a 'hand gripped hard on a lap-stun;' for consarn me, if we, any on us, ever get to be much, it will be through the old Shoemaker, and I aint ashamed to own it."

With that I took another swig at the hock, and was a going on agin, but all tu once my head began to whirl round like a top. The table began to spread itself into half a dozen, and it seemed as if the glass consara over head had got a hull family of leetle ones around it, dancing jigs and pouring out the shine all over the room—and then the wine bottles, and the decantera, and the grapes, and apples, and raisins, seemed to get onsteady, and more on 'em kept as tarting up. Then the waiters in regimentals grew taller and taller, and I'm consarned if Lord Morpeth hadn't half a dozen chaps a looking like so many twin brothers a dodging up and down all around him, awful onsteady though, for Lords. Then, arter all, the floor begun to rise and pitch up and down till I was obliged to give up, and so I sot down, and held onto my chair with both hands, and called out, 'Whoa' like a house afire, for it seemed as if everything was a getting upsot; and between you and I and the post, Par, my givine opinion is, that all the chaps in the room had got about half *sew* over, except me. I was as steddy as a judge, and sot up perpendicular and independent, jest as a true born Republican ought tu, determined to set that English Lord and the rest on 'em a good example. It wasn't no wonder, though, that they got a leetle how-come-you-ee, for they all drank wine, but I only took that sparkling white cider and hock, for I was determined not to make a shote of myself. Yet it made me feel so bad to see how they went on, that I got a'most sick thinking about it.

Arter a while we all went back into the keeping-room, and there the wimmen folks sot on them red benches, all in pimlico order,

drinking coffee out of some leetle finessed cups, but I'm affeared they didn't set up so straight as young ladies ought tu in company—their heads did seem to set rather unsartin on their shoulders every time I looked at 'em.

I drunk off a cup of coffee jest to oblige Jase, and then I begun to be kinder sociable with a young gal that sot by Jemima, while Jase took Lord Morpeth round to look at his marble head, and the two whopping picters of himself and wife.

Arter he had gone the rounds—as we Editors say of a prime article—Lord Morpeth made his bow and went out, I begun to feel kinder as if I'd like to take a snooze, and so I jest gin one smashing bow at the door for all, and arter getting my hat, I follered Lord Morpeth out. It was tarnal cold, and I begun to chirk up a leetle when I see that Jase's carriage stood there. Lord Morpeth stepped back when he see me close to him, and moved his hand as much as to say—Git in; but I stepped back, and sez I, “I guess I've been taught better manners than to help myself fust,”—so with that he got in, and I arter.

We had a good deal of talk in the carriage; and when we both got out, Lord Morpeth shook hands with me as if I'd been his twin brother, and asked me to come and see him to his room, for he wanted to talk with me about picters and the fine arts, and things in general.

I gin his hand an all-fired grip, and sez I, “Lord Morpeth, you can depend on this chap, for he'll tell you the truth and no soft sodder. I didn't take much of a notion to you at fust, for I aint a chap to run arter you because you're a lord, but I like you in spite of that, for you're a darned good hearted, smart critter, and lord or no lord, that's enough.”

We here close, for the present quarter, our extracts from this most amusing, and frequently instructive, book. We have, in this paper, extracted chiefly from the lighter chapters, but in our next number we shall, perhaps, return to another phase of its contents.



## ART. II.—LOVE AND POLITICS.

*Un Homme Sérieux.* Par Charles de Bernard. Paris : 1843.

It may not seem our wish to drift on comfortably with the current of our times, when we select a work published so far back as 1843, and (we are sorry for the circumstance) by a writer whose short and spirited career is at an end ; but as our business is with foreign literature, we are happily exempt from the necessity of noticing every worthless and ephemeral work of fiction sent for approval by influential publishers.

The nice-looking volumes in their flowered cloth dress, with their white thick leaves, clear type, and lines far apart, are laid on the table of the unfortunate reviewer, who, after a few desperate attempts at resolution, cuts some sheets about the middle of the second volume and the end of the third. He finds what he expected ; a tissue of crude thoughts or common place ideas, unsuccessful incursions into the domains of invention or fancy, a succession of events either of improbable occurrence or loosely strung together, the whole evidencing either slipshod negligence or a barren imagination. Still something must be done to disencumber the publisher's shelves of the heavy mass, or gratify the misguided author who, by relationship, acquaintance, or political sympathy, is furnished with some hold on the much straitened critic.

So, desperately wetting his pen, he resolves to do the deed, and boldly commences at the inscriptions engraved by Hermes on those Antediluvian pillars which, long after the deluge, were discovered in caverns somewhere or other. He then sighs for a journal of a day kept by an Egyptian lady of the reign of Psammeticus the Eightieth, or the prototype of *Ennui* written by some forgotten Maria Edgeworth, the ornament of the court of Pericles. He recollects in time, however, the unintellectual character and occupation of the Greek ladies of that reign, and gives it as his own private opinion that no novels of ordinary life were composed either at Athens or Sparta. Then, paying a compliment to Bekker for his clever and research-shewing sketches of *Gallus* and *Charicles*, he laments that in common with most fictions on classic subjects, they resemble the truthful and natural ones of our days, as a lay figure does the human being whose muscles and bones are informed by life, and invested with an outward envelope of youth and beauty. He then descants on the fortunate pre-

ervation of the comedies of Aristophanes, and Terence, and Plautus, and the dialogues and fictions of Lucian, seeing that we get a better insight into the interior life of the Greeks and Romans by their means than from the old serious chronicles which have come down to us. Having advanced so far in his subject, he naturally asks, wherefore the need of such ceaseless showers of vapid trash covering the surface of society in the shape of loose leaves, as snow flakes on a calm winter's day cover the dry hard street and field.

After fixing his hearers by this query, he shortly relieves them by alluding to the restless craving of the soul for excitement, when no real engrossing cares or troubles are present. He then learnedly disserts on the cruel sports of the circus giving temporary relief to the tired and unhappy Roman senators and ladies; touches lightly on the means resorted to by Julia and Messalina to escape from the dreadful sway of ennuï, attributes the cruelties of Nero and Tiberius to the same cause, and creates an agreeable variety in the page by the introduction, in Bourgeois type, of *Dr. Watts, the Bee, Mischief, and the Devil*.

Now, bidding adieu to the dissolute old Heathens, with a passing glance at *The Ethiopian Romance* of Heliodorus, and the fictions of Achilles Tatius, and Longus, and a reproof of the extravagance of the first and want of decency of the others, he glides easily into the old feudal castle, and shews the bard with harp in hand, driving the "evil-influence" from the hearts and minds of the noble Chatellan and Chatellaine by the recital of the *Lay of the Niebelungen Hoard*, the deeds of *Charlemagne* and his *Paladins*, the chivalric exploits of *Arthur* and *Tristram*, or the still greater (?) ones of *Fion Mac Cumhail* and *Oscar*, and the splendors and hospitality of the palace of *Almhuin*.

At this point of his task, the critic, forgetting that it is a task, and letting the existence of author and publisher escape his memory, seizes on the invention of printing, and ignoring the dirty advertisements of quacks, Reynolds's villanous *Mysteries*, Volney's *Ruins*, and *The Vestiges of Creation*, blows it up in triumph to the clouds.

Now encumbering his arms with Mine. de Scuderi's folio romances, he points to the curious circumstance of the living coachmen, vine dressers, and ploughmen of Normandy and Picardy rejoicing with their wives in the unchristian titles of

*Pharnabazes, Sophonisba, &c.*; names given to their great-great-grandfathers by the lords and ladies, their masters, from the aforesaid folios, and still religiously handed down with true Celtic tenacity through their descendants.

Taking an easy flight over the curled periwigs of Congreve, Cibber, Addison, and Steele, he next repeats what every one knows about them already, and talks learnedly of the barren field of fiction from the Regency to the Revolution, if the works of Voltaire, Smollett, and Fielding, and the blameless *Vicar* of our own poor Oliver, are excepted.

Being now comfortably landed on the threshold of our own times, he shews, by the help of the introduction to *Telemachus*, and a translation of a volume in *Bohn's Library*, what are the essential qualities of a heroic poem, and varying the recipe a little, he applies the rule to a prose epic. He laments that Thackeray does not copy the bonhomme of Goldsmith, and that the plot of *Pickwick* is not so compact as that of *Tom Jones*; and wishes that the authoresses of *Beatrice*, of *The Lady and the Priest*, and of *Father Enstace*, might be shut up together in a lone chateau, be well fed, never see the face of a man, and be obliged to listen to each other's productions.

At last, our critic counts his pages, and finds that out of the sixteen which he had allotted to the *Parish Orphan*, fifteen and a half are occupied.

So he refers to want of space, (*whose fault?*) compliments his readers on the accession of a new and powerful, though yet undisciplined pen, to the field of letters; speaks of truth of character-painting, of delicacy of style, natural succession of incidents, (bating a *little* improbability), and recommends to the talented author more care in the elaboration of the design of his (?) next work; excuses the absence of quotations from want of space, and the impossibility of divorcing any portion of the compact structure of the work from its context; but orders his readers to procure the book at once, and enjoy the intellectual treat.

Our literary magistrate now flings down his wearied pen, begs forgiveness from the bust of Aristotle over his desk, thanks Mercury that his task is ended, and runs off to enjoy a hearty laugh at *Little Tiddlers*.

Those readers of the article who depend on Providence and their fellow creatures for judgment, and taste, and every

thing else, send at once to the library or the shop for the much-be-praised book, wonder that they cannot find out the beauties attributed, throw it on the heap of neglected works, or return it to the library, on whose shelves it will soon form a permanent incumbrance.

Now, as from the peculiar aim of this series of papers, the amusement or information of our readers is of much more interest to us, than the profit of publisher or glorification of author we are more anxious to discover a work of merit among our French collection (new or old, it little matters), than to seize on the latest importation. We have taken down one of De Bernard's, of which we entertain pleasurable recollections since a perusal of many years date.

It will not be necessary to analyse the peculiar qualities of our Author's powers here, as this introduction has already extended farther than we proposed, and as something has been already done in our Sixth Number, (page 369,) on occasion of noticing his *Gentilhomme Campagnard*. His caustic and vigorous powers were there pointed out, with the substratum of a kind nature, under a harsh and cynical exterior.

As a pendant, we may remark, that he detested socialism and red republicanism, and was no believer in the sincerity of the poor old "Citizen King."

Incapacity or self seeking among those who aimed at political power or influence, particularly stirred his bile; and the chief object of the present work was to point out the bad consequences of a man of mediocre ability striving to attain office which he is unable to manage for his own comfort or the good of the people. In devoting all his attention to the means of raising himself to the coveted point, his family affairs are left to mind themselves, and the natural consequences soon force themselves on his notice in a very disagreeable shape.

Our *Serious Man*, an advocate at Douay, was in easy circumstances, but of no great mark as an able lawyer. He was sufficiently fluent, employed more in criminal than civil trials, and generally lost only three cases out of four. He practised more with the object of seeing himself in print four times in the year, viz. at the periods of the assizes, than from any wish to add to his funds. In the intervals he was much more intent on politics than jurisprudence. In a general election for members of the "Chamber" previous to 1830, he stoutly opposed the legitimist member, using all his influence for the opposi-

tion side of the house, and was stoutly supported by a society to which he belonged, *The Help-yourself Association*. It was to his son *Prosper*, a lad of fourteen that the crowning victory was due. At the critical moment he drove up to *The College of Electors* (an equivalent to our Hustings) in a triumphant chariot of many seats, with a full dozen of dilatory voters whom he had unearthed in different nooks of the arrondissement. He lustily cracked his whip on his arrival in honor of the *Côté gauche*, and alighting, threw himself into his father's arms. This touching and patriotic spectacle drew tears from the indifferent or friendly by-standers, and made the Prefect and the Attorney General turn pale.

*M. Chevassu* had some reason to be discontented with his treatment in high quarters. He had for ten years, vainly sought the place of Councillor in the *Cour Royale* at Douay; but it was not till the Revolution of July that his wishes were gratified. His ambition having expanded in the interim however, nothing less will gratify him now than the dignity of President of the Chamber, or Attorney General. As councillor of the court of his city he could not be deprived of his office, so he cast himself vigorously into opposition, and prepared for offering himself as member of the Legislative Chamber in Paris when the present representative, who was old and feeble, should be called away.

The political atmosphere of Douay being quiet and cloudy, *M. Chevassu* determines to infuse some briskness and life into it, even through the agency of a thunder clap in the guise of an opposition newspaper; and *André Dornier* is sent from an agency office in Paris to "guide the lightning and direct the storm;" Douay though boasting the title of 'The Athens of the North' being unable to furnish more than aspirants to the honors of *Poets' Corner*.

In the middle ages, Italy had its Condottieri, who, at the head of a band of soldiers, without fear, but not without reproach, settled the quarrels of princes or states 'for a consideration,' changed sides as they found it profitable, behaved with the forbearance of wolves towards each other; and, in fine, made a profitable speculation of civil war by exchanging a little blood for a great deal of money. These unscrupulous adventurers may be compared to certain speculators of our times who carry on war, plume in hand, at the behest of the opinion that pays, being fully prepared to oppose it if they can find better pay in the camp of the enemy. *André Dornier* was a curious specimen of these modern Condottieri. An *Enfant Perdu* of the hospital of the state, he treated this great and respectable

parent with the coolest irreverence. Nothing could exceed the suppleness of his contradictory evolutions, and the unconcern with which he changed his colors when it was his profit to do so. Yesterday a doctrinaire, to-day a republican, to-morrow a ministerialist, provided that five francs' profit could be made by it. Still, such was his address, that where another would be looked on as a renegade, he passed for a writer of conscience, but sometimes led astray by the honest zeal of his convictions.

At this epoch André Dornier had arrived in Paris from Bourdeaux, where he had just got a republican paper killed under him, not the first accident of the kind that had happened. His luck had been adverse for some time. One paper had died for want of subscribers, the public functionary had executed another: so he came up to Paris, as a centre from which to make a new sally. Little welcome at Castelnau for an editor coming from Morlaix, or at Briançon for one freshly cast at Brives-la-Gaillarde; the provinces are coquettish, their purveyors must be brought from the capital.

The suppression of his Bourdeaux journal was such a recommendation to the Douay malcontents, that they almost wrung his arms off at a banquet given in his honour, and at the end of the feast they danced *The Marsellaise* by way of refreshment. He soon got the measure of his flock of sheep, who affected the manners of ravenous wolves, and to *M. Chevassu*, their bell-wether, he paid successful court. This gentleman, though tolerably eloquent, was an indifferent hand at composition; and *Dornier*, by affecting the scholar, and ascribing all his merits to the instructions received from his patron, won on his friendship and consideration to such an extent, that *The Serious Man*, even while he felt his own dimensions wonderfully expanding, would venture on nothing without the advice of his cunning pupil. He often repeated, "When I am in the chamber, let Thiers and Odillon Barrot keep themselves quiet."

A wider horizon is now opening to our editor. *Mlle. Henriette Chevassu*, a fine dark beauty of sixteen, takes lessons in Italian from him; and the thought of becoming her husband, and getting such a fortune as will insure his future well-being, is becoming stronger with each day.

Strange to say, as his influence with her father increases, he sees her indifference strengthening to dislike; but the circumstance of the young, handsome, and amiable *Vicomte de Moréal* casting tender and loving looks on the young lady, when he can get sight of her at church or in the public promenades, has probably something to do in the matter.

The *Douay Patriot* struggles on for two years, but shews symptoms of decay, old subscribers dropping off, new ones not presenting themselves, when *Prosper*, the brother of *Henriette*, who is supposed to be diligently employed at his law studies in Paris, presents himself to his father one summer morning, in a colored calico shirt, torn trousers, boots with many cracks, and a coarse winter coat. The father, after a severe lecture, demands why his aunt, *Mme. Pontailly*, should have let him out of Paris in such a trim, but he replies that he could not think of being under obligation to any one of the slavish politics of his aunt and her husband. The young hero had exaggerated his father's opposition to the very reddest shade of republicanism; and as the aunt and uncle were pure Legitimists, *M. Chevassu* forgave his extravagance for the moment, for sake of this sacrifice to his political creed.

The *Patriot* continues to be watched by the officials of the *Cour Royale*, for the detection of some peccadillo meriting a prosecution, but no handle is presented till *Prosper's* arrival. In his father's temporary absence, he sends a "leader" which is unsuspectingly admitted; and

Next day was such a festival at the *Cour Royale* as leaves its memory fresh for many a year. According as the members arrived, the *Patriot* went from hand to hand, and every visage wore a joyful grin. The subalterns could not remain quiet; they moved restlessly here and there, as sea-gulls conscious of the coming storm. The "Silk-gowns" put their heads in a corner to assess the damages, and the Attorney General, happier than all the rest together, measured the hall with long strides, and took snuff without intermission; this being with him the usual token of supreme rapture. "We have them at last," was the exclamation on all sides.

The dismayed proprietors hold a stormy meeting, and *M. Chevassu* is confounded by his son's avowal of the article.

"Yes, father," said the student with the finest assurance; "for ever so long, the *Douay Patriot* was aground in the shallow, mry waters of 'moderantism': I have sent it into open sea. Now behold it launched: may its course be happy."

"You unhappy boy," said the wretched advocate, assuming a dramatic pose, "you have not committed it to the open sea, but to the Court of Assize. Alas! it was all that was wanted. I would wager that the jury list is already filled: we shall be condemned without a shadow of doubt."

"So much the better," cried *Prosper* with a determined tone. "We needed the baptism of persecution: let every one now do his duty. You, noble founders of the journal, will seize with eagerness this opportunity of manifesting your patriotism: you will joyfully

associate to pay the fine." Here the proprietors looked wistfully in each other's faces, and some of them instinctively laid their hands on their pockets as if to defend the contents.

"The publisher will go to prison, that's all," continued Prosper: "what else is he paid for?"

At these words a little thread-bare man, who was modestly sitting in a quiet corner, rose and bowed to Prosper with an air of unaffected chagrin.

"Yes, Father Morlot; you will go to prison, and there you'll be like a fish in water. Be comforted; you shall want for nothing; every luxury will pour in on you. Game-pies, baskets of fowl, mangled tobacco, kirsch-wasser from the Black Forest; you like the kirsch, Father Morlot: your fellow citizens will empty their cellars rather than see you want. 'We will be condemned,' you say: just the thing I wish. I will avow myself the author; I will plead in person; and, I give you my word of honor, the jacks in office will bear the truth for once: they will laugh on the wrong side of the mouth, the slaves!"

"Be silent, Prosper," said his father, looking at the journal with bitterness: "our enemies will be embarrassed merely in the choice of counts; provocation to revolt and civil war, personal affront to the king, attack on his rights and the order of succession. Ah, how the attorney will rub his hands! Prosper, is this the fruit of my lessons? I, who taught you the first rudiments of constitutional speech; I, who showed you by what paraphrases, by what attenuations, by what circumlocutions, you might say anything with impunity. Why, for instance, could you not avail yourself of the expressions consecrated to the present order of things; 'The days of July,' 'established order,' &c., instead of crying out unguardedly, roughly, rashly?"—"I call a cat, a cat," broke in the law student.

"My dear Prosper," said Dornier mildly, "you forget that 'speech has been given to man to conceal his thoughts.'"

"And who has said so but that old serpent, Talleyrand? No, gentlemen, citizens I mean: speech was not given to disguise thought, but to spit in the face of tyrants. That I have done, that I will ever do. We will awake public feeling, public resentment. We will be condemned, but we will gain five hundred additional subscribers."

This prophecy was only fulfilled on the evil side: the paper was extinguished by the heavy fine, and poor *M. Chassani* exclaimed, as Francis I. did with respect to Louis XII., "This big boy will put everything astray." Dornier, though his new "occupation was gone" again, made himself so necessary to our embryo politician that he could not let him depart: who would be then at hand to exalt him above Foy, Martignac, Berryer, and particularly Mirabeau? Rather than see that sprig of nobility, *Le Vicomte de Moréal*, espouse his daughter, he will bless Dornier with her hand: but first let



the aged representative die for good, and himself take his place. Then, hey for the sensation he will produce in the house of representatives! Let the 'extreme right' look to itself.

The desired event takes place; *M. Chevassu* is elected representative of Douay; *Dornier* is despatched to Paris to procure lodgings, and make things smooth with the coterie to which the new member intends to unite his influence, and the Count *Fabien de Moréal* and *Dornier* are waiting (not by concert, you may suppose) on a cold winter's morning in the court-yard of the Diligences, on the watch for the member and his son and daughter. On the arrival of the coach, *Dornier* receives the family with his usual empressement, and announces that he has taken apartments for the new member in the Hotel Mirabeau.

"Hotel Mirabeau," repeated *M. Chevassu*, majestically applying a large pinch of snuff. "I have no objection to the name. Great orator, Mirabeau! very great orator indeed, and one that would have been a great minister, a perfect man in fact, if one thing had not been wanting." "And what might that be?" said *Dornier*, with the tone of a scholar asking for information from his master.

"Virtue," said the Member, brushing off some grains of snuff from his cravat and waistcoat with the happy air of one who was conscious of no deeper stains. "Virtue! *political*, I suppose," said *Dornier* with a sardonic smile. "Oh! not that of a Chartreuse or an Anchorite certainly. Mirabeau"—but here he was interrupted.

*Prosper* has been in chase of his spaniel *Justinian* through the yard, and now appears lugging him back by the collar: he exchanges a cordial grasp with *Dornier*, and asks *Henriette* if his fowling piece, cornet-a-piston, foils and pistols have been taken out.

"You have not enquired about your 'Code,'" said his father with an accent of displeasure. "That is, because it is carefully put up in my trunk." *M. Chevassu*, with increased gravity, drew out of his pocket a thick little volume with marbled edges, and informed him that he had left it behind at Douay; and gave it as his opinion that it deserved as much attention at least as his cornet-a-piston and other incumbrances. *Prosper*, to show his indifferent respect for jurisprudence, gives the volume to *Justinian* to carry, reminding him that if he happened to swallow it by mistake, there would be no great harm done.

*M. Chevassu* counts back at this epoch four hundred years of ancestors, all *Roturiers*; and is as seemingly proud of their want of title as others would be of its possession. On *Dornier* mentioning that *Mme. la Marquise de Pontailly* would be happy to receive *Mademoiselle* as soon as convenient after her arrival,

"*Mme. la Marquise de Pontailly*," repeated *M. Chevassu*, laying an ironical emphasis on each word: "you have mistaken your vocation, my dear Sir: you should have been born a gentleman. By the *Countess of Escarbagnas*, the title of my sister sounds pompously in your mouth. You are sadly deceived, *Henriette*, if you think *Mme. la Marquise* will be up at five o'clock to receive you. You can come to the *Hotel Mirabeau* in the interim: you will not be sorry to do a little toilette before presenting yourself to your noble aunt. But you are paying no attention to me."

His remark was just. The young lady had recognized the *Comte* enveloped in his slouched hat and mantle; and eyes and ears were available but for his dear presence. *Prosper* has recognised him also, and in conducting his sister to the gate where a coach provided by *Dornier* is in waiting, he whispers to her "*Lindor* (a nick-name of his for the count) is here; I must have an explanation with him." She deprecates ill feeling, and he promises the utmost moderation, but insists on impeding the match. He packs father, sister, and spaniel, into the coach, starts it for the hotel, interrupts the lover as he is getting into a cabriolet to follow on its traces, and insists on his coming into a little cabaret to have an opportunity for an explanation.

The two young men remained a moment silent, gazing at each other. "Is it possible that you do not recognize me?" said *Prosper* with a bantering air, "my name is *Chevassu*." "I recognise you quite well, dear *Prosper*," said *Moréal*, striving to conceal his vexation; "but I so little expected to find you here, that at first, the surprise—and then your moustaches"—"You flatter me," said the other caressing his beard; "still I think (permit me) your surprise was not so great as you would wish me to believe." "Yet you must own that to meet you here at 6 o'clock, implies a strange chance." "Ah! you believe in chance: I do not." "Quite right in a religious point of view: put Providence instead of chance." "Let us rather refer to the god Cupid: it will be less edifying but more explicit."

As they are entering the tap room, the spaniel, who could not endure his master's absence, runs at full speed into the yard, and bounds on his master. *Prosper* not being in good humor, pulls out his whip, but seeing the mortified air of poor

*Justinian* as he crouches at his feet, he contents himself with pulling his ears, and points out his wonderful power of scent to *De Moréal*, who politically joins in the dog's praise. They enter, and *Prosper* treats himself to a hot drink, and smokes at a rate to indemnify himself for his forced abstinence in the coach.

*Prosper*. "It is a fact that this is far from being a majestic apartment; but the gravest interests may be discussed in the humblest abodes. Did not Napoleon and Alexander sign the treaty of Tilsit, in a vulgar boat?"

"Let the oxen be propitious. I trust that after the example of the two emperors, we are going to sign a treaty,—and one more durable than theirs."

"First, let us display the point in dispute: your diplomatic manœuvres only embroil the question: You love my sister?" "Yes," said Moreal, with a grave air. "You love her much?" "With all my heart and soul." "Very well, your love is serious, the passion of an honourable man: you wish to espouse her?" "It is my dearest wish." "Well, that is a settled point. For the past year, you have been in her footsteps, at church, at the promenades, at balls. To get near her, you have become the anathema of the dowagers of our city, and what city can boast of such a precious collection! *Douay*, *Dowager*; the derivation is self evident. Your family are Legitimists, yet have you presented yourself at the Prefect's, at the General's, at the Mayor's, at all the officials' in a word; and what is the cause of your incurring the virtuous indignation of the *Faubourg St. Germain* of *Douay*, if it is not the fair young lady whose brother I have the pleasure to be—Is it not so?" "Undoubtedly." "Has not your conduct for a year past so vividly recalled the Paladins and Troubadours of old times, that a scapegrace of my acquaintance has had the assurance to give you the nickname of *Lindor*?" "I am ready to pardon that scapegrace for even weightier offences." "He desires nothing better than your friendship, but we must be reasonable: and here he refreshed himself with a hot gulp or two. We have only spoken of the romantic side of the affair, let us look on the waver side. Two months since you demanded her hand from my father, who, though flattered by the offer, did not feel himself disposed to encourage your proposal. After this refusal, it appears to me that to persist in your suit, and act the part of a romantic lover, is to place my sister in a disagreeable position; and this is what I cannot allow." "But where can be the crime of loving to day what I loved yesterday." "You do not comprehend me. Love with more ardour than Roland; be more constant than Amadis; I give you full permission. I object not to the existence of your love, but to its manifestation. You have been refused the object of your idolatry: if you should not become in consequence, a resigned and hapless lover, I know nothing of the matter." "I am an unhappy lover indeed." "Well, since that is your social position, act accordingly; the receipt is patent. Dis of grief, become a Trappist,

throw yourself into the Seine, blow out your brains: I'll not interfere. Do not once think of turning my father from his resolution, it is not to be shaken." "I'll make the attempt, however; if you do not choose to befriend me, at least remain neuter." "But that I will not do: I would even use my little influence against you." "What can have caused your antipathy towards me?" "I am not limited to one cause: I have many. *Primo*, when we hunt together you kill all the game." "I vow that if I become your brother, I will never draw trigger till you have missed." "Do you hear that, Justinian," caressing the long muzzle which the dog held up to him: "do you see how your master is made game of?" "*Secundo*, when you sing Tenor, my modest Barytone is inaudible." "If it is of the slightest pleasure to you, I will always take Bass, when we perform together." "As much as to say that I cannot take a tenor part. But to pass to more serious matters; you are of the ancient regime, Count or Marquis, and we are of the new order." "*Viscount* only, and I have laid even that title aside, not being rich enough to uphold it properly." "But do you think that Henriette would not like to play at Viscountess, when your wife?" "And where would be the harm?" "None to me; I am above such silliness; but when I get a wife, I am certain that Mme. Prosper Chevasse would prefer a bourgeois sister-in-law to a titled one. So let the Franks intermarry with the Franks, and the Gauls with the Gauls." "My dear Prosper, there are no more Franks or Gauls; we are all French." "Ah! that would sound well in a Vaudeville, but I persist in my opinion; no disparities for me." "Has not your aunt married M. de Pontailly?" "Yes, and ever since treated us as vassals: so would Henriette." "Your sister has too noble a soul for such meanness; your opinion is really an offence towards her." "Oh, I am aware that in speaking of her as a simple mortal, I must incur your wrath, but the eye of a brother is not provided with a lover's focus." "Do you intend to present yourself at my aunt's reunions?" "By all means, if Mme. de Pontailly deigns to receive me." "And how could she refuse such a favor to M. le Vicomte de Moréal whose ancestors figured at the crusades!" "But this arrangement I am fully resolved to contravert. Do you intend to seek further interviews with my sister?" "By every means in my power." "Then give me leave to tell you that your first success will be followed by a little promenade on both our parts to the wood of Vincennes or the quarries of Montrouge." "As you please," said Moréal coolly, "but I give you notice that I will first make free with Mr. André Dornier's nose, and thus have the pleasure of a rencontre with him before I be obliged to meet you."

Prosper having in his vexation, given a kick to poor Justinian, the faithful animal feeling his self-love and esteem much hurt, made his escape, and his master gave chase requesting Moréal to wait a few minutes. However, he could not overtake the fugitive and Moréal went to his lodgings after a considerable delay.

In order to have his entrées at *Mme. de Pontailly's* whose husband had been a fellow emigré with his father in the good old times of Robespierre, he had addressed a note to that gentleman, mentioning that he had in charge to return to him a keepsake from his dead comrade. As he gets the key of his apartments from the porter he is accosted by

A bulky little man, about sixty-five years old, square in the shoulders, round in the body, and fixed as firmly on his short legs as a hippopotamus. Nothing more jovial or less venerable than his fleshy and purple cheeks, and his jolly nose which exhibited all the hues of the treacherous bottle.

Two piercing little eyes, sheltered by bushy grey eyebrows, gave to his jocose visage the mocking expression which characterises the portraits of Rabelais. In a word, so sensual and so epicurean, so jeering and so gastronomic was the countenance, that the white hair which shadowed all, seemed sadly out of place: it was the forehead of a patriarch crowning the mask of a satyr.

This lively old boy, predestined to apoplexy, wore a loose blue coat, under which his greenish silk vest enveloping his capacious stomach, bore a striking resemblance to the curving shell of a tortoise. All his dress was easy and unfashionable, but of the best materials and of unsullied neatness.

When *Moréal* finds it to be his father's old associate and *Henriette's* uncle to boot, he bustles to some purpose to make him comfortable; lighting up a good fire, installing him in an easy chair, &c.; and the old fox enjoys the welcome with great glee, as he is not very much astray for the pre-disposing cause.

When the gentleman is settled as comfortably as his host can make him, he lays before him a roughly fashioned little white wood box inlaid with ebony, and presents him the key. The old gentleman opens it with eagerness, all the sarcasm of his features giving way to an expression of deep emotion. On opening it the usual appearance of a water-color paint-box is presented, with brushes, crayons, saucers, &c., and on the inside of the lid appears in ink of an old date.

*The Marquis of Pontailly, by the grace of the French Republic one and indivisible, maker of snuff-boxes and bilboquets—to his friend the Viscount de Moréal, by the forementioned grace, painter of hams, salads, piss, and other comestibles.*

The Marquis read this inscription aloud, and heaved a profound sigh, and with a sadness in his voice which harmonized badly with his open and rubicund face, said, "Alas! when I presented this to your father, we lodged in garrets in a strange land, and had no expectation of our estates ever being restored; rather the guillotine if

we attempted to re-visit our native soil. Judge then if we could be gay." "There seem to have been causes enough to throw you into despair." "Bah! we have never since been so happy: I'll answer for your father. Had we not youth, unconquerable youth, on our side? You will never replace twenty-five: grow old my young friend as late as you can." \* \* \* He then took the box on his knees, and examined the drawers one after another. "It was in 1797," said he, recalling his souvenirs: "we were in Munich and our prospects had had little of the rosy hue about them. The army of Condé had just been disbanded and our castles in the air were levelled from 'turret to foundation stone.' It was not as in 1793, when we had no doubt at all of success. I recollect that after the taking of the lines of Weessenburgh, Viscount Moréal was so certain of being restored to his estate in a month, that he appropriated every pound he could lay hands on. When asked the reason, he said they were to replace his pack which the rascally peasants of Moréal had killed when he was obliged to emigrate. Poor Moréal! he never tasted game killed by his new beagles. In 1797 after the treaty of Campo Formio, all hope of recal was lost. Those who were not destitute of resources settled down in Germany or retired to England: those who had none (myself among the number) went into the service of Russia, or betook themselves to employments of various kinds, some of them being of a very bizarre character. Having amused my leisure in school days at turning, I now made that relaxation my bread-winner, and ignoring my dignity, I commenced to manufacture for the honest Bavarians, among whom my tent was pitched, snuff-boxes, pipes, spindles, and reels: behold a specimen of my handy work. It is not so bad for the production of a gentleman of name and arms."

M. de Pontailly turned the box in every direction, and contemplated it in every point of view with paternal complacency, then went on. "In the middle of his paradoxes, Rousseau was sometimes right. What he said of the utility of teaching the children of the rich some manual trade, struck the world at that period as exceedingly sound. My poor old box!" "The best workman of the Faubourg St. Antoine could not produce superior workmanship," said Moréal, faithful to his plan of determined flattery.

"Your father took to another line. He had been learning to paint at school, and after ten years' study had succeeded in producing with water-colors, what (with some indulgence) might be supposed to represent the different materials composing a *déjeuner à la fourchette*; an omelette, a slice of melon, a lobster, Roquesfort cheese, and in chief, a ham: the ham was the triumph. In varying the disposition of these viands, and breaking up the combination with bottles and glasses, he produced a series of little pictures which he confidently sold under the title of 'Studies from still life.' Each was the pendant of its predecessor, and it required all the German bonhomie to bite at such coarse eatables. However, by these and my turning lathe, we lived, and never was our life so happy as when we were obliged to labour for its maintenance."

"My father has often spoken of that time, and the most prized piece of furniture of his chamber was that box, which he said always

recalled the happy days of Munich." "Just like myself. The two water-color drawings which he gave me in return occupy the best place in my cabinet; and though they set our artist-visitors' teeth on edge, I would not exchange them for two 'Raphaels.' But you don't seem to set the same value as your father on this relic, seeing you are in such haste to return it."

It is an easy matter for the old gentleman to find out the real motives of Moréal's wish for his acquaintance, and he is only too ready to forward his views, as well out of friendship for his father, and his own agreeable person, and manners, and honorable character, as from a desire to keep *Dornier* out of the family. He explains that he has no influence over *M. Chevassu*, who is so zealous a commoner that he cannot forgive nobility in any shape; but that he stands in awe of his sister, *Mme. de Pontailly*; and that the only means to succeed must be to win her to his cause. The worst of the matter is that celebrity or talent of some kind is the only pass-word to her favor, and that at the present time *Dornier* is her chief favorite, she looking on him as a statesman of the first rank from his always having scraps of Montesquieu or Jeremy Bentham in his mouth. This influence must be combated by an exhibition of some other species of talent.

"Have you talent? Are your acquirements varied? Do you know the German Philosophy?" "Not a shred of it." "So much the worse: an olla of Kant, of Fichte, of Schelling, and of Hegel, would be sure of success, and distance your rival at once. Well, well; you are somewhat of an Orientalist; you know the Arabic, the Chinese, the Sanscrit, or the Hindustanee." "Really I do not, I am only in possession of Latin, and even"—"Bah! My wife reads Tacitus at sight. We must exhibit you as a great traveller: you have surely made a short excursion to the source of the Nile or to Tombuctoo?" "Alas, no; my travels are limited to Italy and Belgium." "Why not say to Brie and Beauce? Ah, young man! we'll have some trouble to make you an object of interest.—Let us look farther. You practise your father's art; you paint well; *Mme. de Pontailly* has an album." "Never touched a brush in my life." "I am now at my wit's end: can you magnetize? This foolery would be better than all the others: it has not yet penetrated Madame's salon. You shall magnetize *Dornier*, and make him confess that he is a rascal; a point you could never bring him to when awake. Ah, that would be a master-stroke!"

"I regret the want of magnetic power." "Then what in the name of Mercury can you do?" "I have some little knowledge of music: I can sing at a pinch." "*Vous chantez; j'en suis fort aise,*" a nice letter of introduction to a lady who once had a charming

voice, and has not sung a stave these ten years : music is forbidden at her meetings. If you have only this cord to your bow"—"Like all the world, I have perpetrated some verses in my time." "And why did you not confess the enormity an hour ago? Here have I been so long cudgelling my brains to procure a passport, and it in your pocket all the time. Produce the lines. I have sacrificed to the muses in my day ; so it is not to profane eyes your sweet secrets will be exposed. Read a specimen without fear : your verses must be had indeed if they are not better than many that are applauded even in my wife's salon."

Moréal then produced a copy book filled with the neatest writing on both sides of every page (no erasures), and presenting such a specimen of caligraphic excellence as would only suffer by being printed : such amateur performances rarely are. "Fine writing," said the old man : "I am glad to see that you do not agree with those who look on spider-leg scrawls as an index of talent ; and all because Buonaparte took lessons in penmanship from a cat. *Confusion*," he exclaimed, as he examined the different titles : "*Hours of Bitterness*, good ; *Disenchantment*, good, good ; *Days of Sorrow* ! what devils of titles ! These subjects are about as gay as the 'Lamentations of Jeremiah.' *Tears of the Soul* ; Morbleu, I prefer the tears of the vine. *Melancholy à M. de Lamartine*. Give Cæsar his due ; is it not to M. de Lamartine that we owe this vapid beverage of Melancholy ? *To HER*. All right, let us turn to the next : *she* would never forgive me for reading this without leave. *Lost Hopes*. I hand you to some one else. *Hymn to Despair* : ah, I see it is done for a wager," fixing a keen and mocking look on the poet. "You really are unpardonable. Young had lost his daughter, or more correctly his daughter-in-law ; and Dante had witnessed the burial of his Beatrice : but what have you lost, happy young rogue ? The sucking poets of the day are detestable with their *disenchantments* and their *melancholies*. What would you have done in the times of my youth, if you could do nothing but dream, weep, and curse ? *The Roman Festival* ; now we have something lively. I was at the Carnival in 1817, and can judge of its merits."

The piece being selected, Moréal is requested to read it out, his judge settling himself against the back of the fauteuil, one hand under his chin, the other in his waistcoat, and the whole attitude so threateningly attentive that the reading commenced in a very shaky tone. The subject belied the title ; it was a recital of the martyrdom of some Christians under Nero, and the teeth of the wild beasts and the torches of the executioners had enough to do : it was, in fact, a regular "Spasmodic Tragedy." When the poem came to an end, the poet found his judge enjoying a calm slumber, and flung his copy book in rage on the table. This succeeded in awaking his flagging attention.



The ancient critic opened his eyes, sat upright, and cast a derisive look at the Viscount. "Take comfort," said he, "I was not asleep but reflecting. In fact the poets of this era are a strange race: when they are not weeping they are roaring. For instance, see the wasp's nest into which you have brought me with your deceptive title, and what a goose I, that allowed myself to be led by the nose! And you call this a festival! Oh, Pasquin and Marforio, what would you say? A festival! call it rather an *Auto-da-fé*, a feast of Cannibals, a slaughter house. If it is to your taste, it is not to mine. Your festival smells of the abattoir, of burning pitch, of roasting flesh. I prefer the scent of roses or the odor of old Falernian. I give the palm to Albano over Ribera. It is easy to grind up red and black; the combination of sweet and delicate tints, on the contrary, is not within the scope of every pencil.

Are you thinking by chance, of sending these verses to the printer?" "By no means." "Very well. Whatever merit they have, they are verses at all events, and will assure you a reception with Mme. de Pontailly, which neither your birth nor knowledge of the world could procure. Shall I present you to day?" \* \* \*

M. Andre Dornier was sitting by the fire while M. Chevassu with morning gown on, and shaving brush in hand, was laying on a coat of lather before a small looking glass. "Now," said he, "as we are alone, let us speak of the project hinted at in your letter." "Here it is. There are between the 'centre-left' and the 'left,' from twenty-five to thirty deputies discontent with their file-leaders, and wishing for nothing better than to form the nucleus of a new parliamentary faction."—

"Another *third party*. I have thought of it," said M. Chevassu, always willing to lay claim to priority of ideas. "Or rather a *fourth party* seeing that the *third* is extant. It seems to me that it would be a fine debut to seize on this floating mass, to establish yourself chief of an influential coterie; a certain opening to become one day the master of an entire section." "A superb debut: I've been long ripening this project in my mind."

"Among the men spoken of, there is not one, capable of disputing the first place with you: it is now vacant: why not occupy it?" "I will take possession of it: I said so to myself as we drove along." "This is the plan: you will establish a paper." "Hum!" said M. Chevassu, recollecting the hole made in his purse by the *Douay Patriot*. "I see your objections and can remove them. I have not lost my time since my arrival. I have seen, sounded, tried these members: they will give their patronage to the journal: deputies never give more. Two bankers are already engaged as sureties. Our present prospects secure our existence for a year; but as it is expedient that your position should be high in relation to the subscribers, and your influence paramount, it will be needful to invest a respectable sum, say fifty thousand francs." "Fifty-thousand francs!" cried the deputy, turning round so briskly that he cut his chin. "It is a heavy draw I acknowledge, looking on it as mere money, but light when the result is taken into account. Our thirty deputies are at this moment only scattered wheat-stalks; the journal will be

the band binding them into a sheaf; and he who holds the band holds the sheaf." "It was from me you learned this clear and precise logic; but you should have added in order to complete the image, 'who carries the sheaf gathers the grain.'" "Doubtless the object is desirable, but fifty-thousand francs!" "What do you think of Mme. de Pontailly contributing a like sum?" "My sister! a rank Carlist, fifty-thousand francs to establish a patriotic journal!" "What does she care, so that it affords room to the speculations of herself and her literary protégées!" "Ah, the blue stocking! If I incur expense, it is for the perfecting of a scheme long in contemplation. But have you, young man, weighed one difficulty? After all, I am the representative of the 'extreme left,' and consequently of a frank opposition; and if this paper appears, concessions must be made to the discordant opinions of the body you speak of: I must, in fact, lean lightly on the 'centre-left.'" "And what shall prevent you?" "Ought the deputy forget the pledges of the candidate?" "Louis XII. forgot the affronts offered to the Duke of Orleans." "A jest is not an answer. If I depart a line from the path laid down in my electoral address, what will my constituents say?" "If it were only your constituents," said Dornier, with the air of *Tartuffe* when he exclaims, *si ce n'est que le ciel!* "I would soon bring them to reason. It will be merely the affair of a little supplementary act to complete your profession of faith. There is not an elector to be found who can resist this sort of codicil when well seasoned with patriotic spices. Do you fear an imperative order from your electors?" "I would never submit to such slavery," said the deputy with a proud accent.

"Besides, with a consciousness of your powerful faculties, how could you submit to enact a secondary or hum-drum part at the chamber? However great your modesty, you cannot be ignorant of your real value; you must feel instinctively the possession of power." "Dornier, Dornier," said the deputy, waving his razor as majestically as if it were a sceptre. "Yes, I will repeat it even at the risk of displeasing you; your proper sphere is in the administration of authority: thither you tend as to your proper centre. Do not think it a renegation of your principles; it is merely the moral application of the laws of gravitation. A man such as you may traverse the *Côté gauche*, but he cannot rest there; allow me to make a comparison. A political career resembles a jaunt on a rail-road. You start from the station of opposition to arrive at the station of power. At first you put on all your steam, *Pure Left*. Bye and bye, you moderate the speed a trifle, *Dynastic Left*. After a little, a still more moderate speed is assumed, *Left Centre*. Finally as we approach our object, we diminish the motive force, we relax the rate: we are not flying now, we glide easily, gently, *Smorzando*; and we conclude by stopping without shock or concussion at the ministerial benches: there we dismount and take our official seat." "But are you not aware that you are a very Roué?" cried M. Chevassu who had smilingly listened to this parliamentary theory notwithstanding his rigid principles. "I feel myself honored by being your pupil," answered Dornier with a bow full of modesty.

Our legislator has now got on his white cravat, mounting

as high as his ears to give him a dignified air, and his black body-coat buttoned from top to bottom; but he is much annoyed by the entrance of *Prosper*, all muddy and disarranged from an unsuccessful chase after *Justinian*. He takes the liberty of asking his grave father, "whether he has seen the truant," and this does not tend to restore his good temper. He enjoys the idea of the newspaper, as it will ensure him free admission at the theatres in quality of its dramatic feuilletonist, an office he intends to take. However, *M. Chevasse* commences a grave lecture on the subject of the respectability of the family, now reckoning four hundred full years' enjoyment of roturiership, without a single mis-alliance with a noble family (*Prosper* perceiving that one hundred years additional have been laid on since the election); and after specifying several of their ancestors, all respectable and serious men without exception, even himself being modestly quoted, he asks his truant, "what he considers himself to be, to which Graceless replies that he feels all the symptoms of a devilishly wearied citizen, and prepares for a doze on the sofa.

This is too bad: high words follow, and the prodigal is ordered out of his father's august presence. He obeys with great alacrity, and the dignified but really weak father sends *Dornier* after him to prevent some rash escapade, this selfish Mentor wishing for nothing better in the interim than a rupture between child and parent.

While preparing for her visit to her aunt—*Mlle. Henriette* acquaints her papa that she will not take the accomplished *Mr. Dornier* for her life's partner on any account; *Moréal* under the wing of the *Marquis* is preparing for the same visit; *Dornier* is also on the road to the same bourne, and even *Prosper* is about to indulge her with a taste of his quality. So our readers must dispose themselves for a peep into her learned salon.

*Mme. de Pontailly* had been a beauty in her youth, and is still a fine woman. At a certain epoch, she had looked back with regret on the delights and charms of young life, but though the future loomed drear in comparison, she resolved that whatever enjoyments were in store for middle-aged women were not to be despised. So having lost or dismissed her train of admirers, she took to patronize talent and literary excellence of every kind. Accustomed to the turmoil of the fashionable world, she could not endure the neglect into which those women fall who have no substitute for the plea-

asures that pass with youth. Amiable cavaliers were replaced by men of science; gay deceivers, by wits; coxcombs, by pedants. Being now at the mature term of forty-six, she resolved to enjoy the delights arising from mental excitement and occupation, till more advanced years should require another change of scene. She was determined to defer the reign of cards and gossip to the latest possible hour.

However strong her predilection for men of distinction, on one point she was inexorable. Homer with mud on his boots, Dante with a hole at his elbow, or Shakespeare in wooden shoes would find an indifferent reception in her sanctuary, a sanctuary dreaded by uncombed and slovenly artists.

On half a dozen of chairs ranged in a semicircle before the fire, herself occupying a *causeuse* at one side, were seated the same number of celebrities more or less ugly or old. Beginning at the hostess they numbered thus. A Peer of France, a historian whose chief merit consisted in a knowledge of the true pronunciation of Latin and German names; a Russian gentleman despotic in his own country, liberal in Paris; an Italian poet, author of some classic tragedies, washy imitations of Alfieri; a Mexican general as silent as the *Techichi* of his country, but having the merit of being come from afar; last of all a young romancer, a dabbler in the dishevelled literature of the period.

At home, Mme. de Pontailly was accustomed to direct the order of the conversation, as the president of the chamber directs the political discussions in that august hall. She always had the subject settled on before hand, and the company acquiesced accordingly. One day politics were the theme; another, literature flourished; then perhaps the fine arts, succeeded in turn by the exact sciences. Mme. de Pontailly interested herself in all, understood all, spoke on all, but as every one is not similarly gifted, woe to the poet who came on the day devoted to chemistry; and wretched the naturalist who tumbled into the midst of a philological discussion: their tongues were locked for the day.

The order of this day was the comparative merit of the poetry of Lamartine and Victor Hugo; but in spite of her unceasing efforts, the debate did not come up to her wishes: the theme pleased no one. The Peer would have preferred to hold forth on the little parliamentary intrigues of the hour; the Merovingian historian would be better pleased to have some errors respecting *Hlodovigh* put to rights; the Russian had not yet got beyond Voltaire and J. J. Rousseau; the Italian would have freely spoken of his own verses, but those of others interested him little: the Mexican was not ready in French, and the romancer looked on poetry as Reynard on the grapes.

"Ah! how little versatility and expansion among my party!" sighed the poor lady: "Will none of my poets present themselves to day;" and as she spoke her wish was gratified: the door opened and in came the Marquis and Moréal. \* \* \* In the ante-room Mentor had given a few directions to Telemachus. "Have

courage ; you are well looking and have a good voice : you will be settled at the side of the mantel-piece opposite my wife ; that is to be your tribune. Assume a modest but easy attitude ; one hand in your waistcoat, the other hanging gracefully by your side ; cast a glance also now and then at the ceiling : with eyes so expressive as yours this will produce a good effect.

No *Roman Festival* on your life : something agreeable if possible, such as a hymn in honour of the fair sex. Women pardon us for reproaching them in prose, but in verse they must be worshipped on bended knees ; recollect this."

*Madame* had been aware of *Moréal's* rejection by her brother, and had resented it on more than one account ; and though *Dornier* was in favor for his political knowledge, the noble air and handsome countenance of our lover, together with his supposed poetical gifts wrought a powerful effect on the susceptible *Marquise*.

"As you are a poet you can draw us out of our present embarrassment. We were speaking of the two great masters of modern poetry, M. de Lamartine, and M. Victor Hugo. We hesitated to decide between two such great writers ; but you who cultivate their art must have a matured opinion, and your word should possess authority. To which of the bards, Monsieur, do you accord the preference ?"

*Moréal* had been prepared to repeat verses known by rote, and was frightened by this request to improvise on a difficult subject in prose, fearing besides to chance on a decision not agreeable to the lady patroness. He might have known that women in general, prefer Lamartine to Victor Hugo, as in Louis XIV's time, they preferred Racine to Corneille. *Madame* followed the general opinion of her sex, and as her husband had often heard this opinion expressed, he relieved our hero by making in the air a capital L. Guided by this sign, the Viscount commenced his theme with an eloquence that surprised himself. In a parallel enlivened with ingenious touches, he characterised the style of the two illustrious poets ; established the points in which they agreed, and those in which they differed ; gave to each a due tribute of deserved praise ; and after seeming to hesitate a little as to whom the laurel should be given, finally decreed it to the author of *The Meditations*.

"I think it impossible to treat a literary subject with better taste or greater impartiality, said the *Marquise* delighted to find her own opinion established by the formal judgment of the Viscount. This is what I call true criticism. Is it not your opinion also, Messieurs ?"

There was unanimous agreement on the point, though they had already begun to hold the lucky candidate in thorough dislike. (*The expected demand on his own poetical powers is made in due course, and the Marquis cries*) "Come, make room at the tribune," and *Moréal* took the required attitude, and threw up his eyes to the ceiling with an air of reverie, which well became his expressive countenance. "As *Mme. la Marquise* admires the poetry of

Lamartine," said he, after a moment of seeming reflection, perhaps she will show indulgence to some lines which I have dared to place under the invocation of the great poet, unworthy homage without doubt.

"We are all attention," said the Marquise, now radiant with pleasure at seeing her day of poetry, which had like to have died of inanition, take an interesting turn.

*Moréal* recites his mediocre verses, and the Marquise is still more delighted. *Dornier* enters during the recital, and strives to confuse the poet with his scornful and hostile glances, but is unsuccessful.

"Well Monsieur Dornier," said the Marquis, with a caustic smile, "what do you think? Are not these fine verses." "Are they really verses," said Dornier, affecting surprise. "Well what are they if not ? prose?" "I did not say they were prose either." Well they must be one or the other; even *M. Jourdain* himself would allow that." "I am not *M. Jourdain*, so I will not allow it." The Marquise overhearing the dialogue, took up the discourse with an icy tone. "Monsieur, writing some articles in a newspaper does not always qualify to pass true judgment on poetry: one may be deep in poetical economy, and yet not know the language of Racine."

*Dornier* having come off second best, is relieved by the entrance of *M. Chevassu* and *Henriette*. The Roturier reads a lecture to the servant for inflicting a "de" on his name in introducing him; holds an unfriendly conference with his sister on account of her reception of *Moréal*, then enters on confidential matters with *Dornier*; and all the time, the lovers are as happy as circumstances will allow. Are they not in the same room, and at liberty to throw furtive glances on each other at intervals!

The door of the salon was opened, and in the middle of this reunion of persons, careful as to costume, polished in manner, and of guarded language, suddenly appeared a being, brusque and negligent to the last degree, and shewing as much contempt for euphuism as for etiquette.

The student made his way through the crowd. (Those to whom he was unknown wondering at his admission), enchanted at the effect he was producing, as he knew it would enrage his aunt.

He advanced as fast as he could towards her, and as if impelled by nepotic affection, hastened to throw himself into her arms. The Marquise detested these manifestations of tenderness, particularly in public, and everything resembling what Condé speaking of Pichegru, called the tender effusions of the *Corps de Garde*. So she drew back to avoid the inconvenient accolade, but she had to endure the half at least.

"Monsieur," said she to her nephew, darting a look of dignified

anger on him, "it seems that the schools of law and of politeness are not identical. You may kiss a lady's hand if she choose to present it, but these *embrassades*, even between relatives, are in very bad taste?"

"Do not be annoyed, dear aunt," returned Prosper, without being at all affected: "I believe no one kisses a woman's *hand* unless she happens to be old, and you, dear aunt, are so young." "And you so badly brought up," said the Marquise, lowering her voice, "that I blush to be your aunt." "Oh, you blush," said the student, who was about to make some impertinent allusion to the little toilette economies of ladies when they approach fifty, but a supplicant glance from Henriette stopped him. "Will you permit me to dine with you in this modest costume," said he in revenge, drawing her attention to a dress more whimsical than correct. "I shall not press you undoubtedly," said she, assuming her grand air. "Oh, how good you are, my dear aunt! you always anticipate my wishes." So the student, gladdened by his success in vexing his relative, ran off to shake hands with the Marquis.

"Ah, good boy, are you there! incorrigible as usual, I see by my wife's air that you have managed to enrage her. You should not vex her, especially as we are childless." "Alas! it is too late," answered Prosper with affected contrition. Disgraced by my aunt, proscribed by my father; such at this moment is the condition of your unfortunate nephew. If you close your arms, there is nothing left but the grave's repose." "I do not mean to close arms or heart, but still I must give you advice. A little foolery is excusable: too much will set the world against you. What have you done to your father?" "Nothing whatever. I am the very model of a son; it is my father on the contrary who outrages all laws human and divine. Did he not propose to send me to a board-and-lodging house?" "And he was right. In his place I would have done it long ago. Ah! there would be a great difference." "How?" "You are of the ancient regime, and domestic despotism would be only a legitimate application of your principles; but my father! a deputy for the left, to make an attempt on the liberty of a citizen! For after all, am I not a citizen?"

He soon after accosts *Moréal* and reminds him of his wish to meet him next morning at St. Mande. *Moréal* appoints the morning after.

An instant after, *Moréal* negligently approached Dornier who seemed earnestly occupied studying an album in the recess of a window. "Monsieur," said he with a haughty air, "I ask an explanation of the look you thought proper to fix on me when I was reciting my verses." "When I am in the theatre, I am accustomed to look at the actors," replied Dornier, with an air as disdainful as his own. "You are not in a theatre now, nor am I an actor. You may think my poetry detestable if you like, but I forbid you to look insolently at me." "I did not ask your permission, and that's the only answer I choose to give." He cast a look of defiance on the Viscount, and they exchanged a mutual glance of deep but silent hate.

"I see you comprehend. We both desire the same object. One of us is too many." "If you wish for a duel I am at your orders." "To-morrow morning at 8 o'clock, in the wood of Vincennes. You have the choice of arms."

When *Dornier* finds that there is an impending challenge also on *Prosper's* side, he is exceedingly chagrined that his own turn is to be first. *Prosper*, however is determined to have the priority which shame prevents *Dornier* from permitting, but the student concocts a plan to disappoint him; after their dinner at a restaurant's, they come out on the boulevards to refresh themselves with the spectacle of an *emeute*, an occurrence which took place every evening.

At the end of 1834, the *emeutes* had wofully degenerated. Civil war was reduced to the proportions of a *charivari*; the cane of the police agents had replaced the musket. A popular commotion was now only a lively scene played by some young *proletaires* (always friendly to a little disturbance), and witnessed by a number of idlers equally ready to patronise a gratuitous exhibition.

This was the usual programme. Early in the evening two detachments of Municipal Guards on foot, established themselves at *Porte St. Denis* and *Porte St. Martin*, each flanked by a squad of *Sergents de Ville*, and some auxiliaries out of uniform but easily known by their blue great coats, their disobliging looks, and stout canes. Some mounted patrols of the Municipal Guard kept moving from one post to the other, surveying the groups of stragglers as shepherd dogs look after their flocks; with this difference that the armed guardians fell on their sheep with the flats of their swords at the first alert. The crowds became by degrees more compact, troops of young citizens in blouses arrived from the boulevards, the city, and the faubourgs: they jostle and crush, they whistle, they shout, they chaunt patriotic songs; the festival commences in earnest.

At times the patrol quitting their sauntering pace, charged the crowds at a brisk trot, and swept the boulevards, as a lively breeze in Autumn scatters the dead leaves. At other times the men with the forbidding visages rushed on the next group to them, brandishing their canes in an artist like manner, seized at hazard some individuals suspected of having whistled, and like hungry spiders, dragged these foolish blue-bottles into a cavern in the interior of *Porte St. Denis*. At 11 o'clock, the Municipal Guards sought their guard rooms, the spies their dens, thirty poor devils, the least culpable of the whole lot were conducted to prison, and all was over.

Next evening the entertainments were repeated.

*Prosper's* plan being to get *Dornier* into the hands of the men with the canes for a day or so, till his own meeting with *Moréal* was over, got him into a troublesome crowd much against his will, and acted the republican so naturally that their party was charged by the blue coat boys, and *Dornier*,



being helped by his friend to a fall (accidentally, of course) was in their hands in a moment. Now was our student in raptures; but stumbling at the corner of the Rue St. Denis on a sergent de ville to whom he had demonstrated the strength of his arm on a late occasion, he was overpowered by force of odds, and obliged to rejoin his betrayed friend in the cavern.

It is needless to say that *Moréal* and his friend the *Marquis* had their trouble gratis next morning at the wood of Vincennes.

*M. de Chevassu* is not a little embarrassed by the unaccountable absence of *Dornier*; for he is preparing for his debut in the Chamber, and is puzzled whether he will make his oratorical opening after the thunder-clap fashion of *Mirabeau*, imitate the spirited answer of *Pitt* to *Lord Nugent* (?), or follow *Burke* in his oration for the American exemption from taxes. A sudden inspiration seizes him; some sugar manufacturers have entrusted him a petition, and, on the simple ground of the beet-root, he would execute such flowery lace-work as would delight and charm the Legislative Assembly.

According to him, the sugar question presented two faces, interior and exterior. Interiorly, it was connected with all the grievances of the opposition, the forgetting of the promises of 1830, the non-performance of the programme of the Hotel de Ville, the tendency towards retrograde notions, the corruption of officers in power, the falsification of the electoral lists, the hatred of every species of reform. Exteriorly, the eloquent tribune took a wider field. With the calm strength of an eagle who balances himself with ease above the highest mountain peaks, he descanted on the most arduous questions of the moment, Eastern, Spanish, Belgian, Algerian. In this birds-eye prospect, oh, what variety of episodes, what unexpected transitions, what luxury of metaphor, what boldness of the figure *Prosopopeia*! Biting sketch of the abject position of the cabinet in the face of Europe, defiance to *la perfide Albion*, protest in favor of Polish nationality, lamentations over negro slavery, philosophical dissertation on the decay of Turkey, prophetic tableau of the mighty duel between England and Russia, marching against each other from opposite points of Asia; sad return to the pitiable position of France, obliged to witness, without sharing in this magnificent spectacle,\* patriotic homage to the tomb at St. Helena; and all in reference to beet root. In conclusion, the orator returning to his legume, pathetically established; that if they added to the tariff of native sugar, so much as a centime per kilogramme, they might as well pitch France at once into the abyss.

While he wishes for the return of *Dornier* and wonders at

\* What a curious commentary recent events furnish to the prophecy of *M. Chevassu* uttered in 1834!—ED. I. Q. R.

his absence, his brother-in-law enters with the intent of advancing *Moréal's* suit, and doing *Dornier* all the mischief he can by relating his failure to appear on the ground. He effects no good, and they separate in a very ill humor with each other. *Moréal* pays a visit to *Mme. de Pontailly* in the evening, and is employed inspecting an album in company with *Henriette*, when the devil takes that opportunity of reminding the aunt that it is not so long ago that she possessed charms superior to those of her niece, that she still retains enough of mature personal beauty, with superior mental endowments to enhance them; that it would be delicious to breathe the atmosphere of mutual affection again, that it would be a pity to chain down the talented, handsome viscount to the mindless young chit beside him, that it was shameful on her part to be so engrossed by him for such a length as they have been sitting together, &c. So she approaches and requests her niece to give orders for serving the tea, orders very reluctantly obeyed.

"Do you find in this album any design worthy of your attention?" said she to *Moréal* in a tone half tender half resentful. "Everything is charming, madame, particularly this landscape." "Landscape! do you not see that it is a sea view?" "Oh, doubtless," answered the embarrassed lover: "that is what I meant to say, a marine landscape." "But where is the land portion? it is only two ships on the open sea." "In the open sea, as you properly remark, madam, I gave to the word 'landscape' too extensive a signification."

Now Juno gets at her old trick of borrowing *Venus's* Cestus, and indulges *Moréal* with half an hour of her conversation with which he could have well dispensed. She is by this time determined to allow no *tete-a-tetes* while *Henriette* is under her protection: it would be *contra bonos mores*, and be acting disloyally towards her brother: and when her husband endeavours to win her over to the wishes of the young people, he finds her ears closed, and her feelings far from friendly. The only concession she makes is permission to *Moréal* to come and plead his cause in person. The husband thinks that he would not have been flattered by getting such a commission ten years ago, makes no remark, but keeps up his niece's spirits as well as he can. Poor *M. Chevassu* is now feeling the loss of *Dornier*. In a conference with the members of his section of the house, he has taken the airs of a chief on himself all at once, and disgusted or prejudiced every one of them, no silver tongued, *Dornier* being there.

to make things agreeable. Of course he attributes it to his evident innate greatness which little spirits like theirs could only look on with envy. In a visit paid to his sister he announces to his daughter that he will not insist on her marriage with *Dornier*, and while she is overcome with joy, the *Marquis* enters, and gives her a commission to arrange some things in his library.

"Well Monsieur the Deputy," said he, as she left the room, "where are we now? are we upturning the ministry? are we declaring war against all Europe? are we effecting electoral reform?" "Too many questions at once," said the deputy not at all sensible of the irony. "But this I say, that if the ministry is not put out by the address, it will be left in a hopeless condition. For my own part as soon as I have established my position in the chamber, I will trouble Messieurs the ministers with a few propositions of which they will be forced to make cabinet questions. We shall see how they will get out of the difficulty." "Ah, truly, a cabinet question! now I am going to propose to you a cabinet question; we shall see if it is worth yours, and how your paternity will draw you out of it. Where is Prosper?" "Prosper," said the deputy as if awaking from a sleep: "it is two days since I have seen him." "But you know at least where he is?" "At his lodgings I suppose." "But you are not sure?" "I have been so encumbered with affairs since my arrival" — "That you have not had time to look after your son; it would be too vulgar a concern, *monbleu*, for a great citizen of your rank. If it was but to emancipate negroes, to protect intriguants, to harangue imbeciles, oh, how zealous you would be! listen to this letter just received from Prosper."

He reads *Prosper's* letter in which *Dornier* is thoroughly acquitted of pusillanimity, and *M. Chevassu* sees no reason why he should not keep his word to his protégée, and in this resolve he is fostered by his sister for her own selfish motives. *Noréal* on being apprised of the turn things have taken, hastens to *Mme. de Pontailly* to obtain her powerful succour, and a long and tangled conference follows, where he is foiled at every attempt, by some excuse on her part, or reference to his poetry, or the necessity of a poet having a real living muse worthy of his verses, by her genius and accomplishments, and better than all, appreciation of his talents. We have only room for one or two of the points of view in which she set the picture of his future if it turned out to his wishes. In the general application there is not a little truth.

"When the present illusion vanishes, what will remain of your divinity of to-day? a mere frivolous, vulgar, insignificant woman, occupied with trivial interests, and incapable of any correspondence with

your intelligence. What will happen? You will seek abroad that illusion which you cannot find at home. Poor Henriette will then be unhappy, and I never will forgive you for being the cause of her wretchedness." "Madame I swear to you"—"What will be your own fate? believe me it will be a sad one: it is a heavy chain which ties us to an inferior being. How renounce these outpourings of heart and spirit, impossible except between two equal and sympathetic souls? Do you feel the weight of the misfortune comprised in the two words, 'not appreciated, not understood'? Poets above all are liable to these bitter deceptions when they marry, Moliere and Lord Byron, for instance." "But Madam, I am not Moliere nor Byron." "You are a poet, that is enough. If I had any skill, I would not say to you, 'Macbeth, you shall be King;' but literature has its crowns, and I would point out one of these for your meed. At your time of life you should not peril its great end and aim by exaggerating the importance of your present feelings. What reality is there in them after all? the passing admiration which every pretty woman inspires, the irritation of self-love developed by rivalry, the eagerness of pursuit rendered more eager by obstacles, the wish to drive Dornier from the field, influence your perseverance more than you think. Ah, how much less charming would my niece appear to you, if her hand was to be obtained without difficulty! I love Henriette very much, but she is not the intelligent or sensitive woman, capable of comprehending your loftiest thoughts, as well as of sympathising with your most fugitive emotions; one in fact worthy to inspire your efforts and, perhaps, share them. You have doubtlessly dreamed of such a woman; why should you not find her? She is in existence, doubt it not, but she must be sought and devined."

No doubt now remained on *Moréal's* mind of the elderly lady's intention. He was afraid of openly rejecting the happiness she intended to confer on him, and unwilling to act the dullard by not seeming to comprehend her meaning; and so he appeared to be struck with the justice of her views, and assuming an air of reverie and indecision,

"I will not deny, Madame," said he, after a moment's pause, "that you possess in a rare degree the secret of heart-reading. You have just decomposed a sentiment which has hitherto appeared to me very simple, with a certainty of analysis which fills me with surprise, I might say dismay. I am obliged to confess that in that obstinate pursuit which you so justly blame, there enters not a little of antipathy to Dornier, and resentment to your brother."

"Can there be any doubt of it whatever?" answered Mme. de Pontailly, whose countenance was now radiant. "The ancients recognised only four elements, while modern science already reckons up fifty-six (This was in 1834). Are the passions more difficult of analysis than material substances? by no means; but the exact analysis of these passions is the object of a science yet to be created, and which may be named Moral Chemistry. Fourier seems to have foreseen it in his ingenious sketches of the *Cabalist* and the *Butterfly*."

Carried away by the second nature of a *Femme Savante*, the Marquise was about to introduce a dissertation fitted to exhibit the extent of her knowledge, but she perceived in time that a scientific display would be out of place where a sweeter subject should be the order of the day.

So they separate, with a conviction on her part that *Moréal's* heart is in a very satisfactory state of transition. In an interview with *Henriette*, he convinces her against her will, of the ill feeling of her aunt, and is rash enough to propose an elopement, a proceeding in still worse odor on the continent than with us. The lady, though deprived of her mother at an early age, and rather neglected by her political father, has strong religious principles, and will not take the rash step. In an ensuing interview the *Marquis* strictly forbids any hostile rencontre between *Moréal* and the others. *Prosper* readily complies, and *Dornier* and *Moréal* do so for fear of the uncle's resentment. When *Dornier* leaves the room the uncle takes notice that *Prosper's* zeal for his friend seems several degrees cooler than usual.

"Ah, I believed him to be gold, and find him to be only lead or at best, inferior copper: listen to my grievance, and you shall hear the cause. Though a prisoner, I did not chose to renounce my rights as a citizen. At the police-station we discussed politics, and in a very superior style. There was among others a well dressed, fat man, convicted, I believe, of issuing base coin, who held forth in a wonderful manner: you would have thought him a member of the Constituent Assembly. I held an interesting conversation with him." "With a coiner," said the Marquis. "Parbleu, except *Dornier* and myself, he was the best informed man at the dépôt. So we talked—politics be it understood—and a very important question was raised, and a circle of interested hearers gathered round. My man was a republican; I flatter myself as being another; and setting to work, we demolished bit by bit the bastard system by which we are governed. We obtained a merited success; I will say for myself that I had moments of vigor and inspiration of which my father might well be jealous.

"So far all was as it should be. Finding myself some minutes later behind *Dornier* who was conversing with a hypocritical looking fellow; 'This young man,' said he, 'who held forth so well, seems a friend of yours: is it not so? You have been arrested together, and your opinions are the same.' 'My friend!' said *Dornier*, 'I scarcely know him, and am far from sharing his exaggerated notions,' and that was the reply of the patriotic *Dornier*."

"Perhaps he feared a spy in his questioner," said *Moréal*. "That is the excuse he afterwards made to me. If you could believe him, the coiner, that eloquent tribune was only a *mouchard* in disguise, what they call in their argot, a *sheep* employed to set

the prisoners a talking." "Very possibly it was so," said the Marquis.

As *Prosper's* quarrel with *Moréal* merely arose out of his friendship for *Dornier*, he now lavishes his favor on the accepted lover, and so pleases the uncle that he offers him his favorite horse, *Leporello*, which *Prosper* insists on calling *Tribonien* on legal grounds. He also offers a cabriolet, which is refused as looking too like a bribe, but he condescends to accept a present of a tilbury.

*Chevassu Pere* having recovered his useful instrument, is now in a good way to repair the little breaches made between himself and colleagues. The principals are assembled with him at a political tea; and grave discussions as to the best means of arranging and directing their tactics are going on, when *Prosper* takes the assembly by storm. He had not shaved since his incarceration, and his uncle's *Johannisberg* had made his cheeks a lively red: his sparkling eyes in addition would have recommended the ensemble to the painter of a Bacchanal, but the whole thing was unsuited to the gravity of the present conclave.

"In recognising his son the Deputy of the North contracted his heavy brows, while his colleagues curiously scanned the unparliamentary appearance of the new comer. "Messieurs, I beg to present my son," said at last M. Chevassu. "Fresh from the cachots of the present order of things," added *Prosper*. "Ah, this is the roysterer who was arrested in the émeute of Wednesday," said a deputy to his neighbour, "he has the air of a genuine sacrilant."

Without letting himself be disturbed by the angry looks of his father, he advanced to the table, secured a cup of tea and a muffin, and took his place in the middle of the astonished members who were conversing near the fire-place. "Messeurs," said he, "I am honored by finding myself in your company, especially as I have a petition to confide to your care for presentation." "*Prosper*," said his father, "think to whom you are speaking." "As we are in your house, father, they can be nothing but honorable citizens, enemies of arbitrary rule, and defenders of the rights of all." "You wish to present a petition," said a man with a truculent expression, "and for what purpose?" "To draw attention to illegal detentions: victim in my own person to that abuse, I desire to fasten the bell on the neck of ministerial despotism." "What have you to complain of? You made a disturbance on the Boulevard, and you were arrested; nothing juster; you might have remained at home." "Nothing juster!" cried *Prosper*, his cheeks assuming a redder tinge, "then I suppose it is forbidden to take a walk on the Boulevards after dinner for health's sake. I must also suppose that a band of assassins have leave

to knock on the head, an honest citizen to whom walking is prescribed by his physician." "He is mad," said one of the deputies to another in a low tone. "And Brutus was treated like a madman," said the student with an air of contempt. "Be silent, Prosper. Messieurs, I request your indulgence; a little vivacity is excusable in a young man who feels himself a victim of an arbitrary act." "No excuses, father: after all, the chamber of deputies is only a small fraction of the country; and if its members slumber in a culpable apathy, there are patriotic hearts outside its walls who watch." Now arose murmurs. "This is becoming scandalous." "An insult to the chamber." "Such a diatribe is intolerable." "Prosper, Prosper," said his father, feeling himself on burning coals. All this time Prosper was composedly sipping his tea, and looking with pity on the men of straitened intelligence round him. "Messieurs," then said he with a tone of persiflage, "I demand to be heard in opposition to the call to order; agreeably to the usages of the house it cannot be refused."

This parody redoubled the discontent of the members of the chamber. "I thought we were invited here to discuss grave interests, and not to listen to the pasquinades of a scholar." "I am no more a scholar than you a master. . . . I am conscious of the fault of being young; it is unpardonable; but the day will come, when the new generation will be let free from leading strings. Yes, that day will come," said he enthusiastically: "I attest the memory of the men of '93' and the glorious souvenirs of the republic."

A covey of partridges surprised by the report of a gun could not be more terrified than our grave councillors when they heard that dreadful projectile the republic, whistle at their ears. Those who were standing, looked for their hats, the sitters arose, and all were making for the door in a moment. "Catch me taking tea here again." "To make us assist at the Apotheosis of Robespierre!" "A regular snare." While the poor father was striving to undo the mischief, he was thus addressed by the rough member. "Monsieur Chevassu, when a man aspires to be a political leader, he should let it be seen that he is master in his own family. I make no pretension to direct my colleagues; but let me see one of my four sons dare to open his mouth before me without leave! My receipt is at your service; I will not say as much for my credit at the chamber."

Omitting the little amenities of conversation that occurred between *M. Chevassu* and his marplot son, we pass to the agreeable information given to the elder gentleman by *Dornier* concerning *Moreál's* ready access to the *Hotel Pontailly*. He hurries to his sister, and despite his awe of that learned lady, he modestly insists on withdrawing his daughter from her charge. Contrary to his expectations she yields with the best grace, and *Henriette* is conveyed at once to a boarding school on the border of the city. The good-natured uncle is in a fury, when on his return he finds that his niece has

been carried off, and reads a lecture to his scientific and sentimental lady which Balzac himself might have studied with profit. She is aghast at finding her secret turnings, and doublings, and weaknesses, all nearly as evident to her husband as to her own self consciousness; but nothing is gained. He will not ask her directly for the address of the *Pension*, and returns to *Prosper* and *Moréal* to "make them uneasy."

He then starts *Moréal* on the trail, hinting that if his lover's instinct does not direct him, he is not worthy of success. Our hero enters a jeweller's shop, gets a small commission executed, and presents himself to the tender but obdurate aunt of his lady love. A sentimental dialogue ensues, and *Madame* is enraptured to see the change for the better in the fickle lover. He is striving with seeming remorse to reconcile past and present appearances, and looks with a sigh on a double ring on his finger, having unconsciously removed his glove a few seconds before. The lady's attention being drawn to the same white hand, she lays hold on the fingers to tell his fortune, and slides off the ring as her fee. He feebly resists, but she succeeds in opening it, and finding *Toujours* on the inside of one-half, and an *P.* and a *H.* interlaced meeting that word on the same portion of the other. She makes some very moral remarks on the impropriety of his having obliged her niece to give him a keepsake of the kind; he depends himself and his forsaken lady in a very ineffective fashion; *Minerva* will not restore the ring, and brings the conference to a close.

The faithless swain hires a cabriolet, and waits perdue till he sees *Madame's* chariot coming out through the *porte cochère*, and then tells *Automedon* to keep it in sight, as he values his head or the expected bribe.

The virtuous aunt enters the gates of the *pension* in due time and place, and the lover hires at once a little house which fortunately overlooks the recreation ground. He soon sees aunt and niece coming towards a seat in the shade, but is too far to catch any part of the conversation.

The elderly lady exacts the pitying relative, reproaches the inconstancy of mankind, recommends the younger to forget her fickle admirer, and finally presenting the ring, asks if she recognises it. *Henriette* looks at the ornament with simple wonder, and denies all knowledge of it; her justly offended aunt requests her to open it, which she does, and then breaks out into raptures on seeing the interlaced initials and motto.



The surprised aunt is thunderstruck and asks her if that ring had not been given by her to *Moréal*: she very naïvely answers that she had never given him anything but her heart, which she hoped he was no way desirous of returning to her; and thanks her earnestly for the kind part she had acted in bringing her that proof of her lover's constancy. *Mme. de Pontailly* bursts into a fury on finding herself made a tool and laughing-stock, and insists on the ring being returned: she even seizes on *Henriette's* hand to dispoil it of its newly acquired treasure, but for neither wile nor force will she return it. Further, she is strengthened in her joy and resolution by a momentary apparition of *Moréal* at the window of the hired house.

*Henriette* is then removed to the neighbourhood of St. Denis, and *Dornier* having bribed the coachman, is carrying her off to a convenient house in the forest to submit her to a forced marriage; but the honest whip has previously turned traitor, and given a clue to *Prosper* and the uncle. Master *Dornier* gets a cut of a lash across his cheek, and is obliged to decamp, and comfort himself with the £5000 got from the *Serious Man* and the susceptible *Madame de Pontailly* to establish the newspaper. *Henriette* goes for refuge to another *Pension*, where she is looked after by her uncle, till her father, first properly terrified by the notion of her being carried off by *Dornier* or having eloped with *Moréal*, is well pleased to give her hand to that obnoxious nobleman. So, contrary to the general plan of French stories, we end with a marriage likely to prove happy.

On looking through the work, we find many other passages replete with pungent wit, and distinguished by vigorous handling, which we would gladly present to our readers if space allowed. Novel readers too lazy to keep up their knowledge of French, may consult three series of stories translated under the eye of Mrs. Gore, several years since, the greater number being from the pen of our author. Some of them are of a disagreeable character; but it is probable that in these he was influenced more by the prevalent taste than by his own inclination. He is thoroughly master of the expression of deep passion, without falling into the ferocity of Soulié or Sue. He draws the female portrait with truth, as well as a male critic can judge, but he never, like Balzac or Gulliver, delights to look on false locks taken off the bald scalp, or inspect soiled

stockings. The plots of his tales are carefully constructed, and he never lets a suspicion of the improbable come near his reader. There are no extravagances *a la Monte Cristo*, nor protracted surgical operations, mental or physical, nor diabolical tortures, as with Sue. Taking the general character of the fictions of his day into account, we are more disposed to feel grateful for the healthy, vigorously told tales he has left, than to find fault with the few that offend good taste and Christian morality.

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### ART. III.—CHARLES MACKAY AND THOMAS IRWIN.

1. *The Lump of Gold, and other Poems.* By Charles Mackay. London : G. Routledge and Co., Farringdon-st. 1856.
2. *Versicles.* By Thomas Irwin. "Celtic Union." Dublin : W. M. Hennessy, Crow-st. 1856.

GOOD TASTE and SOUND JUDGMENT are such qualities of the "rara avis" order among British Poets of the present generation, that, like everything else difficult to be found, we hail their appearance with no ordinary satisfaction ; and, while we treasure them as they deserve, we feel bound to make no secret of their discovery, but to render it as widely known as possible. This is made an imperative obligation upon us for more reasons than one ; but our principal object in endeavouring to extend the knowledge of the beauties of those Poets we have selected for review should be, and is, that readers of poetry may have an opportunity given them of distinguishing what is really beautiful and true, from what is diametrically the reverse, and that those who are about writing poetry may be afforded examples which they would do well to study with a view to imitation. Having partially recovered from the horror experienced on receiving the information that Bailey's "Mystic" has actually appeared in a second edition, we feel, if possible, a stronger determination to continue in raising our humble voice in solemn warning to, we fear, that considerable class who are induced to read with seeming pleasure such works as those of Bailey, and to assure them that they will, sooner or

later, have reason to regret the infatuation under which they laboured when they cultivated such acquaintances. Abstracting altogether from the numerous deficiencies and positive vices of the most remarkable of our Poets, they having formed themes for our previous dissertations, we come to the consideration of a question deserving of some reflection; and we fearlessly put it to the good sense of our readers, whether any respectable amount of matter, manifesting dignity in subject, wide creative power, and expressive strength, at all worthy of being placed side by side with the classic monuments which belong to the English language, has appeared in these countries within these last few years? Such platforms as have been generally selected whereon to base the structures which were, we suppose, intended to,

“Raise their proud heads, and mount into the skies,”

would account in themselves for the rickety nature of the buildings, and prepare the most unpractised eye for beholding their speedy demolition. It would be worse than folly to suppose that subjects devoid of interest in themselves, and incapable, from their unenviable peculiarity of admitting in their treatment the inoculation or engraftment of anything containing the germ of permanent interest and excellence, could possibly enable even great intellects to acquire enduring fame while employed in their development. If former Poets had unfortunately exhausted every congenial idea, had gleaned every grain in the poetical harvest fields, had collected every waif which lay scattered on the Ocean of Imagination, we might then forgive the necessitated wanderings of our men of genius, though we could not avoid deploring the circumstances that occasioned them; but such is not the case, as every reflective mind must obviously conclude. The earth is as beautiful to-day as it was in the days of Homer; as full of everything to charm the eye and delight the soul as it was centuries ago, and the legions of Poets who have sung its praise in all its regions have been merely what Newton described himself, “like to those who gather shells on the sea shore,” where generations of the human race yet to exist may come and gather more, and still leave myriads to be collected by those who will people the earth when they are gone. It would have been like an imputation upon the power of God to suppose that such a sublime creation of his as this our

earth, with all the glorious properties it contains, both animate and inanimate, could cease to have any new attraction worthy of the Poet's pen after the lapse of a few centuries, and that we must fain have recourse to the analytic dissection of the most worthless attributes of the human mind if we desire fitting subjects for our inspiration. We trust such notions are not indicative of the gradual degeneracy of Man; they are certainly not of that character from which reasonable hopefulness in the progress of humanity are to be derived.

In the last number of *THE IRISH QUARTERLY* we have commented at some length, and, we believe, with no sparing hand, upon the alarming errors which our most eminent Poets have lately exhibited; and it is with the most sincere pleasure we now find ourselves possessed of an opportunity, in embracing which we may be enabled to demonstrate that there are yet men, both here and in the sister country, who have not abandoned the bright path in which all our bards have trod who have left names behind them; who have not, as yet, bartered for the senseless theories of the Spirit Rapper, the noble enthusiasm and sublime reflection of the Poet. Charles Mackay, long known to the literary world as the author of various poems of considerable merit, such as "Egeria," "Legends of the Isles," "The Salamandrine," &c. &c., has some time since presented us with a new work, namely, "The Lump of Gold and other Poems:" we have selected it for present notice, and we trust that our readers will have no reason to regret our choice; for though there is nothing very dazzling or wonderful in its pages, they contain far more than a sufficiency of desirable matter to render them an agreeable treat to every reader in the three kingdoms. Charles Mackay is a graceful Poet; without possessing an imagination of the highest order, he still commands enough to enable him to furnish his tales with no inconsiderable amount of interest; he has a good ear for musical cadences, almost invariably employs appropriate metres, and his diction is flexible and copious. But his most prominent and most admirable quality is his manly vigor; it is this which gives life to everything he writes; which leavens all his poetry with its animating properties, and stamps upon it the impress of originality.

It seems to us a matter to be regretted that Mackay has not written more on the late war; he is just the poet fit to

continue what Dibdin and Campbell commenced; he is as patriotic as either, almost as pithy and as spirited, and he manifests a close resemblance to them in that happy power of calling up before the mind vividly, our dearest associations, and our most treasured remembrances of glory; reminding us by stirring allusion, brief, but luminous, and suggestive, of the heroism of our ancestors, and the greatness of their exploits. It is indeed surprising that an author of such vigorous lyric power in the construction of war ballads, would not feel impelled by an irresistible impulse to follow that course which Nature seems to have worked out for him; but whether he intends to devote himself to the creation of a collection of war songs, or not, we deem it right to assure him that it is our humble opinion, that there is no living poet at present in these countries more suited than he is for undertaking such a task. Mackay is generally fresh and pleasant, whatever be his theme; he is neither ponderous, sanctimonious, nor mystical, and the light of a clear intellect shines upon his pages with a steady lustre. Occasionally the pinions of his Muse come too near the earth, and get somewhat soiled by the unhallowed contact with our lowly sphere. Of this carelessness our author must beware; he must hold in mind, that we are, after all, but poor weak mortals, and that a tendency to closed eyelids, and temporary oblivion as to the actual state of external objects, is often unfortunately one of those traits by which we are characterized. Lavish ornament is the fault of some, poverty of diction is now and then the great mistake of Mackay. But it is not alone in his language that this is apparent; the matter sometimes is tame and prosaic, and wears the appearance of dullness. Like an old woman's tale, there is that introduced for which no adequate reason is apparent, and the reader is annoyed by being obliged to tread the avenues of circumlocution, which though easily distinguishable, are at times more disagreeable than wandering through a Cretan labyrinth. These latter commentaries may not belong to those of an agreeable order, but as we make it a rule to express our candid opinion on all literary matters, their insertion is unavoidable, and we shall now cheerfully proceed to a more pleasing task, which is to illustrate the poetical attributes of Mackay by some selected passages.

"The Lump of Gold," is a tale for which we must feel our-

selves indebted to the rather unpoetical mania which seized the people of these countries some years since. A young man who has married for love, hearing like those around him of the golden harvests which were to be reaped in Transatlantic realms, becomes suddenly fascinated with the idea of seeking his fortune among the mines of Australia, and is buoyed up with the hope of returning at no distant day, a millionaire, to lay at the feet of his beloved, the wreath which is to place her on a level with an Empress. In the prosecution of his undertaking he sails to Australia in company with a friend, in whom he places the most faithful reliance. Arrived upon the arena where their energies are to have full scope, the friends separate, each to follow out the same object. One auspicious morning our hero discovers a small speck of gold barely visible above the earth; he digs round it, and to his unbounded joy, it assumes a size not less than the body of a human being. His delight, however, is quickly replaced by a feeling of an opposite nature; he finds all his efforts to raise it unavailing, and he becomes fearful lest some other eye may behold the treasure, whose existence he would preserve an inviolable secret. As he stands gazing upon his idol, in a mingled state of delight and terror, trembling at each leaf that stirs, and every bird that chirrup, imagining them to proclaim the advent of a human presence, the sounds of mocking laughter smite his ears, and almost paralyze his frame. He looks round, and lo! standing before him he beholds the form of the friend who had accompanied him from England, and sees the triumphant smile with which he proclaims the knowledge, of which the other so bitterly envied him the possession. His friend asks him to share the gold, which caps the climax of his rage, and taking up his mallet, he fells his fellow traveller to the earth, and leaves him there senseless and bleeding. Repentance comes too late, he is haunted with a perpetual vision of a murdered man, and in his agony flies the country, and returns to England. Even there the form follows him, and he finds no rest. In his wanderings one Sabbath day, he enters a church, while the clergyman is preaching, whom he recognizes as his father-in-law, and near him beholds his beloved wife. The remembrance of his former happiness overpowers him, he roams away into the forests to hide his grief, and entering the habitation of one of the neighbours in the evening, in a state verging on madness, a

clue to his identity is obtained in his continual calls for "Parson Vale." The story soon concludes; he relates the tale to his wife, learns that his friend, of whom he had considered himself the murderer, is alive, well, and living in England, and scarcely has the joyful fact been communicated to him, when the man himself makes his appearance, who, when they have cordially joined hands, announces to the hero, that with his permission he will be enabled to bring over the gold from Australia, when it can be divided between them.

A soliloquy of the spirit-haunted wretch in the streets of London, and at midnight, forms the commencement of the Poem; he is then represented as wandering along, agonized and despairing, so much so that even the miserable outcasts that stalk the streets in that dreary hour, find matter for observation in the unexampled evidences of grief which are marked upon his features.

Under the doorways,  
Screened from the weather,  
Desolate women stood  
Crouching together;  
They, as he passed them,  
Wondered, and gazed;—  
Said one to the other,  
"He raves, he is crazed!—  
Something has troubled him,—  
Hark how he moans!  
But why should we pity him  
Here on the stones?  
And yet who can help it?  
Do you—if you can;—  
I'd trample on Sorrow  
If I were a man.  
Men have no misery  
Equal to ours!"  
He saw not—he heard not—  
Poor way-trodden flowers,  
Your pity escaped him!  
His world was within,—  
A world—or a chaos—  
Of anguish and sin.  
The rain and the tempest  
Were cool to his cheek,  
Balm to his throbbing brow,—  
Hark! did he speak?  
"Madness broods over me!  
Kind-hearted Death—  
Canst thou not shelter me?  
Vain is my breath!  
Take it and welcome—  
And low let me lie;  
Low in the quiet grave;  
Deep in the doleful wave;

Wearied of living,  
Unworthy to die."

Down came the drenching rain,  
Bubbling and swelling—  
Fierce blew the gusty wind,  
Roaring and yelling.  
The senate was silent,  
Its orators fled,  
The ball-room was empty,  
Its roses were dead.  
Listless or half awake  
Through the dull town,  
Fashion rode homewards  
In ermine and down;—  
Fashion and Beauty  
All jaded and wan;  
Fast through the tempest  
The steeds gallop'd on.  
Fire from their clanging hoofs  
Heavily shod  
'Mid the black rain pools  
Flashed where they trod.  
Indolent Fashion,  
Wearied and warm,  
Saw from its chariot  
That desolate form,  
Beating its rapid way  
Deaf to the storm:  
"Mad!" said the Countess,  
"Of drink!" said the Earl;—  
"Or love!" said his daughter fair—  
Twisting her flaxen hair  
Back into curl.

Onwards he travels through the murky night; the morning comes, and with it his memory of happier days; back flows the tide of his recollection.

Back to his moonlights,  
His yearnings and sighs,  
When the best heaven he sought  
Lay in a maiden's thought,  
Or her blue eyes ;  
Back to the darkness  
Clouding his morn ;

Darkness and discord,  
And longings forlorn,  
Errors and frailties  
And sufferings keen,  
With flashes of gladness  
And glory between.

Here is a picture of his bride, simple, touching, and brimful of nature.

Sweet Lillian Vale ! if some denied  
The splendours of her face,  
Not one denied her perfect charm  
Of gentleness and grace.  
No dazzling beauty fired her eyes,  
But on her brow serene,  
Enthroned upon that ivory seat,  
Sat Goodness like a queen.

The quiet ripple of her smile  
Revealed the peaceful mind,

The mellow moonlight of her eyes  
Her sympathies refined ;  
And when she spoke, the audible charm  
Was Beauty for the blind.  
Her gentle heart was wooed and won,  
But he whose name she bore,  
Adventurous for the sake of wealth  
Had sought the Australian shore ;  
And delved the mines of Ballarat  
For undiscovered ore.

The attention of the congregation to the words of their pastor, on the day when the unhappy wanderer makes his appearance amongst them is narrated to perfection.

The stormy-storm rivet of breath was  
hushed,—  
Like the ripple of a brook,  
When the sudden frost comes flashing down  
And fixes it with a look :—  
So fast the silence as he spoke,  
You might have heard the grass  
Buckle and wave to the fiftful winds,  
And the bee, in haste to pass,  
Sounding a tramp like a martial call  
On a chorus of brass.

You might have heard the sparrow cheep  
Mid the yew-berries juicy red,  
And the long rank nettles singing a dirge  
Over the nameless dead,  
Where they lay as calmly as the 'squire  
With the 'soutcheous o'er his head—  
Calmly, calmly, pauper and 'squire,  
Each in his narrow bed !

What would not Teniers, or Wilkie give for a peep at the following scene ?

Twos Monday morn at Micklethorpe,  
And all its little world  
Was up and stirring—out or in,  
The mill resumed its click and din,  
And the mill-wheel spun and swirl'd,  
And the mill-streams danced in the morning  
light,  
And all its eddies swirl'd.

The mealy miller sniffed the breeze,  
And boded pleasant weather ;  
The sturdy blacksmith bared his arms,

And donned his apron leather ;  
While the jangling bells of the waggoner's  
team  
They all kept time together.

The hostler whistled a peaching tune ;  
And the landlord of the " Crown,"  
Ruddy and round, came out to greet  
The coach from the distant town—  
For the railway spared this nook of hills,  
By leagues of park and down.

We will now produce a ballad, which for manly fire, noble independence of feeling, and unity has few superiors of modern date.

"Through great Earl Norman's acres wide,  
A prosperous and a good land,  
I'll take you fifty miles to ride,  
O'er grass and corn, and woodland.  
His age is sixty-nine or near—

And I am scarce twenty-two, man,  
And have but fifty pounds a year—  
Poor John Truman !  
But would I change ? I faith ! not I !  
Oh no, not I, says Truman.



"Earl Norman dwells in halls of state,  
The grandest in the country;  
Has forty cousins at his gate,  
To feed upon his bounty.  
But then he's deaf; the doctor's care—  
While I in whispers woo, man,  
And find my physic in the air—  
Stout John Truman!  
D'y'e think I'd change for thrice his gold?  
Oh no, not I, says Truman!

"Earl Norman boasts a garter'd knee—  
A proof of royal graces;  
I wear, by Nelly wrought for me,  
A silken pair of braces.  
He sports a star upon his breast,  
And I a violet blue, man—  
The gift of her who loves me best—  
Proud John Truman!  
I'd be myself—and not the Earl—  
Oh that would I, says Truman."

Truly, versatility is a marvellous power; it resembles those omnipotent wands wielded by the Genii whom the Arabian Tales have surrounded with such mystic splendour, the magic of whose touch could transform the most uninteresting objects into forms of matchless wonder; like the expiring Dolphin, the number and beauty of its hues dazzle and confound us. Who could even momentarily suppose that the author of "John Truman," could handle the brush that painted thus so delicately.

And so it happened. "Lily," said her lord,  
Ere passed the week, as, leaning on her arm,  
He walked in sunshine through the leafy lanes,  
And caught the odorous breezes on his cheeks—  
"I feel new life; all joys that I had lost  
Have come back greater, fairer than before;  
To thee I owe them, and thy saintly sire.  
When I am stronger, as I soon shall be,  
I'll tell thee all the evil I have done  
Since last I left thee for the golden land;  
And all the good, I hope, full blessed with thee,  
To do hereafter. Courage fails me yet—  
But no, not courage;—only strength;—that comes

Daily and hourly. Meanwhile, the blue sky,  
The wind that wantons 'mid the beechen boughs,  
And sports amid thy hair, dear love, and mine;  
The sunshine, and the wild flow'rs by the way,  
The innocent carol of the heartsome birds,  
Fill me with joy so deep, I dread to tell  
How blest I am, lest telling it should mar,  
And seem to invite the lurking fiends that watch  
To strike the goblet from our thirsty lips,  
And punish happiness that boasts too soon;—  
As if they said—'since happiness can be  
The fault is ours;—out with it from the world!'

Mackay beautifully and ingeniously shews us the real object which Aubrey had in view in his travels to the gold mines; would that all who seek to amass wealth were influenced by notions a tithe as pure.

But Hope went with me; thou wert safe,  
And I thought of a coming day,  
When my Lily should bloom in a lordly bower,  
The Queen of my life's glad May;  
And built high palaces of cloud,  
To gleam in the morning ray.  
Palace and tower of changing form;—

Ever they fell and rose,  
But ever amid their purple halls,  
And corridors of snows,  
I saw the gleam of thy spangled robes,  
And thy feet like twinkling stars;  
And heard thy voice, and saw thy face  
Peering through golden bars.

Like the Albatross in Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," which ever accompanied the doomed ship, as it sailed under "The Copper Sky,"—like Poe's Raven, or like that creature of his own formation which perpetually haunted Frankenstein in despite of all his efforts to rid himself of his presence; so, the form of his victim incessantly appears before the eyes of the self constituting

ted murderer, freezing him with horror, and filling him with despair.

A sudden frenzy raised my hair—  
I knew not what I did;  
But I thought the golden fiend arose  
From the ground where it lay hid,  
And chased me with convulsive steps  
Over the land and sea,  
Sitting beside me when I slept,  
Eating its bread with me;  
Mocking me with its yawning eyes,  
Raising its yellow hand,  
And driving, driving, driving me on,  
Over the sea and land.

I fled—it followed; and though I knew  
’Twas the creature of my brain,  
Born of the agony of guilt,  
I strove with it in vain:  
Ever it followed, and ever I fled,  
Over the land and sea,  
Mocking me with its yellow hand,  
Eating its bread with me;  
And would have goaded me to the death,  
Except for the love of thee.

A hideous likeness of myself,  
A torture to behold;  
Part was throbbing flesh and blood,  
Part was senseless gold.  
It stood between me and the sun—  
It fouled the healthy air—  
I looked to heaven, to fly its face,  
And lo! the fiend was there.  
I looked to earth, and at its feet  
I saw a yawning pit;  
It grinned, and pointed with its hand,  
And said "Thy bones will fit."

And in the ship, as I hurried home,  
I saw it in the shrouds;  
It came and went from ship to wave,  
From billow to the clouds;  
It poisoned earth, it tainted heaven,  
And dared, when sleep drew near,  
To grasp me in its ghastly arms,  
And whisper in my ear—  
And say, "I've bought thee, body and soul;  
Look in my face, and fear!"

"The Lump of Gold," is followed by a pretty piece, namely, "The Festival of St. Marc;" it contains an excellent description of the preparation of the inhabitants to celebrate the ceremony. The gay elastic metre almost conveys the idea of the whole city thronging forth in its holiday attire in honor of the festive day, beaming with joy, and light-hearted as a child. Our space will not permit us to insert more than the following:—

Be calm, oh, my spirit!  
What though at the shrine  
The prayers which they utter  
May differ from thine:  
A thought may unite them—  
A thought unexpress'd,  
Inspiring and lifting,  
And filling the breast.  
The form of the worship  
Is kind on the bole,  
The fruit of religion  
Is Love in the soul.  
Oh! selfish and wayward!  
Oh! fancy run wild,  
That will not and may not  
Be trained like a child,  
But wanders and frolics,  
Like breeze on the hill,  
To cloudland or daisy,

Wherever it will!  
It sails with the music  
To seas without bound;  
It floats in the sunshine,  
In darkness is drowned;  
It climbs the high organ  
Up mountains of sound;  
Now hears the white pinions  
That ruffle the air,  
And voices angelic  
That mingle in prayer;  
Then earthwards descending,  
Goes gathering flowers,  
And welcomes the cuckoo  
Returned to her bowers;  
Then launched upon waters,  
Goes down on the streams,  
To regions ecstatic  
Of slumber and dreams.

"The Column of Luxor," "The Old Magdalen at St. Stephen's," and "The Pageant in the Beech Tree Avenue," have many claims upon our attention, and will amply repay perusal; but did occasion permit we would prefer the introduction of, "The Lament of Cona, for the unpeopling of Scotland," to any of these. It unites the fire of Campbell with the pathos

of Burns, and the suggestive, though gloomy imagery of Ossian; like the melancholy pipe of the curlew wheeling round the hills, or the sad sound of some distant waterfall tumbling in the glens, it awakens sorrowful associations and brings before us visions of Caledonia, in the days of her never-to-be-forgotten glory. We have selected the lines underneath as giving another apt instance of the nervous style and independent feeling of Mackay.

## MAN TO MAN.

Stand up, man! stand!

God's over all.

Why do you cringe to me,

Why do you bend the knee,

And creep, and fawn, and crawl?

Stand up, man, stand!

If I thought our English land

Had no true-hearted poor,

To suffer—and endure—

And hold themselves erect,

In the light of their own respect,

I'd blush that I was English born,

And run away to the wilderness to free  
myself from scorn.

Stand up, man, stand!

God made us all!

The wine transcends the froth—

The living skin, the cloth—

Both rich and poor are small.

Stand up, man, stand!

Free heart, free tongue, free hand,

Firm foot upon the sod,

And eyes that fear but God,—

Whate'er your state or name,

Let these prefer your claim!

If there be anything you want—

Speak up! we may respect a churl, but  
we hate a sycophant.

Our author can be epigrammatic when he chooses, and exhibits a capacity to express plain facts in an impressive way, which is not an inconsiderable merit in a Poet. Sound moralists are difficult to be found at all times, but in our days it is not considered fashionable to moralize in verse on common subjects. We sincerely wish that, like many more of our modern fashions, this were also exploded, and that as speedily as possible. Good, plain truths cannot be too strongly impressed upon the mind, and evidently the most efficacious way to do so is by presenting them in a novel and agreeable form; the lines below are interesting as well as true.

## SAFE PREDICTIONS.

Whene'er you hear a "patriot" spouting

Incessant gall,

Of vice assured, of virtue doubting,

In great or small;

Worth, talent, honesty denying,

Except in self;

Believe him not—he may be purchased;

His price is pelf.

Whene'er you see a widow weeping

In public sight,

And still in flagrant notice keeping

Her doleful plight;

Aye talking of her dear departed;

One truth is plain,

She will not languish broken-hearted,

But wed again.

Whene'er a rich man vows to lend you

All he has got,

Well knowing while he would bedread you,

You need him not;

You may be sure, should fate capricious

Deny you bread,

Your rich good friend, grown avaricious,

Will "cut you dead."

Whene'er a statesman, Whig or Tory,

Talks loud and long

Of serving country for the glory,

With yearning strong;

Needing no Sovereign to regard him;

Look in his face

And be convinced that to reward him

He wants a place.

When'er an author shows you meekly  
 His last new book,  
 And says all critics, daily, weekly,  
 It faults o'erlook,  
 And praise it far beyond its merits—  
 On this decide,  
 He ranks himself with choicest spirits,  
 And buries with pride.

When'er a critic o'er his duties  
 Still snarls and snaps;  
 Affirms all faults, and speaks of beauties  
 With cold "perhaps,"  
 Hunts for small flaws with keenest pleasure  
 From day to day;  
 The man's a donkey; know his measure;  
 And let him bray.

When'er a woman vows to love you  
 In Fortune's spite;  
 Makes protestations that would prove you  
 Her soul's delight;  
 Swears that no other love shall win her  
 By passion stirred;  
 Believe her not, the charming sinner  
 Will break her word.

And if in this cold-hearted lyric  
 I seem, in sooth,  
 With voice ill-natured and satiric  
 To doubt of Truth—  
 Believe me not; I own her splendour  
 Void of offence,—  
 And merely struggle to defend her  
 From false pretence.

Our last quotation from Mackay will be "The Battle of Inkermann," a piece of poetry which must be read with the most intense interest by all who remember the awful peril in which our troops were placed on that momentous morning, and by those whose unmeasured admiration has burst forth for those dauntless heroes who, by the force of their bravery alone, saved two armies from destruction, thus gaining we know not what besides for the maintenance of the liberties of Europe. With all our war songs and war waits, Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade" is the only poem on the subject of the war which we could think of mentioning in the same breath with "The Battle of Inkermann;" and even this much and deservedly praised lyric must yield to Mackay's poem in some particulars. In spirit and briskness they are about equal; in originality and conception Tennyson easily outdoes Mackay, but the latter is subjective while the former is merely abstract; the one reminds us of the trumpet sounding the charge, in tones that fill the heart with fire, and make the blood to tingle with a noble pleasure; the other pictures to us the general inciting his troops to battle, relating to them their former achievements, and placing in their hands the honor and safety of their country. However stirring and powerful Tennyson's may be, Mackay's is more natural, and its recital would be more likely to inspire troops, as well as to excite enthusiasm in a peaceful assembly.

#### INKERMANN.

Sebastopol lay shrouded  
 In thick November gloom  
 And through the midnight silence  
 The guns had ceased to boom.  
 The sentinel outworn  
 In watching for the morn,

From Balaklava's heights  
 Beheld the Russian lights  
 In the close-beseagured fortress far adown;  
 And heard a sound of bells,  
 Wafted upwards through the dells,  
 And a roar of mingling voices and of an-  
 thems from the town.

They prayed the God of Justice  
To aid them in the wrong,  
They consecrated Murder  
With jubilee and song.  
To the slain, the joys of Heaven—,  
To the living, sin forgiven,—  
Were the promises divine  
That were passed along the line,  
As they gathered in their myriads ere the  
dawn;  
While their priests in full accord,  
Chanted glory to the Lord,  
And blessed the Russian banner and the  
sword for battle drawn.

Stealthily and darkly,  
Amid the rain and sleet;  
No trumpet-call resounding,  
Nor drum's tempestuous beat—  
But shadow-like, and slow,  
Came the legions of the foe,  
Moving dimly up the steep,  
Where the British Camp asleep.  
Lay unconscious of the danger lurking near,  
And the soldier, breathing hard,  
On the cold and sodden sward,  
Dreamed of victory and glory, or of home  
and England dear.

Hark! Hear ye not a rumbling  
On the misty morning air—  
Like the rush of rising tempests  
When they shake the forest bare?  
The outposts on the hill  
Hear it close, and closer still.  
'Tis the tramp of iron heels,  
'Tis the crash of cannon wheels,  
And "to arms!" "to arms!" "to arms!"  
is the cry.  
"Tis the Russians on our flank!  
Up, and arm each British rank!  
And meet them, gallant Guardsmen, to  
conquer or to die."

Then rose the loud alarm  
With a hurricane of sound,  
And from short uneasy slumber  
Sprang each hero from the ground;  
Sprang each horseman to his steed,  
Ready saddled for his need;  
Sprang each soldier to his place,  
With a stern, determined face;  
While the rousing drum and bugle echoed  
far,  
And the crack of rifles rung,  
And the cannon found a tongue,  
And down upon them bursting came the  
avalanche of war.

Through the cold and foggy darkness  
Sped the rocket's fiery breath,  
And the light of rapid volleys,  
In a haze of Living Death;  
But each English heart that day  
Throbb'd impetuous for the fray,  
And our hosts undaunted stood—  
Beating back the raging flood.  
That came pouring from the valley like a  
sea,  
Casting havoc on the shore,  
With a dull and sullen roar,—  
The thunder-cloud above it, and the light-  
ning flashing free.

On darkness grew the daylight,  
'Mid the loud, incessant peal;  
On the daylight followed noon tide—  
And they struggled steel to steel!  
O ye gallant souls and true!  
O ye great immortal few  
On your banner, bright unfurl'd,  
Shone the freedom of the world;  
In your keeping lay the safety of the lands  
Lay the splendour of our name;  
Lay our glory and our fame;  
And ye held and raised them all in your  
dauntless hearts and hands.

For a moment, and one only,  
Seemed the Russians to prevail:  
O ye brave eight thousand heroes!  
Ye shall conquer! They shall fall!  
They can face you—if they must—  
But they fly your bayonet thrust,  
And hark! the ringing cheer  
That proclaims the French are near,  
And is heard above the raging battle din!  
Giving courage to the brave—  
Striking terror to the slave,—  
A signal and an omen of the victory to win

Break forth thou storm of battle,  
With a new and wild uproar!  
Beam out thou flag of England,  
With thy sister tricolor!  
For, fighting side by side,  
One in spirit, heart allied—  
In the cause of truth combined,  
For the freedom of mankind—  
France and England show the world what  
may be done;  
And their star of glory burns  
And the tide of battle turns,  
And the beaten Russians fly, and the victory  
is won.

Thus fourteen thousand freemen,  
Invincible in right,  
Defeated seventy thousand,  
In fierce unequal fight!  
Thus Thermopylae of old  
And its men of Titan mould  
Were surpassed, at duty's call,  
By the Briton and the Gaul;  
(May the splendour of their friendship never  
wane!)  
By the men who fighting fell  
With Cathcart and Lourmel,  
Or lived with placid Raglan, avengers of  
the slain.

And as long as France and England  
Shall give birth to manlike men,  
Their deeds shall be remembered  
Should the battle burst again;  
And to actions as sublime  
Shall inspire each future time.  
And when War's alarms shall cease,  
And the nations live in peace,  
Safe from Tyranny, its murder, and its  
ban,—  
Let us tell with generous pride  
How our heroes fought and died,  
And saved a threatened world on the heights  
of Inkermann!

The "Versicles" of Thomas Irwin have come out under the auspices of the "Celtic Union," and that Society has every reason to be proud of the work which it has ushered into the world. It would be difficult to find, under such a modest title, a collection of Poems possessing the same intrinsic merit, and we anticipate no inconsiderable amount of fame for Mr. Irwin should he continue to favor us with the creations of his muse. As Irishmen, we must naturally feel proud of such valuable contributions to our literature as the "Versicles" contain, and it is encouraging to find that our Poets have, at last, discovered other sources of inspiration than those supplied by political agitation, and sectarian turmoil.

The poetry of Irwin is rich, soft, and musical; indeed, one of its greatest faults is its exuberance. A fancy teeming with beauties, and a diction occasionally oppressive from its ornamental tendency, are not sufficiently restrained; and nothing can elucidate with more satisfaction the evils which spring from such want of discipline than the fantastic extravaganzas which, under the name of poems, our modern poets have imposed upon the patience of the reading world. But we have no fear of the author of the "Versicles;" he seems to us to have evinced frequently no small amount of natural judgment, and we strongly surmise that we are not incorrect in attributing to him the possession of a mind, belonging to that elevated and capacious order, which, when it has sown its wild oats, will not permit any of its conceptions to be developed unless those which are clearly defined, and incapable of misconstruction as to the rationality of their object. There is one felicitous peculiarity in the Poetry of Irwin, and that is, that unintelligibility has no place there; in this the author has reason to congratulate himself upon his unfashionable habit, and we strongly advise him, even at the risk of being deemed an oddity, to maintain his almost isolated position with dignity and resolve; the time must come if the Muse continues to walk our portion of the earth, when the cap and bells of the buffoon must vanish, and then will come the triumph of those who preferred even an inglorious and monotonous obscurity, to the attainment of simulated laurels, and the questionable applause of those in whose eyes, the largest amount of incomprehensibility is deserving of the greatest adulation. There is much to remind us of Tennyson in Irwin's writings; the same luxurious

fancy, dreamy thoughtfulness, passionate aspirations, and minute observation of natural objects, which characterize the Laureate, are scattered through the "Versicles." The rythmical character of both are similar, and also that easy grace, and freedom which lend such a charm to Poetry above all other arts. Such being the nature of his genius, we do not of course experience any difficulty in comprehending how it was, that Irwin has preferred to paint the glowing scenes of southern climes, rather than those of our cold and cloudy regions. Whatever the natural disposition of the Poet may be, always provided that it is a healthy one, to that should he cling with unswerving fidelity, and beyond all doubt, Irwin's seems to be for soft and happy scenes; for all that, the patriot breaks out here and there, and some choice specimens of tender pathos, may be taken from those poems of his for which Ireland afforded the inspiration. It were hard to expect men now to write much on Ireland; the spirit of the country has been worn out by the incessant agitations to which we have been for nearly a century a prey, and we know that nothing but prosperity, or the influence of intense political excitement, can kindle the spark of national enthusiasm in the breast of the bard. The causes in which originated the Ballad Poetry of Ireland, The Marsellaise in France, or the Song of the Sword in Germany, and the suddenness with which all compositions of the kind ceased to appear when those influences no longer existed, sufficiently attest the justice of this remark. Let us hope that the period is near at hand, when an advanced state of domestic prosperity will tempt our young men of talent to turn their thoughts to the enlargement of our literature; and place them in a position to expend that energy, that industry, and that intellect, which has hitherto been made the property of others, without either due acknowledgment, or reward, in gaining honor for themselves and in benefiting their country. Then will such men as Irwin find sufficient agreeable matter for the cultivation of their muse, in the merry groups of their native villages, in the rustic dances on the banks of their pleasant streams, or in the uncontrolled humour which bursts forth on every side, as they saunter through the happy harvest fields.

The volume opens with a poem called, "An Italian Holiday," and in it we are afforded abundant instances of the principal peculiarities of its author. It literally overflows with music, grace and richness; and if Italy be what we have

always heard it is, the descriptions given of the land which possesses, "the fatal gift of beauty," are marvellously life-like.

We should wish much to give insertion to the whole of this beautiful composition; but since that cannot be done, we shall extract a portion of it, which gives sufficient evidence of his capabilities as a sketcher of foreign scenes, and of his warm admiration, even in Italy, of the grandeur and loveliness of "the poor old country."

Lo! southward, where sleep the faint  
cloudlets

Along the hills bronzed and brown,  
Gazes hotly through heavy-showered sun-  
light

The roofs of the old tiled town:  
Across the great corn-land's expanse  
The shadows drift sultry and slow,  
By the ebony-glossed carve of the river  
And forest-skirt hazed in the glow.  
While, far on the rim of the inland  
The City's domes glitter on high,  
And the long diary tracks of the roadways  
Wind dimly away toward the sky.

Long roads where the dusty-leaved olive  
Pines drily through wide Summer noon,  
And the spire of the black cypress dials  
The slow silver hours of the moon;  
Where the vine in the midnights of Autumn,  
As blackly the passing winds mourn,  
Drops down the red leaflets that tinkle;  
And sadly the setting stars burn

With a wistful and weary brightness,  
To pilgrims who pause on their way,  
By the old marble Cross at the ruin,  
To drink the well's waters, and pray;  
But now, through the festival shadows  
That flick them through merry sunshine,  
The gay Muleteer is advancing,  
His heavy skins bursting with wine.  
Now the Mountebank, glorious in motley,  
Strolls on with his ass to the Fair;  
For the young he has bracelets and ballads,  
For the aged folks physic and prayer;  
With a bosom as light as his pocket  
He sings off the griefs of his soul,  
While the bells of his beast in the sun  
light

Blend into the rich baronials.  
All day to-and-fro from the orchards  
The fruit-laden harvest girls ran,  
All day through the gold of the corn-land  
The sicklemen bend in the sun;  
All day the low wind of the Autumn  
Blows dry through the blaze of the light,  
Till snow-chilled through evening's stillness  
It breathes from the Appennine's height.

Ah, well! as we turn from the lattice  
With eyes by the glory made blind,

A dream through our memory floating  
Comes soft as the ocean-cooled wind:

A vision of temperate beauty

Far off, but for ever anigh,

Like Spring on the skirts of the Summer,  
Is shaped on yon northern sky.

Rise, Realm of the heart and the fancy,  
Old Land of the emerald lea!

Where the blue peaks of Wicklow are  
gleaming

Through soft rainy lights o'er the sea;  
Where drowse the dim Glendalough ruins

'Mid legends that live in their grey,

As fresh as the many-leaved ivy

That curtains their walls from decay;

Where the rich palace spires of Killarney

Bend over the arbutus brakes,

And mirror their purples at sunset,

Along the sweet dreamland of lakes;

Or northward, where sunbeam and shadow

Roll over strong Carlingford's crest,

The grey monarch shines from the ocean

One water of beauty and rest.

Sweet Bay, where we've wandered in Au-  
tumn,

By leafy old roads in the noon,

Or under the woods of Rostrevor

Bailed silently on with the moon;

While the fisherman passed in his rowing,

And pointed beneath, as he told

Of the proud city merged in the waters

All scattered with armour and gold.

There oft have we seen from the casement,

When days of old festival came,

The bonfires in midsummer twilight

Drape Mourne's grey bastions in flame.

Oft watched as the dusk windy evenings

Fell blankly along the low bar,

The forms of the dim stormy shipping

Rock under some tempest-eyed star;

While thunder-mists curled on the head-  
land,

And luridly hung o'er the plain,

As the long-gathered heat of the inland

Swept seaward in lightning and rain.

A piece entitled, "A Group in Queen Anne's Time," gives a very excellent picture of the elaborate courtesy, and artificial bearing of the fashionables of that age; it is almost immediately followed by a beautiful and classical poem called, "An Antique Dream," which describes a group of Nymphs and



Satyrs disporting in a valley. Nothing can surpass the rich colouring of every passage ; indeed we feel bound to express our disapproval of the lavish glitter, and profusion of purple words which are here expended. In the course of the poem, the following pretty song appears, and its voluptuous fancy is not inappropriate from the nature of the subject.

## SATYR'S SONG.

Oh, 'tis sweet to be a god  
Dancing on the dainty sod ;  
Sleeping by the twisted vines,  
Singing where the large moon shines.  
Earth's a heaven to the spirits  
Who can spy its rosy merits :  
Passes day in joyous moving—  
Passes night in feast and loving !  
Follow us—follow us—  
Where the fruited woods are bending—  
Where the sunny stream is tending ;

Where the life-sounds, faint retreating,  
Let us hear our bosoms' beating—  
Follow us—follow us.  
In a forest far away,  
Peeps a fountain, plashing spray :  
There, amid the trailers looping,  
Fig, and gourd, and grape are drooping ;  
There the honey-dews are shedding—  
There the violet beds are spreading—  
Follow us—follow us.  
There are flowers to weave your tresses—  
Flowers to answer love's sweet guesses :  
Stars the scented sky enchanting,  
Pulsing to our bosoms' panting—  
Follow us—follow us.

"The Minstrel's Appointment" resembles "An Antique Dream" in almost everything ; "The Vine Song," which we now take from it, contains much spirit and wit, with an oriental warmth of imagination.

## THE VINE SONG.

The grape is the only fruit of the skies :  
'Tis suckled with dew in the springtime  
bright ;  
Then, lapped in leaves, awhile it lies,  
To learn their songs in the evening light.  
Crimson sunsets lend it a hue—  
Airs of summer, being and breath ;  
Under the heaven's palace of blue  
None that drink of it dream of death.  
In each grape there dwells a sprite,  
Born of fancy, pleasure, and light ;  
Every bubble that sparks the bowl  
Holds in its dome a starry soul.  
Then would you think  
Like a spirit, drink—  
Drink, drink of the joyous wine,  
Up to the brain,  
Again and again,  
Those wits of the stars shall mount and  
shine.  
Lovers, shed your happiest smiles  
Under the vine where'er you go.  
The tendrils shoot like passion's wiles,  
The blushes under their shadows  
glow.

Friends, who around the bright hearth  
sing,  
Pray by the vine where'er you roam.  
That friendship, like his arms, may cling  
For ever around the walls of home.

Poets, looking through fancy's glass  
Round the world for beauty and light,  
Wheresoever the day you pass,  
Under some old vine rest at night.  
Every bough shall guard their guest,  
And bend to his lip their rosiest wine,  
And every leaf that lulls to rest  
Shall fill your spirits with dreams  
divine.

Oh ! when this heart has ceased to blow,  
Oh ! when its love has failed to burn,  
Scatter it still in its wit-bright glow  
Into some cup's funeral urn :  
Songs and smiles that charmed and  
shone  
Over its bright brim many a night,  
Murmuring yet of pleasures gone,  
Shall charm its rest with echo and light.

Among the poems immediately following this last, may be mentioned "The Little Bard" and "The Faerie's Child," both reflecting their author's principal beauties. From its inimitable harmony, and the buoyant elasticity of its rhythm, "The Serenaders of Sevilla," is well worthy of our attention.

## SERENADERS OF SEVILLA.

Through balconied street and moonlit square—

By silent statued column—  
We Serenaders sing through the air  
Of the Spanish night  
That, blue and bright,  
Fringes the cork-tree leaves with light,  
And silvers the fountain's volume.  
The sky is streaming with Autumn stars,  
And the moon on the sea is rounding  
To the tinkling chime of our wild guitars,  
And the golden viol's sounding!

Haste, comrades, haste to the streamlet's side,  
Where the orange grove gilds the water;  
In a trellised casement o'er the tide,  
With cheek of bloom,  
In curtain'd gloom,  
Alone in the hush of her moonlit room,  
Rests Sevilla's rarest daughter!  
Under the trees, through leaves and stars,  
Let a pace with bosoms bounding,  
To the tinkling tone of our quick guitars,  
And the golden viol's sounding.

Lo! now from the heathy hill we see  
The brown, sheep-drifted Prada;  
Beneath the town, with its minstrelsy,

Fades in the blaze  
Of the dizzying rays,  
And the clear wind breathes o'er the  
moorland's haze  
From the snows of the white Nevada:—  
Sing, sing aloud to the sparkling stars;  
With love our hearts are bounding,  
And tenderly tinkle the wild guitars  
To the sumptuous viol sounding.

See, how the moon, on the river space,  
Under her casement lingers!  
Oh! Love, could I watch her beauteous face,  
Like the trusted light  
Of the moon to-night,  
As she draws aside her curtains alight  
With tremulous almond fingers!  
Shine through her chamber, moon and stars,  
By roof and lattice rounding,  
And tenderly tinkle, ye soft guitars,  
'Mid the golden viol's sounding.

The blind withdraws to the small, white hand—  
One look through the vine is gleaming;  
'Tis gone—and lost in the night we stand—  
But away, away,  
Till dawn of day,  
That smile, like Autumn's dusky ray,  
Will light our spirit's dreaming:  
Back to the town—the setting stars  
Are dimly seaward rounding;  
Silently hang our sad guitars,  
And stilled is the viol's sounding.

Passing over some pieces of no extraordinary merit, we come to "The Forge," which for spirit, ingenuity, imitation in language of the sounds alluded to, and sustentation of interest, we have seldom seen equalled. It is well that Gretua Green is abolished, or we fear this Poem would not sensibly decrease the number of its votaries.

## THE FORGE.

In the gloomy mountain's lap  
Sleeps the village dark and quiet;  
All have passed their labour-nap;  
And the peasant, half awaking,  
A blind yawning stretch is taking,  
Ere he turns to rest again;  
There is not a sound of riot,  
Not a sound save that of pain,  
Where some aged bones are aching;  
Lo! the moon is in the wane—  
Even the moon a drowse is taking.

By the blossomed sycamore,  
Filled with bees when day is o'er it,  
Stands the Forge, with smoky door;  
Idle chimney, blackened shed—  
All its merry din is dead;  
Broken shaft and wheel disused  
Screw the unnumbered ground before it,  
And the streamlet's voice is fused  
Faintly with the cricket's chirrup,  
As it tinkles clear and small  
Round the glooming hearth and wall,  
Hung with rusty shoe and stirrup.

Yes, the moon is in the wane:—  
Hark! a sound of horses trampling  
Down the road with might and main;  
Through the slaty runnels crumbling,—  
Comes a carriage, swinging, rumbling,  
Round the steep quick corner turning;  
Plunge the horses, puff'd and champing;  
Like the eyes of weary ghosts,  
The red lamps are dimly burning.  
Now 'tis stopt,—and one springs down,  
And cries unto the sleeping town—  
"Ho! for a blacksmith—ho! awake!  
Bring him that will his fortune make—  
The best, the best your village boasts!"

Up springs the brawny blacksmith now,  
And rubs his eyes, and brushes off  
The iron'd sweat upon his brow,  
Hurries his clothes and apron on,  
And wakes his wife, and calls his son,  
And opens the door to the night air,  
And gives a husky cough;  
Then hastens to the horses, standing  
With hung heads, and hotly steaming,  
And sees a dark eyed youth out-handing  
A sweet maiden, light and beaming.

He strikes a lusty shoulder-blow :  
 "Four shoes," he cries, "are quickly  
 wanting:"

His face is in an eager glow,—  
 "Take my purse and all that's in its  
 Heart, if you in twenty minutes  
 Fit us for the road." The smith  
 Looks at the wearied horses panting  
 Then at the clustering gold,  
 And thinks, as he falls to his work,  
 He dreams a mind-dream, rusty mark,  
 That this is but some fairy myth—  
 A tale to-morrow to be told.

But now the forge fire spirits alive  
 To the old bellows, softly purring;  
 In the red dot the irons dive;  
 Brighter and broader it is glowing.  
 Stronger and stronger swells the blowing;  
 The bare armed men stand round and  
 mutter

Lowly while the clinders stirring,—  
 Ho! out it flames, mild sparkles dropping,  
 Splitting, glittering, flying, hopping;  
 Heavily now the hammers batter,  
 All is a glaring din and clatter.

In the cottage, dimly lighted  
 By the taper's drowsy glare,  
 Stands the gentle girl benighted;  
 By her side for ever hovers  
 That dark youth, oh, best of lovers!  
 Daring all that love will dare  
 With an aspect firm and gay:  
 Now the moon seems shining clearer—  
 Hark! a sound seems swooning nearer  
 From the heathy hills; the maid  
 Lists with ear acute; and while  
 One there, with brave, assuring smile,  
 Smooths her forehead's chesnut braid,  
 The danger softly dies away.

Now the forge is in a glow,  
 Bellows roaring, irons ringing;  
*Three are made*; and blow on blow  
 Sets the patient anvil ringing;

"Another shoe—another, hark ye!"

Ra-ra, ra-ra, ra-ra-ra-rap  
 Split the ruddy sheddings sparky,  
 Ra-ra, ra-ra, ra-ra-rap!  
 Strikes the quick and lifted hammer  
 On the anvil, bright and worn;  
 While amid the midnight there  
 Beyond the ruddy streaming glare,  
 With a yellow, misty glamour,  
 Looks the moon upon the cern.

On the hill-road, moving nigher,  
 Hurries something dimly shooting,  
 Glances from two eyes of fire:  
 "Haste! oh, haste!" they're working  
 steady;  
 Cries the blacksmith, "Now they're  
 ready."

Pats the pawing horses, testing  
 On the ground their iron footing;  
 Helps the lady, lightly resting  
 On his black arm, up the carriage;  
 Takes the gold with doubt and wonder;  
 And as o'er the stones and gorges  
 Tramp the hot pursuing horses,  
 Cries with voice of jolly thunder,—  
 "Trust me, *they* won't stop the marriage."

Scarce a minute's past away  
 When, oh, magic scene, the village  
 Lies asleep, all hushed and grey;  
 But, hark! who throng again the street  
 With roaring voices, brows of heat?  
 Come they here the town to pillage?  
 No. Across the road o'erthrown,  
 Carriage creaks, and horses moan;  
 "Blacksmith, ho!" the travellers cry;—  
 Not a taper cheers the eye;  
 While, a-top a distant hill  
 Flushed with dawn-light's silent warning,  
 Speed the lovers toward the morning  
 With a rapid, right good-will;  
 While, behind that father fretting,  
 The pale night-sick moon is setting.

"Swift," is a touching narrative of the love of Vanessa for the great humorist, and of the melancholy catastrophe which that love produced.

Unfortunate indeed was poor Vanessa in conceiving an affection for a man, whom vanity could tempt to rob a weak woman's heart of its every happiness, and who has left no tangible proof upon record of bitter sorrow for his crime. The last interview between Vanessa and the Dean is sketched in a masterly way, and though we do not quite agree with the author as to the extent of the Doctor's grief for the loss of Stella, still it must be acknowledged that he has exhibited no ordinary amount of the most feeling pathos in the closing lines, in which Swift is represented as plunged in the deepest melancholy, while he contemplates the paper, containing a lock of Stella's hair, upon which he has inscribed the words,

"only a woman's hair." It is quite possible that Swift in writing thus, might be actuated by feelings of the most keen compunction, but to our mind one who acted as he did to both women, was not likely to indulge in any generous regret. The following is fanciful and pleasant:—

## GRAPE SONG OF ITALY.

Poet Brothers, let's be happy—give me  
wine, give me wine!

Life cannot be all dolor,  
Else 'twill blanch its heavenly  
colour,—

Let us leave the dusty highway, and recline  
Where our cheek of melancholy  
Shall be flushed with ruby fall

'Mid the jocund, mellow shadows of the  
vine—

Ha, ha!

'Mid the jocund, mellow shadows of the vine.

The star that we inhabit—let it shine, let  
it shine!

If the sun may light its day,  
We through dark can cheer its way,  
By the lustre of these raby lamps of wine.

Dream the night through cup in  
hand,

While our barque and minstrel band  
Surge along amid those autumn clouds  
divine—

Ha, ha!

Surge along amid the autumn clouds divine!

Fill my cup to overflowing with thy wine,  
with thy wine!

When last you pressed the grape  
I could see the silver shape

Of the moon, through half this little chalice  
shine!

So: let's drink unto the days,

Rising full of Heaven's rays,

When man shall grow free, joyous, bright,  
divine—

Ha, ha!

When man shall grow free, joyous, bright,  
divine!

When Love shall speed his mandates from  
the brine to the brine,

And peace shall plenty bring,

Till the lands with laughter ring,

Far beyond the Guadaluiver and the Rhine;

When Mind shall stamp the man

Who shall lead each nation's van,

And men shall know their Monarchs by  
that sign—

Ha, ha, ha!

And men shall know their Monarchs by  
that sign!

When the myriads of the nations shall  
combine, shall combine,

Not to struggle with the lords,

Or to wage the war of words,

But to seek the means to raise them and  
refine;

Then shall Art enrich the earth,

Then shall glow the poorest hearth

With the beauty drawn from picture, song,  
and shrine—

Ha, ha, ha!

With the beauty drawn from picture, song,  
and shrine.

What! thou'rt weary; weary waiting for  
that time, the bright time;

Well, if earth must linger so,

Here—a dream-cup are we go!

Never yet while fancy's left us let us pine;

Hope, work, and love—a light

Soon will cheer the lands of night.

As the dawn is glowing o'er our cups of  
wine—

Ha, ha, ha!

As the dawn is glowing o'er our cups of  
wine!

"A May-day Revel," a pretty Irish fairy tale, was just the subject to give Irwin an opportunity of pouring forth the rich jewels contained in the sparkling casket of his fancy. The elfin king of Cloagh More, a mountain overhanging the bay of "sweet Rostrevor," is betrothed to the most beautiful sprite in the fairy realms of Carlingford; being asked upon what day she would wish the nuptials to take place, she answers eagerly, "the first of May," and the monarch, hardly able to express his approbation of her selection of May-day, immediately commands it to be proclaimed to all his subjects that the day of his marriage shall be, "A Joyous Saturnalia." The greater portion of the Poem is taken up in describing the

manner in which the subjects of the fairy, the birds, and beasts, and insects, avail themselves of the indulgence granted them. The ensuing passage winds up the Poem, and is replete with minute and faithful sketches of evening scenes.

Now falls the hour of evening rest,  
The fresh wind puffs the fisher's sails;  
The bee is hived, the bird's a-nest,  
The udder's spirt in foaming pails,  
And twilight deepens past the bay,  
'Till o'er the inland town afar,  
'Mid flakes of cloud still rosed with day,  
Sparks out some golden-cinctured star—  
And strikes the river narrowing down,  
With ruffled current as it flows,  
By one old turret, lone and brown,  
Sea-lapped and sentinelled by crows.  
Now, 'mid the slopes of furrowed earth,  
The peasant drives his wearied yoke;  
Now from the crackling cottage heart  
Mounts tranquilly the azure smoke;  
Now, past the winding road anigh,  
The drover guides his dusty sheep;  
The lazy waggoner plods by,  
Behind his slow horse, half asleep:  
Now groups of rustic lad and lass  
Beside the shadowy ferry throng;

Now through the bright mid-stream they  
pass,  
With oars that time some homely song;  
And beached at length above the sea,  
Push homeward up each shadowy height,  
While glimmers red and distantly  
Their cottage window's welcome light;  
The farms are hushed; beside their way  
The dripping wheels of mountain mills  
Stream in the leafy trickling ray;  
The bon-fires blaze along the hills;  
They hear the distant voices ring  
In festal echoes of acclaim;  
They see the wild forms hurrying  
In twilight dances round the flame;  
Till one by one each joyous sound  
Dies off upon the lonely air;  
The red fires drowse along the ground,  
The dances cease, the hills are bare;  
And as the sea-wind stirs the heath,  
And silvery spring-tide floods the shores,  
Nought save the moon on grey Omeath  
Moves by the quiet cottage doors.

We cannot fail in finding cheerful thoughtfulness, graceful pleasantry, intellectual aspirations, and becoming independence feeling in the "Artists' Song."

#### ARTISTS' SONG.

##### VIVE LA BOHEME.

Ours is an Arab life, they say,  
Sweet Fancy-friends, 'tis truth they tell,  
Yet, somehow, can we find each day  
A peaceful palm, and quiet well;  
Our wants are few where beauties shine,  
And beauties shine o'er earth and sea;  
Let fate give others gold and wine,  
But leave us Art and Liberty!  
We speed each sorrow  
Toward the morrow  
Where the golden clouds have birth,  
While, like the swallow,  
Still we follow  
Summer and freedom round the earth,

'Tis true, we smile at custom's form,  
Art looks for truth in everything,  
And birds that sing through sun and storm  
Would lose, if caged, both voice and wing:  
The bird that lives uncaged, unsought  
(Our neighbour in the ivy tree,)  
And sings his song each morn, is not  
More careless of the world than we;  
We may grow rich,  
And win our niche,  
And change our views, and change our  
mirth—  
Till then we follow,  
Like the swallow,  
Fancy and freedom round the earth.

Our mansions, they are baseless yet,  
The sunny fields our only pew,  
A faithful dog our household pet,  
Our "puble" but a friend or two;  
Yet poverty has many modes  
Of doubling such sweet charms as come:  
We've rambles o'er the pleasant roads,  
We've moonlight songs returning home—  
When we grow great  
In carriage state  
We yet may roll in gouty worth;  
Till then we follow,  
Like the swallow,  
Summer and sunshine round the earth.

Within the little chamber there  
How many an hour we've won from fate!  
Oh, glorious refuge ten feet square,  
From all the mockeries of the great!  
There rise our pictures like the dream  
That soothes the poor man all the night;  
Our systems, wonderful as steam,  
Our strains, unknown as exquisite,  
Some day divine  
Abroad they'll shine—  
'Till then we live in fortune's dearth,  
And, like the swallow,  
Follow, follow  
Summer and fortune round the earth.

There oft our chorused voices roll—  
 'Tis beer alone inspires our folk;  
 There theories of Star and Soul  
 Grow clear amid tobacco smoke.  
 No watch have we, but o'er the town  
 Time tolls the hour in crimson light;  
 No princely company we own,  
 'Tis Shakespeare only cheers the night;  
     Our wit abounds,  
     Each voice resounds,  
 We yet may win a calmer hearth—  
     Till then we follow,  
     Like the swallow,  
 Beauty and sunshine round the earth.

Yet have we something dearer, friends,  
 Than hearts that pulsate fearlessly;  
 Something diviner heaven sends,  
 Like stars that light a lonely sea.  
 Oh, we have hope for all who've flown!  
 Oh, we have angels in the air,  
 Beloved souls that, all unknown,

Still follow us from year to year—  
     In mute despair,  
     In silent prayer,  
 We think o'er all who've blessed our hearth,  
 And deem they follow,  
     Like the poor swallow,  
 All that they love around the earth.

Then let us dwell in such delight  
 As heart and soul can give alone,  
 And with wild fancy's charms to-night  
 Revel, while time is yet our own;  
 While yon rich autumn cloud unrolls,  
 And fills with gold our casement nigh;  
 While the great stars, like poet souls,  
 Look in on Art and Liberty;  
     Where nature beams  
     We'll weave our dreams,  
 Where folly struts we'll have our mirth,  
 And, like the swallow,  
 Follow, still follow,  
 Freedom and Light around the earth.

The war is now over, and although it is trite to speak upon the subject, how few there are who have reflected much on the deluge of tears that has been shed, during its brief but mournful continuance! While the excitement continued, while the noise of cannon thundered in our ears, while the magic wires conveyed to us the news of victory or defeat, how little thought had we for widowed bosoms, and desolated hearths, and forlorn orphans! Well, after all, we are but human, and sorrow must be made our own case, before we can be got to understand its bitterness. The "Irish Mother's Dream," traces with touching fidelity the agonized suspense, and despairing woe of an Irish Mother, one of the many hundreds, should we not say thousands, of those whose heroic offspring have breathed their last before the walls of Sebastopol.

#### AN IRISH MOTHER'S DREAM.

One night, as the wind of the Winter blew loud,  
 And snow swathed the earth, like a corpse in its shroud,  
 An aged Mother mused in her dim cottage shed,  
     O'er the young soldier-son of her heart far away,  
     Where the cannon flames red o'er the low lying dead,  
     And the desolate Camp bleakly spreads in the day.  
 And near stood her daughter, with sad strained smile,  
     And kind cheek of care, that long weeping had worn—  
 As she whispered, "Now sleep, dearest Mother, awhile—  
     God is good, and our Dermot will surely return."

The poor Mother turned on her pillow, and there  
 Soon slept the kind sleep Heaven sheds on our care.  
 Silence filled the dusk chamber—the low eady hearth  
     Sunk lower, and noiselessly lifted the snow  
     O'er the white, spacious girth of the cold, solemn earth,  
     Where the muffled moon fitfully glimmer'd below;  
 But vanished the while are her visions of fear,  
     And passed, for a space, is her sorrow and pain;  
 For an angel has wafted her soul from its sphere,  
 And in dreams she beholds her own Dermot again.

Dear joy, how she loves him! A long year has passed  
 Since she kissed his pale forehead, and hung on his breast;  
 She looks in his face—'tis the same, still the same—  
 Still soft are those eyes as the dew on the sod:  
 No thirst for the game of wild battle or flame  
 Have lessened their love for her, thanks be to God!  
 But away! they are speeding o'er mountain and moor—  
 O'er city, and forest—o'er tempest and tide;  
 But little she heeds of their terrors, be sure,  
 While that son of her bosom seems still at her side.

Lo! at length they have passed the wild ocean, and stand  
 On a summit that looks o'er a desolate land;  
 Far off, the great fortresses loom o'er the spray,  
 Anear, the black tents drift the slopes of the ground;  
 And a sense of decay fills the solitude grey,  
 For an army in ruins is scattered around.  
 "And is it for this," said the poor dreaming soul,  
 "My Dermot has wandered from home's blessed air?—  
 Here Death fills the wind blowing keen from the Pole—  
 Here the Pestilence strikes what the cannon may spare."

They passed through the streets of the tents lying still—  
 They passed by the trenches that ridge the brown hill—  
 They saw the pale faces that famine has worn;  
 They pace where the wounded lie lonely and lost—  
 Where the corse, cannon-torn, to its red bed was borne—  
 Where the poor frozen sentinel died on his post.  
 "Ah, why, Dermot, why did you cross the wide foam,  
 To fortune, my child, in this land of the dead?  
 Sure we'd plenty at home—there was better to come:  
 Why, for this, did you leave me, acushla?" she said.

"I thought as you grew fond and brave by my side,  
 No sorrow could cloud us—no fate could divide;  
 I fancied the day when our home would grow bright,  
 With the smile of some *colleen* I'd cherish for thee—  
 When I'd sing through the night by the hearth's ruddy light,  
 With your boy, my own Dermot, asleep on my knee;  
 And when, circled round by a few happy friends,  
 Old age drooped my head, after many a year,  
 As I passed to my God, through the death that he sends,  
 The kind Father would bless me, and you would be near."

Still close in the gloom seems he standing by her;  
 But hark! 'tis the drum, and the camp is astir;  
 And a sound fills the air, from the hill to the star,  
 Like an earthquake, along the wild bastion it runs,  
 While echoes afar roar the voice of the War,  
 As it doubles its thunder from thousands of guns,  
 And she wakes. In the gleam of the pale morning air  
 One gives her a letter—soon, soon is it read;  
 But a low piteous moan only speaks her despair—  
 "Ah, Mother of God! my own Dermot is dead!"

The next in order is "The First Pyramid." Diodorus Siculus tells us that the pyramids were erected during the dynasty of a Scythian race, who having overrun Syria and Egypt, finally settled in Memphis and the neighbouring cities. The Poem, which is a long one, abounds in beautiful descriptions; an old man is represented as telling his youthful son, as they are both gazing upon the pyramid, the origin of its rise, which he declares to be owing to the death of the chieftain who conquered the country, and with whom he had marched hitherwards from Scythian realms, announcing that

it was erected as a fitting mausoleum over the bones of the departed hero. The beautiful passage we subjoin is descriptive of the country of Egypt, as seen for the first time by the invading host.

"Around its marge a realm of plenty glowed,  
With breadths of corn and regions rich with dew;  
While, to the south, a gloried City rose,  
Deep harboured, and with many a marble round  
Of citadel and turret, shrine and bower.  
A space of splendour seemed it, a bright land  
Of palaces and waters; by its shores  
A wide armada, many-masted, lay  
Glooming the sea; while inland stretching far,  
Thick-fruited woods, with sultry tracts of spice,  
Scented the sky up to the morning clouds.  
Awhile, in wonder, gazed we on this scene,  
Then pushing nearer to a shadowy steep,  
That sentinelled the city, gazed below.  
Broad through its streets a plenteous river flowed,  
Fed with the rains of southern hills beyond,  
And mirroring many a temple on its wave,  
While conch-shaped barges ebony-ribbed with gold,  
Came eared along the shining space beneath  
The crimson floating of their gonfalons.  
High o'er the roofs, just glittering in the morn,  
A pillared shrine upon a steep arose,  
White as some surging pile of Summer cloud,—  
Levels of flashing steps ascending shone  
Up to its spacious portal, swarmed with shapes  
In many-coloured garbs, and glittering arms;  
While rolling outward from its doomed hall,  
Filled with the dawn, a golden gong swung forth  
Its globe of tone, widening in circles down  
O'er hill and river and across the sea.  
As though a Sun were sounding; while afar,  
Upon an azure-waved promontory,  
The last of land that jutted oceanward,  
An altar plumed with smoke arose, and priests  
White-garbed around it in the sacred calm.

Our last extract shall be taken from the lively Poem, "China," descriptive of the habits and scenes, both urban and pastoral, of Chinese life; in this last the author of the "Versicles" will be found faithful to those fascinating beauties which stud his every page.

Now rounds the western 'ing sun along  
The hills where summer vapours curl  
On Tchakiang, and strikes among  
Its mines of turquoise, lakes of pearl.  
Now from brown Tonquin's southern  
bowers,  
Thick tasselled with the perfumed bean,  
The tropic wind blows warm, and showers  
The light o'er each veranda screen.  
The peasant walks behind his team,  
And slowly works the reaper brown  
In rice fields skirting the blue stream,  
From bridge to bridge, from town to town.  
Gay groups of gleamers hurry home,  
Their baskets piled with fragrant leaves;  
Or on the carts of harvest come,  
High combed upon the golden sheaves,—  
Mild sicklemen and girls a-row:

While soft the parting splendours fall  
Upon each crescent pencil'd brow,  
And eyes of glossy ebony small.  
Now where yon blue pagoda's spires  
Adown the hill their shadows fling,  
The perfumes mist the altar fires,  
The myriad bells of silver ring;  
And on the spacious river bright  
The fishing bird is seen to dive,  
And through the thymy air and light  
The bee sails toward the garden hive;  
Till o'er the fretted temples brood  
The sparkling orient stars, and soon  
By many a stream and musky wood  
Afflame with silver, floats the moon,  
Though mighty azure ranges rolled,  
Whence come from the Tartarean ice  
The caravan with fur and gold,  
The camel weighed with silk and tea.



We now bid farewell to Charles Mackay and Thomas Irwin, and in doing so, we take the liberty of wishing them God speed in their journey up—

“The steep, where Fame’s proud Temple shines afar.”

Both have their faults as well as their beauties, and strangely enough, one possesses in extravagant abundance a quality in which the other is often singularly deficient; in the one instance, the pruning shears must be used with no dainty fingers; in the other, the plants must be cultivated with care, well watered, and a warmer atmosphere induced. The essential properties of the poet belong to both, and with them it rests to use them in such a manner as may win for each an exalted rank among their tuneful brethern. What we have said as to the absence of mystification in Irwin, applies equally to Mackay, and it cannot be too often mentioned to the honor of these men, that when almost every poetical writer of the day, from Tennyson to the humblest poetaster, has been mumbling like the inmate of a mad-house, they have kept aloof from the “*profanum vulgus*,” and maintained inviolate, the dignity and majestic simplicity, which was bequeathed to them by the bards of a more inspired age. They have other claims upon our gratitude, and those are that they have evinced some deference to human sympathies and inclinations in the choice and treatment of their subjects; that they have succeeded in imparting instruction, as well as in giving pleasure; and above all, that they have been firm in their maintenance of truthful principles, cheerful hope, and sound morality. They are not indeed transcendental theorists, or the founders of chaotic systems, but they are the lucid expositors of those sublime realities, which are ever renewing and transforming, like the earth, their freshness and their beauty; and which like it possess at all times, new food for contemplation, new themes for wonder, new reasons to excite our love for him who has established them. They are not seekers after the philosopher’s stone, nor do they chameleon-like aspire ardently for the possession of those realms somewhere mid-way between earth and sky, where everything is subject to atmospheric influences, and where they may watch for ever the habits and customs of the stars; but on the contrary, their endeavour is to demonstrate how happily we may live in our own planet, and how, to use a homely but a golden saying, “we may go

farther and fare worse." They seemingly prefer to unite more closely the bonds of universal love, to remove the fetters from our kindly impulses, and to scatter broadcast the seeds of a more generous confidence in each other, than to encourage scepticism in theological matters, openly promulgate pantheism, or insidiously endeavour to shake our faith in one another, and in God.

We have truly become very learned ! There is an immense amount of enlightenment in this nineteenth century ; nevertheless, we are no very sincere believers in the efficacious tendency of every phase of this learning, and of this enlightenment. We labor under "the atrocious crime of being a young man," and to us would not be applicable the proverb, "*senes laudant antiqua* ;" yet it is not at all so evident to us that there is more solid happiness in the world now than formerly. We do not sigh for Arcadian bliss, and the mellifluous sounds produced by shepherds' reeds ; but to our poor simple taste, men lived more wisely, and more pleasantly, before the remorseless chains of restraint flung their chilling links around us, checking the genial, healthy flow of social intercourse, and substituting pomp, prudery, and an artificial elegance, for natural grace and majesty, unaffected modesty, and the easy interchange of ideas. We shall soon become as stiff as mediæval painting, and will require all the assistance of our vaunted science to give us the use of our limbs again ; it is well for us, no doubt, that our locomotives form such a contrast to our languishing manners, or we know not in what it would all end. We fear the earth in its rotations would leave us behind it, and that we should roll down its sides, rather precipitately, into that "broad space," of which we have lately become such enthusiastic admirers. One thing appears to us quite clear, and that is that until we have unlearned much of our present so-called knowledge, we should not seek the acquisition of more ; we know a great deal upon matters which are neither calculated to improve our minds or to encrease our happiness, and utter obliviousness of such attainments would not be attended with the slightest disadvantage. We must endeavour to become more natural in an intellectual view, as well as in a social one, less guided by conventional rules, and more by kindly impulses ; more swayed by ideas which grow out of the consideration of humanity, than by those of an abstractedly mental order.

We must substitute practical philanthropy, for idle vapouring; acts coming from the heart, for words proceeding from the lips; candor for equivocation, and simplicity for affectation. If we can succeed in achieving this reformation, our literature will have "renewed its youth like the eagle," and will enter again into the possession of that freshness, that lucidity, and that vigor, which formerly adorned it. Our ambition must be truly great, if it aspires at outrivalling our predecessors in the sphere of poetry; but if such be the object of its aim, strict adherence to the rules which guided them is the sole method by which it can be attained. We can only hope and pray for the speedy arrival of such a desirable result, and should we be so fortunate as to behold its realization, no inconsiderable source of pleasure will be afforded to us in the fact, that in our humble way we have been among the very few, who have boldly and frequently held up to public reprehension, the fatal, and rapidly extending vices which disfigure the pages of our Poets of the present day.

N. J. G.

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#### ART. IV.—THE REV. CHARLES WOLFE.

A close investigation into the annals of literature, would, we believe, have the effect of shewing that many of the choicest productions in prose and verse, have emanated from authors, who, in their life-time, were scarcely known beyond the narrow circle of family relations, and personal friends. It is not, however, our intention to examine into the causes of that neglect, which so many writers have experienced, until death has rendered them famous; still less, to make any allusion to the now thread-bare topic of the "calamities of authors," they are familiar to everyone in the least acquainted with the histories of the literary worthies of modern days. The subject of the present memoir was a striking exemplification of our opening remark. His life, spent as it was in the quiet retirement of a student, and the unobtrusive discharge of his sacred functions, presents scarcely an incident of any interest for his biographer to recount; and were it not for the fame he

has subsequently acquired, by the beauty of some of his poetical effusions, his brief career might—to use the language of Addison—“be comprised in those two circumstances, common to all mankind—that he was born upon one day, and died upon another.” But he deserves more than a mere passing notice, when in him we consider the poet who at an early age had produced one of the most beautiful odes in the English language, and whose talents promised to place him in the very front rank of living authors; and still more, when we revere in him the exemplary minister of religion, whose untimely death was, in great measure, caused by his zealous devotion to his sacred duties.

Charles Wolfe, the author of the well known ode on the Burial of Sir John Moore, was born in Dublin on the 14th of December 1791. He was the youngest son of Theobald Wolfe, Esq., a gentleman of the County of Kildare, who had married a daughter of a clergyman named Lombard. His father's family was one of respectability, and although it seems doubtful that it was in any way connected with that from which had sprung the illustrious hero of Quebec; Mr. Wolfe was certainly a near relation of Lord Kilwarden, whose tragical fate is so well known. Wolfe at an early age had the misfortune to lose his father, and soon after his death the family left Ireland, and resided for some years in England. When ten years old, the subject of this memoir was sent to a school in Bath, where, however, he remained but for a few months, as in consequence of the delicate state of his health, he was obliged to return home. His recovery seems to have been tardy, as we learn from his friend and biographer, Archdeacon Russell, that his education was interrupted for a year. When his health was sufficiently re-established to enable him to leave his home, he was sent to Salisbury, in which city he remained, under the tuition of Dr. Evans, until the year 1805, when he entered Hyde Abbey School at Winchester as a boarder. This school was then presided over by Mr. Richards, with whom Wolfe seems to have soon become a special favorite; indeed, from a very early age he appears to have displayed that sweetness of disposition and amiability of character for which he was always remarkable, and which justly endeared him to all who could boast of his friendship. With his mother he was deservedly an idol, and of his conduct towards her we have the following touching testimony from his sister:—

"He never received even a slight punishment or reprimand at any school to which he ever went; and in nearly twelve years that he was under my mother's care, I cannot recollect that he ever acted contrary to her wishes, or caused her a moment's pain, except parting with her when he went to school." At Winchester he soon became distinguished for great proficiency in classical knowledge, and displayed early powers of versification. "His classical attainments," observes one of his most intimate friends, John Sydney Taylor, "distinguished him when very young. The facility and elegance with which he wrote Latin verse excited admiration. With most boys it is a mechanical labour, and it is indeed absurd to make it a general practice at our schools. But the mind of Wolfe was keenly sensitive of the charms of the Augustan age of composition. He was such a master of Latin expression, and had so much of the spirit of the bard in him, that his thoughts shaped themselves with a grace and vigor like those of his native tongue into the language of the Roman Muse." Some specimens of his early essays in Latin verse are preserved, but although they do undeniably display a considerable facility of expression, and a more than ordinary degree of elegance, they do not appear to merit greater attention than is in general bestowed upon,—those most absurd of all scholastic exercises,—the classical effusions of juvenile scholars. Wolfe, however, displayed higher qualities than mere ability; and while his classical attainments caused him to be regarded as the pride of Winchester school, he was at the same time loved and respected by all his school-fellows, who always spoke of him in terms of the greatest affection. While under Mr. Richards his poetical talents also began to display themselves. Two of his earliest pieces are extant; one is a prize poem on the death of Abel, and was probably a Winchester exercise. This, though evidently the production of a youthful composer, contains some portions of considerable merit, and has one or two passages not deficient in beauty. Take for instance the following:—

"In purity and innocence array'd,  
The perfect work of God was Abel made.  
To him the fleecy charge his sire consigned:  
An angel's figure with an angel's mind,  
In him his father ev'ry blessing view'd,  
And thought the joys of Paradise renew'd.  
But stern and gloomy was the soul of Cain;  
A brother's virtue was the source of pain;  
Malice and hate their secret wounds impart,  
And envy's vulture gnaws upon his heart:

With discontented hand he turn'd the soil,  
 And haly grieving, murmur'd o'er his toll.  
 Each with his offering to the Almighty came,  
 Their altars raised, and fed the sacred flame.  
 Scarce could the pitying Abel bear to bind  
 A lamb, the picture of his Master's mind :  
 Which to the pile with tender heart he drew,  
 And wept, as he the bleating victim slew.  
 Around, with fond regard the zephyr play'd,  
 Nor dared disturb th' oblation Abel made.  
 The gracious flames accepted, upward flew,  
 The Lord received them,—for his heart was true.  
 His first-reap'd fruits indignant Cain prepares,  
 But vain his sacrifice and vain his prayers,  
 For all were hollow : God and nature frown'd,  
 The wind dispersed them, and the Lord disown'd ;  
 He looks behind—what flames around him rise ?  
 O hell ! 'tis Abel's, Abel's sacrifice !

The description of the death of Abel, with the horror and remorse of Cain, display the youthful genius of the poet.

—The stroke descended on his brow :  
 The suppliant victim sunk beneath the blow :  
 The streaming blood distained his locks with gore  
 Those beauteous tresses, that were gold before :  
 Nor could his lips a deep-drawn sigh restrain,  
 Not for himself he sigh'd—he sigh'd for Cain :  
 His dying eyes a look of pity cast,  
 And beam'd forgiveness, ere they closed their last,  
 The murd'rer view'd him with a vacant stare,  
 Each thought was anguish, and each look despair.  
 "Abel, awake ! arise !" he trembling cried ;  
 "Abel, my brother !"—but no voice replied.  
 At ev'ry call more madly wild he grew,  
 Paler than he, whom late in rage he slew.  
 In frightful silence o'er the corpse he stood,  
 And chain'd in terror, wonder'd at the blood.  
 "Awake ! yet oh ! no voice, no smile, no breath :  
 O God, support me ! O should this be death !  
 O thought most dreadful ! how my blood congeals !  
 How ev'ry vein increasing horror feels !  
 How faint his visage, and how droops his head !  
 O God, he's gone !—and I have done the deed !"

The "Raising of Lazarus" is another of the Winchester poems ; but this short piece is no-ways remarkable, except as being one of the earliest productions of Wolfe.

In 1808, Wolfe left Winchester, and returned with his mother to Dublin. He entered college in the following year under Dr. Davenport, and almost immediately distinguished himself by his academical honors. He did not, however, confine himself exclusively to classics : it was during his collegiate course that all his poems were written, before his devotion to higher pursuits had checked the exuberance of his genius. Wolfe indeed appears to have been essentially a poet ; and to have possessed all those fine sensibilities which generally distinguish those who are gifted with high poetical talents.

"It was the peculiar temperament of his mind to display its emotions by the strongest outward demonstrations. Such were his intellectual sensibilities, and the corresponding vivacity of his animal spirits, that the excitation of his feelings generally discovered itself by the most lively expressions, and sometimes by an unrestrained vehemence of gesticulation, which often afforded amusement to his more sedate or less impressible acquaintances. Whenever in the company of his friends anything occurred in his reading, or to his memory, which powerfully affected his imagination, he usually started from his seat, flung aside his chair, and paced about the room giving vent to his admiration in repeated exclamations of delight, and in gestures of the most animated rapture. Nothing produced these emotions more strongly than music, of the pleasures of which he was in the highest degree susceptible. He had an ear formed to enjoy in the most exquisite manner the simplest melody or the richest harmony. Sacred music, above all, (especially the compositions of Handel) had the most subduing, the most transporting effect upon his feelings. He understood and felt all the poetry of music, and was particularly felicitous in catching the spirit and character of a simple air or a national melody."

To this peculiar talent we are indebted for two of the most beautiful of Wolfe's productions; which we shall give as specimens of his skill in this kind of adaptation. Of the first, the "Spanish Song," we are given the following account by Archdeacon Russell:—

"He was so much struck by the grand national Spanish air, 'Viva el Rey Fernando,' the first time he heard it played by a friend, that he immediately commenced singing it over and over again until he produced an English song admirably suited to the time. The air, which has the character of an animated march, opens in a strain of grandeur, and suddenly subsides, for a few bars, into a slow and pathetic modulation, from which it abruptly starts again into all the enthusiasm of martial spirit."

#### SPANISH SONG.

The chains of Spain are breaking—  
Let Gaul despair, and fly;  
Her wrathful trumpet's speaking—  
Let tyrants hear and die.

Her standard o'er us arching  
Is burning red and far;  
The soul of Spain is marching  
In thunders to the war.  
Look round your lovely Spain,  
And say, shall Gaul remain?

Behold yon burning valley—  
Behold yon naked plain—  
Let us hear their drum—  
Let them come, let them come!  
For vengeance and freedom rally,  
And, Spaniards! onward for Spain!

Remember, remember Barossa—  
Remember Napoleon's chain—  
Remember your own Saragossa,  
And strike for the cause of Spain—  
Remember your own Saragossa,  
And onward, onward for Spain!

The poem to which we shall now direct attention is one, the words of which are adapted to the popular Irish air "Gramachree," which was one of his favorite melodies. This beautiful piece is altogether different from the martial

"Song of Spain," being peculiarly, almost painfully, pathetic. It is impossible to read it without being deeply affected by its plaintive yet tender strain, and we often feel surprised that this exquisite poem should be, apparently so little known.

If I had thought thou could'st have died,  
I might not weep for thee;  
But I forgot, when by thy side,  
That thou could'st mortal be:  
It never, through my mind had passed,  
The time would e'er be o'er,  
And I on thee should look my last,  
And thou should'st smile no more!

And still upon that face I look,  
And think 'twill smile again;  
And still the thought I will not brook,  
That I must look in vain!  
But when I speak—their deat not say,  
What then, ne'er let'st uspid;  
And now I feel, as well I may,  
Sweet MARY: thou art dead!

If thou could'st stay, e'en as thou art,  
All cold, and all serene—  
I still might press thy silent heart  
'And where thy smiles have been!  
While e'en thy chill, bleak course I have,  
Thou seemest still my own;  
But there I lay thee in thy grave—  
And I am now alone!

I do not think, where'er thou art,  
Thou hast forgotten me;  
And I, perhaps, may soothe this heart,  
In thinking too of thee:  
Yet there was round thee such a dawn  
Of light ne'er seen before,  
As fancy never could have drawn,  
And never can restore.

One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the above poem is, that in its composition, the poet had no real incident in view. It appears almost impossible that such pathetic lamentations could be produced by anything but the actual calamity so plaintively, and at the same time, so inartificially bewailed: yet when asked by a friend whether any real occurrence had prompted the lines, he replied in the negative, "but that he had sung the air over and over till he burst into a flood of tears, in which mood he composed the words." A strange instance of the extraordinary effect which music always produced upon him.

Another of his songs, which was composed at the request of a lady, a distinguished musician, is well deserving of insertion here:—

Go, forget me—why should sorrow,  
O'er that brow a shadow sing?  
Go, forget me—and to-morrow  
Brightly smile and sweetly sing.  
Smile—though I shall not be near thee;  
Sing, though Lehall never hear thee;  
May thy soul with pleasure shine  
Lasting as the gloom of mine!  
Go, forget me, &c.

Like the sun, thy presence glowing  
Clothes the meanest things in light;  
And when thou, like him art going,  
Lowest objects fade in night.

All things look'd so bright about thee,  
That they nothing seem without thee;  
By that pure and lucid mind  
Earthly things were too refined.  
Like the sun, &c.

Go, thou vision wildly gleaming,  
Softly on my soul that fell;  
Go, for me no longer beaming—  
Hope and Beauty! fare ye well!  
Go, and all that once delighted  
Take, and leave me all benighted;  
Glory's burning—generous swell—  
Fancy and the Poet's shell.  
Go, thou vision, &c.

It is, however, to the lines on the "Burial of Sir John Moore," that Wolfe is chiefly indebted for his celebrity as a poet. Of this short but expressive ode there can be but one



opinion ; criticism upon it is out of place. Who has ever yet read it without being affected by the strain, half martial, half plaintive which pervades it ? Who will hesitate to subscribe to Lord Byron's opinion, " that it was little inferior to the best ode that this prolific age had produced ?" Or who can doubt that it will take its place as one of the most beautiful poetical productions in the English language ? The circumstances which led to the composition of the ode, are thus described by one of the poet's earliest friends.\*

" The poem was commenced in my company. The occasion was as follows : Wolfe came into my room one evening while I was reading the Edinburgh Annual Register : I think it was the volume for 1809, and which concluded with an account of the battle of Corunna and the death of Sir John Moore. It appeared to me admirably written ; and although the writer might not be classed amongst the *very* warmest admirers of that lamented General, yet he cordially appreciated his many great and amiable qualities, and eagerly seized upon every opportunity of doing him generous and ample justice.† In College we do not always lay down our books when visited by our friends, at least *you* know, to your cost, that such is not *my* practice. I made our dear departed friend listen to me while I read the account, which the admirable writer (I conjectured that he must be Mr. Southey) made to assume a classical interest ; and we both felt kindled and elevated by a recital which was calculated to concentrate whatever of glory or interest attached in our young imaginations to Chæroneæ or Marathon upon the spotless valour of a British soldier. When I had done, Wolfe and I walked into the country ; and I observed that he was totally inattentive to the objects around him ; and in conversation absent and self-involved. He was in fact silently composing ; and in a short time he repeated to me (without writing them down) the first and last stanzas of his beautiful ode, which, as you have truly stated, were all that he at first intended. I was exceedingly pleased with them ; and I believe the

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\* Rev. Samuel O'Sullivan, well known as a writer in the University Magazine, died in 1851, in his sixty-first year, having been Chaplain to the Royal Hibernian School, Phoenix Park, for five-and-twenty years.

† The passage alluded to is in the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1808, p. 458, and is as follows :—" Sir John Moore had often said, that if he was killed in battle, he wished to be buried where he fell. The body was removed at midnight to the citadel of Corunna. A grave was dug for him on the rampart there, by a party of the 9th regiment, the aides-de-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured, and the officers of his staff wrapped the body, dressed as it was, in a military cloak and blankets. The interment was hastened : for about eight in the morning some firing was heard, and the officers feared that if a serious attack were made, they should be ordered away, and not suffered to pay him their last duty. The officers of his family bore him to the grave ; the funeral service was read by the Chaplain ; and the corpse was covered with earth."

admiration I expressed partly induced him to supply the other stanzas."

## THE BURIAL OF SIR JOHN MOORE.

Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,  
As his corse to the rampart we hurried;  
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot  
O'er the grave where our hero we buried.

We buried him darkly at dead of night,  
The sods with our bayonets turning;  
By the struggling moonbeam's misty light,  
And the lantern dimly burning.

No useless coffin enclosed his breast,  
Not in sheet or in shroud we wound him;  
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,  
With his martial cloak around him.

Few and short were the prayers we said,  
And we spoke not a word of sorrow;  
But we steadfastly gazed on the face that was dead  
And we bitterly thought of the morrow.

We thought, as we hollow'd his narrow bed,  
And smooth'd down his lonely pillow,  
That the foe and the stranger would tread o'er his head,  
And we far away on the billow!

Lightly they'll talk of the spirit that's gone,  
And o'er his cold ashes upbraid him,  
But little he'll reck, if they let him sleep on  
In the grave where a Briton has laid him.

But half of our heavy task was done,  
When the clock struck the hour for retiring;  
And we heard the distant and random gun  
That the foe was sullenly firing.

Slowly and sadly we laid him down,  
From the field of his fame fresh and gory;  
We carved not a line, and we raised not a stone—  
But we left him alone with his glory!

Wolfe was always remarkable for the more than fastidious judgment which he exercised upon his own compositions; this led him frequently to undervalue what his friends most admired. To this we must probably ascribe the utter indifference which he seems to have always displayed as to the fate of the above beautiful lines. Although they were a production that the most successful author might well have been proud to claim, and written when Wolfe was just of an age to be keenly sensitive to the charms of literary celebrity; yet he appears never to have taken the least step to vindicate, publicly at least, his title to them. Never has any poem appeared which has been ascribed to so many and such different authors. It was attributed to Moore, to Campbell, to Wilson, to Byron, and to Barry Cornwall. Although never published by Wolfe, it found its way, without his knowledge, to the press.

During his life it remained unclaimed; but after his death, some of his friends, who were well acquainted with the authorship of it, came forward to vindicate his title to it. However—

“While the friends of Wolfe were one after another stating their knowledge of his having written the poem, it was claimed in some unintelligible local hoax as the production of a rhyming horse-doctor in Durham. The letter written in his name by some provincial jester claiming it for him, was copied into the papers; and the laurels which Medwin demanded for Byron were now for a while awarded to Marshal. A more respectable parentage was soon after found, and gave rise to a conjecture which many thought probable enough. A volume of poems was printed by a young clergyman of the name of Barnard, who soon after died of consumption, who was supposed to be the author. In the *Edinburgh Advertiser* a letter, dated Temple, January, 1841, signed A. Macintosh, and addressed to the Rev. W. Muir, assistant minister of Temple, was printed; the writer, the master of the parish-school at Temple, states himself to have written the poem, and goes into a very minute detail of circumstances connected with his claim. Mr. Muir manifestly gave entire credence to Macintosh's statement, and the Editor of the *Edinburgh Advertiser* gave it also his sanction. This led to the publication of several letters on this subject, all from persons of considerable eminence who knew the fact of Wolfe's being the author of the poem. Macintosh published an impudent letter admitting that Wolfe must have claimed the poem, but still asserting himself to be the writer. He was unlucky enough to assign a date to the period at which he composed it; and though the precise date of Wolfe's poem is not ascertained, yet it is ascertained that it was written prior to the date which Macintosh chose to lay for his handiwork. While the discussion about Macintosh's claim was going on in the newspapers, Dr. Luby\* luckily found a letter of Wolfe's† giving a complete copy of the lines in his own handwriting. Mr. Muir examined Mr. Macintosh, and succeeded in extorting from him a confession that his statement was ‘a lie’ from beginning to end.”

According to a statement made at a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy, by Dr. Anster—

“The letter, or rather fragment of the letter, had been found by Dr Luby among the papers of a deceased brother, who was a college friend of Wolfe and of Mr. Taylor, to whom the letter was addressed. The part found had the appearance of having been torn off from the rest of the letter. It contains the address; a complete copy of the ode; a sentence mentioning to Mr. Taylor that his praise of the stanzas first written led him to complete the poem; a few

\* Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

† This original letter was exhibited, in the Hall of Antiquities, in the Exhibition in Dublin in 1853.

words of a private nature at the end of the letter ; and the signature. There is no date on the part preserved ; but the post-mark of Sept. 6th, 1816, fixes the time at which it was sent."

Wolfe's claim has never since been disputed ; indeed it had been proved to demonstration some time before by a letter addressed to the editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*, by Archdeacon Russell, in which the Rev. biographer states, in answer to some objection made to Wolfe's claim by a writer in the Magazine, "that Mr. Wolfe had expressly avowed himself the author." It is, however, time to return from this long disquisition.

Not long after his entrance into College, Wolfe had the misfortune to lose his mother, an affliction which he most keenly felt. At this period also, his pecuniary resources being limited, he resolved to have recourse to tuition, although, as we are informed by one of his friends, "an intimate acquaintance and fellow-student of his, who, on coming of age, had acquired possession of a small property of four or five hundred pounds, warmly and anxiously pressed him to accept a moiety of it, for the purpose of facilitating his progress in life ; but this generous offer Wolfe gratefully but steadily declined ; with a chivalry of feeling which always distinguished him, he determined to endeavour to win his way by the exertion of his own talents." He accordingly undertook the duties of a College tutor, duties which, although to one constituted like him they must have been peculiarly uncongenial, he discharged with the most conscientious zeal and devotedness. He did not, however, long continue to act as a tutor ; for in 1812 he obtained a scholarship, and with the highest credit, being the third on the list.

About this time he also carried off the Vice-Chancellor's prize. The subject proposed was *Jugurtha*—It is impossible to read this fine poem, without feeling regret that Wolfe had never attempted any dramatic piece. The vigor of expression and force of passion displayed in *Jugurtha's Soliloquy*, render it more than probable that he would have succeeded in the higher branches of poetry. Take for instance the following passages :—

I have attain'd that terrible consummation,  
My soul could stand aloof, and from on high  
Look down upon the ruins of my body,  
Smiling in apathy : I feel no longer ;  
I challenge Rome to give another pang.

What avails it now,  
That my proud views despised the narrow limits,

Which minds that span and measure out ambition  
 Had fix'd to mine; and while I seem'd intent  
 On savage subjects and Numidian forests,  
 My soul had pass'd the bounds of Africa!—  
 Defeated, overthrown!—yet to the last  
 Ambition taught me hope, and still my mind,  
 Through danger, flight and carnage, grasp'd dominion;  
 And had not Bocchus—curses, curses, on him!—  
 What Rome has done, she did it for ambition;  
 What Rome has done, I might—I would have done;  
 What *thou* hast done, thou wretch! Oh had she proved  
 Nobly deceitful; had she seized the traitor,  
 And join'd him with the fate of the betray'd,  
 I had forgiven her all; for he had been  
 The consolation of my prison hours;  
 I could forget my woes in stinging him;  
 And if before this day his little soul  
 Had not in bondage wept itself away,  
 Rome and Jugurtha should have triumph'd over him.

I'll sleep no more, until I sleep for ever:  
 When I slept last, I heard Adherbal scream,  
 I'll sleep no more! I'll *think* until I die:  
 My eyes shall pore upon my miseries,  
 Until my miseries shall be no more.  
 Yet wherefore did he scream? Why, I have heard  
 His living scream,—it was not half so frightful.  
 Whence comes the difference? When the man was living,  
 Why, I did gaze upon his couch of torments  
 With placid vengeance, and each anguish'd cry  
 Gave me stern satisfaction; now he's dead,  
 And his lips move not;—yet his voice's image  
 Flash'd such a dreadful darkness o'er my soul,  
 I would not mount Numidia's throne again,  
 Did every night bring such a scream as that.

About this time he also became a member of the Historical Society, and immediately became distinguished by his oratorical as well as his poetical talents. One of his poems, "Patriotism," obtaining the Society's medal. On one occasion he was selected by the Auditor,\* to deliver the inaugural address. This address was intended to unfold the advantages resulting from the Institution, and to expatiate at large upon its three leading departments—History, Poetry, and Oratory; and although at the time of its delivery, its composition had not been quite completed, it was received with great applause, and Wolfe was adjudged the gold medal for it. From the fragments which remain, we can judge how well it deserved that prize, and can form an opinion of what it would have been had the author bestowed sufficient care on its elaboration. Even in what remains of it may be discovered, not merely vigour of expression and originality of thought; but lofty sentiment and enthusiastic admiration of the fine arts. One brief extract we cannot refrain from inserting.

"But the science which Poetry loves most to study and to inculcate, is the philosophy of human nature,—the science of the human heart.

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\* William Brooke Esq., now one of the Masters in Chancery.

The man of the world will tell you that he understands it, and will send you to the world as the source of his knowledge. He has collected a few loathsome and selfish depravities, and bestows them, without distinction of character, as the attributes of the whole human race; and the result of all his important calculations, mighty researches, and accumulated experience, is caution, distrust, and a contracted heart. But do not you likewise; do you look upon your common nature with hearts full of sensibility; weak as it is, contemplate its grand and generous faculties as well as its baser ingredients;—let it be yours to pity—perhaps to improve it. Poetry, both ancient and modern, presents the heart and passions perpetually to our contemplation; and its criticism is perhaps the best introduction to an analysis of the human mind.”

And he continues, boldly and eloquently, to vindicate the majesty of virtue, insulted, as it too often is, by the fallacious and unjust conclusions drawn by the so-called man of the world from his own perverted heart: who, forsooth, inured to vice, and unable to trace within himself any but the selfish emotions of depravity, unjustly attributes to all men the same base sentiments by which he is himself actuated; and endeavours to solace himself with the thought, that the experience of all is fraught with the same melancholy results as his own. Wise and virtuous men, however, do not take such a gloomy, such an unfair view of human nature.

That Wolfe would have become a distinguished prose writer, had he applied himself to that line of composition, is evident from the fragments of his which remain. He has left behind him several unfinished sermons, which would acquire but little elaboration to become admirable specimens of pulpit eloquence; and Archdeacon Russell has also preserved a gem in the shape of a vision, entitled “The College Course,” which, written in the style so frequently adopted by Addison and Steele in the *Spectator* and the *Tattler*, is little inferior to many of the productions of those distinguished essayists. Indeed, one of his most remarkable traits was the versatility of his talents. We have already alluded to his compositions in poetry and in prose; we shall now advert to his success in that branch of study, which is in general considered the pursuit least congenial to a poet, namely, mathematics. The following account is taken from a very amusing, but scarce little work, called “College Recollections.”

“Wolfe had early acquired a very high reputation: for the first two years of his residence in college he had devoted himself to classical studies, which seemed more congenial to his fine taste and

sparkling fancy; and during this time he had carried off all the prizes, and was admitted to be by eminence the most distinguished man of his day. In the third year, when languages are no longer objects of exclusive interest, he found that his inferiority in the sciences precluded him from his accustomed distinction. As usual his friends started to rush eagerly up to the hall when the bell announced that the examination had ended, and the multitudes issued forth at the opened doors; but not as usual did Wolfe receive their congratulations, and he had, examination after examination, to read in the countenances around him an expression of disappointment. This was not to be endured. However distasteful to him the sciences were, it was more disagreeable to be defeated, and to see his friends mortified. The division in which he happened to be was that in which the best science scholar in the undergraduate course had, for nearly three years, maintained an undisputed ascendancy. Wolfe might, if he pleased, have had himself transferred into a division where he would have had a fairer prospect of success; but this would not satisfy his ambition. It demanded a more noble triumph. He accordingly held his place in his class, and devoted himself only the more earnestly to what might almost be termed a new study. During the entire interval between the examinations, he kept his noble faculties concentrated, and in intense action, upon what had been a most distasteful pursuit, and felt himself, when the time of trial drew near, possessed of knowledge and power which he had, in the beginning, but faint hopes of attaining. During the examination (which was continued at intervals for two days) the interest and speculation respecting the result it is almost impossible to describe. At these trials of academic proficiency, no persons are permitted to be present except the examinant and their examiners. After the first morning it was noised abroad that Wolfe had answered with great ability, and had solved some difficult problems; and it was observed that his adversary did not pass across the courts to his room with his accustomed supercilious composure: the report at the close of the day was, that Wolfe had maintained, and indeed increased, the character he had made in the morning; and some said he had gained a decided advantage over his competitor. The next day passed in the same manner, the interest becoming more general through the college; and if a stranger, during the last hours of the examination, were to pass through the courts, he would have had his attention strongly arrested by the faces of the different groups scattered in various directions abroad, and by the restlessness with which single stragglers were in motion; now at the closed door of the hall, now looking up to the college clock, and seeing that there were still five minutes to pass; he would have felt certain that something of much more than ordinary interest was in agitation. At last the small bell tingled, and the doors were thrown open. It is little to say that the wave from within was met by a more precipitous rush from all the parts of the court without, to know the result; and although there were perhaps thirty premiums adjudged, yet the whole interest of the enquiries seemed to be centred in the fate of one; and for a moment the faces of friends and brothers

were unnoticed in the eagerness to explore amidst the moving mass the face of ——— and his opponent, Wolfe. The first who came out was ———. His features seemed sunk and pale, and there was a bewildered air over his countenance, as if he was incapable of comprehending whether all around him was real. This was soon understood, when Wolfe was distinguished, with a suppressed enthusiasm breaking out in every feature and every expression of his countenance, and his friends now needed not to be told that he had been successful; and yet amidst all their joy and exultation, the appearance of ——— crossing the courts with a hurried and disordered air, and without taking notice of the few friends who accompanied him, had the power effectually to check any disposition which they might have felt of making a public demonstration of their triumph. It was on the evening of this day that I met him for the first time; I cannot but call it a proud evening for him. Every person in company, except myself, was a tried and valued friend, and he knew how truly I esteemed his character; there was not, therefore, an individual present whom he did not know to rejoice in his triumph; and I cannot conceive what can be called a proud moment, if that be not one in which a man feels himself surrounded by a group, in whose countenances he can trace a sympathy with his own rejoicing; and where he knows that in every heart, however elevated, and however full of frolic and of glee, there is under all its varied emotions a feeling of delight at his triumph, which ardent and exhilarated spirits cannot and will not chase away. As the night advanced, and as various guests one by one passed away, the conversation began to grow more serious and more interesting. Every one knows how much more full and unconstrained the communication of hearts becomes according as the social circle narrows. We spoke now no longer on general topics. We spoke of the day's triumph; we made Wolfe recount the various emotions and alarms which he had experienced; we heard of questions such as struck him for the moment with dismay, and of the animation with which his whole faculties had concentrated themselves as if into one powerful impulse, and borne him through the difficulty suddenly. From speaking of the event of the day, we were drawn on to speak of the future; and it became a general wish that he would devote himself to the study in which he had made so happy a commencement, and give himself up to the labour of fellowship reading. There were many reasons why his friends urged this upon him. He was of a very religious character, and would be an ornament to the clerical profession; and then for other professions he seemed little qualified, from his uncommon simplicity of mind and ignorance of the world. He was certainly very agreeable in manner, and possessed of a very high intellect; but he never employed his mental powers in judging of men; and although he could analyse with signal beauty and precision the characters which history set before him; yet he seemed to lay all this power of judging aside when it was to be employed in the affairs of daily life, and was always likely, from his candour and his unsuspecting temper, to be deceived by the least artful imposture. A fellowship therefore, it was decided, was the object



towards which Wolfe should look ; and a fellowship, in the yielding kindness of his heart, through compliance with the entreaties of his friends, he determined to seek."

Anxious, however, as some of his friends were for Wolfe to devote himself to the course of reading requisite to procure a fellowship ; and highly as they approved of his intention of doing so, this determination does not seem to have met with the approval of all, as we are informed ; we quote from "College Recollections," that—

"Many a female voice was raised against this decision when it was communicated to his friends in town, for Wolfe was a very general favorite in female circles. Though his person was rather awkward and heavily formed, yet there was something in his look and air which said he was a gentleman ; and in his countenance there was such an expression of purity, and intelligence, and enthusiasm, that you never took into account against him the smallness of his eyes, and that the shape of his face was heavy. It was the triumph of mind over matter, and his constant cheerfulness of temper and easily excitable spirits, did for his features what they did for every subject he spoke upon—diffusing their own character and their own light over what might otherwise remain unnoticed or uninteresting. "Is it true," said a very pretty girl, "that Mr. Wolfe has decided on reading for a fellowship ? Mamma said last night that he had, and that he told her so—I am sure there are men enough to be fellows, and now I suppose he will never come out to a party any more ; and if we ever see him he will be so solemn and so dull that it would be better to be one of his books than his partner." However, Wolfe did not in the least alter his manner or disposition. During the day he was faithfully employed in his arduous labours ; but the moment night came on, his happy spirits rallied about him, and he was to be seen the most joyous and enlivening member of every circle which was happy enough to have a claim upon him."

For a short period Wolfe pursued his studies with great vigour and earnestness, and his friends were beginning to entertain the most sanguine hopes of his ultimate success.

"But the habits of his mind, and the peculiarity of his disposition, and the variety of his taste, seemed adverse to anything like continued and laborious application to one definite object. It was a singular characteristic of his mind, that he seldom read any book throughout, not even those works in which he appeared most to delight. Whatever he read, he thoroughly digested and accurately retained ; but his progress through any book of an argumentative or speculative nature was impeded by a disputative habit of thought and a fertility of invention, which suggested ingenious objections and started new theories at every step. Accordingly this constitution of mind led him rather to investigate the grounds of an author's hypothesis, and to satisfy his own mind upon the relative probabilities of conflicting

opinions, than to plod on patiently through a long course, merely to lay up in his memory the particular views and arguments of each writer, without consideration of their importance or their foundation."

Nor was it merely the peculiar constitution of his mind which prevented him from prosecuting with perseverance his studies for a fellowship; the facility of his disposition and his love of society materially impeded his progress. He never could deny himself to a visitor, and great portion of his time was given up to, what he delighted in, conversational debate. Nor were these the only obstacles; about this time Wolfe became intimate with a family who resided in the country at no great distance from Dublin, and this intimacy soon ripened into an attachment to one of its members. The fellows of Trinity College at that period still groaned under the statutable celibacy which had been imposed upon them at a time when an anti-matrimonial Queen wished all her subjects to imitate her example; and Wolfe therefore gradually relaxed in his efforts, and finally abandoned altogether his intention of trying for a fellowship. The course of his love did not, however, run smooth. His prospects of obtaining a competency in any profession were so distant and so uncertain, that the young lady's family deemed it incumbent to put a stop to any further intimacy. This disappointment preyed deeply upon Wolfe. It pressed upon both mind and body, and to it some of his friends have in part attributed the disease to which he afterwards fell a victim, as up to this period his health had been robust; even his deportment became quite changed.

"No one," says the author of 'College Recollections,' "could now complain of his ardent and exuberant spirits, nor yet accuse him of being absent or abstracted. He paid a polite attention to everything that was passing in company; not a seeming, but a real attention, as long as he could keep down the strong sensations of his heart. I have seen him sometimes, apparently overcome, cover his eyes with his hand, and seemingly give a loose to his inward feelings; and then, when he roused himself to resume his place in company, I could see that the expression of his countenance was, as it were, a struggle between tenderness and severity, as if he had felt a tear rising to his eye, and had frowned it away indignantly. It was, of course, when alone that the power of his affection most over-mastered him, and then the influence of abstract studies was but a poor auxiliary against the impetuosity of a domineering passion. The reader will be able to form an opinion of the state in which he passed his private hours from a circumstance which occurred one evening, in a company where I was present. I had been sitting with some friends on a winter night, after our several studies for the day were

over, when we were joined by a visitor whose character would well deserve a longer notice than I can here afford to give of it. He was very much addicted to mathematical pursuits, and had attained a high proficiency in them, but upon most other subjects was but very slightly informed. Indeed he had an inward contempt for all other studies than those in which he himself excelled, and more particularly for all connected with taste and imagination. "What have we here?" said he, looking at an open book upon the table.—"Wordsworth's Excursion!—This is the man that babbles about green fields. Well, gentlemen, don't let me interrupt your agreeable conversation. Don't, I beg of you, speak sense in compliment to me. I have got some papers of Wolfe's to look over, and so you may speak poetry while I am examining them." We resumed our conversation, and he proceeded to the examination of the papers. Some indistinct murmurs drew our attention to him, and we saw an expression of sarcastic triumph on his countenance. After remaining for some time silent, and apparently enjoying the discovery he had made, he said, "Gentlemen, some of you who are better acquainted with this kind of language than I am, may be able to explain an expression I have met with here, and which I do not think strictly algebraic." He showed us the paper, it was intended for a calculation of a comet's perihelion distance; but the calculation had been interrupted by some thought Wolfe had not been able to suppress, and he had given it expression.—

"That smile I'll remember for ever."

It was in this manner that his passion displayed itself in pursuits so seemingly uncongenial. In one place we found a most ingenious and beautiful solution of a very difficult problem. Even our sarcastic visitor muttered his applause; and just under the calculation there was written, "Oh, grief, grief." It was a painful thing to witness the proofs which these papers afforded of the anguish to which poor Wolfe's mind had become a prey; and to see that his virtuous struggles to disengage himself from the remembrances which were consuming him, were of so little avail."

The line, "That smile I'll remember for ever," quoted above, occurs in a song which we shall make no apology for giving in full.

Oh my love has an eye of the softest blue,  
Yet it was not that that won me;  
But a little bright drop from her soul was  
there—  
'Tis that that has undone me.

I might have pass'd that lovely cheek,  
Nor, perchance, my heart have left me;  
But the sensitive blush that came trembling  
there,  
'Gave my heart its for ever hereft me.

I might have forgotten that red, red lip—  
Yet how from the thought to sever?  
But there was a smile from the sunshine  
within,  
And that smile I'll remember for ever.

Think not 'tis nothing but lifeless clay  
The elegant form that haunts me—  
'Tis the gracefully delicate mind that moves  
In every step, that enchants me.

Let me not hear the nightingale sing,  
Though I once in its notes delighted;  
The feeling and mind that comes whispering  
forth,  
Has left me no music beside it.

Who could blame had I loved that face,  
Ere my eye could twice explore her?  
Yet it is for the fairy intelligence there,  
And her warm—warm heart I adore her.

It was also while his attachment was at its height, that he addressed the following stanzas, some of which resemble in animation the spirit-stirring strains of Burns, to George Grierson of the Irish Bar, who, as is stated by one of Wolfe's biographers, was the brother of the young lady of his attachment.

• TO A FRIEND.

My own friend—my own friend !  
There's no one like my own friend ;  
For all she gold,  
The world can hold,  
I wou'd not give my own friend.

So bold and frank his bearing, boy,  
Should you meet him onward faring, boy,  
In Lapland's snow  
Or Chili's glow,  
You'd say, what news from Erin, boy ?

He has a curious mind, boy,  
'Tis jovial—'tis refined, boy,  
'Tis richly fraught  
With random thought,  
And feelings wildly kind, boy.

'Twas eaten up with care, boy,  
For circle, line, and square, boy—  
And few believed  
That genius thrived  
Upon such drowsy fare, boy.

But his heart that beat so strong, boy,  
Forsook her—longer long, boy—  
So she shook her wing,  
And with a spring  
Away she bore away, boy.

She waxes unconfined, boy,  
All wayward on the wind, boy ;  
Yet her song  
All along  
Was of those she left behind, boy.

And we may let him roam, boy,  
For years and years to come, boy,  
In storm and ease—  
In mirth and ease,  
He'll never forget his home, boy.

O give him not to wear, boy,  
Your wings of braided hair, boy—  
Without this fuss  
He'll think of us—  
His heart—he has us there, boy.

For what can't be undone, boy,  
He will not blubber on, boy—  
He'll brightly smile,  
Yet think the while  
Upon the friend that's gone, boy.

O saw you his fire-side, boy,  
And these that round it bide, boy.  
You'd glow to see  
The thrilling glee  
Around his fire-side, boy.

Their story, poignant mirth, boy,  
From feeling has its birth, boy ;  
'Tis worth the groans  
And the moans  
Of half the dolts on earth, boy.

Each soul that there has smiled, boy,  
Is Erin's native child, boy—  
A woodbine flower  
In Erin's bower,  
So elegant, so wild, boy.

The early clouds that roll, boy,  
Will not for storms console, boy ;  
'Tis the rainbow's light  
So tenderly bright,  
That softens and cheers the soul, boy.

I'd ask no friends to mourn, boy,  
When I to dust return, boy—  
'No breath of sigh  
Or brine of eye  
Should gather round my urn, boy.

I just would ask a tear, boy,  
From every eye that's there, boy ;  
Then a smile each day,  
All sweetly gay,  
My memory should repair, boy.

The laugh that there endears, boy—  
The memory, of your years, boy—  
Would more delight  
Your hovering sprite  
Than half the world's tears, boy.

We shall give one more of Wolfe's productions which must close our extracts :—

Oh say not that my heart is cold  
To aught that once could warm it—  
That Nature's form, so dear of old,  
No more has power to charm it ;

Or that th' ungenerous world can chill  
One glow of fond emotion  
For those who made it dearer still,  
And shared my wild devotion.

Still oft those solemn scenes I view  
 In rapt and dreamy sadness;  
 Oft look on those who loved them too  
 With fancy's idle gladness;  
 Again I long'd to view the light  
 In Nature's features glowing;  
 Again to tread the mountain's height,  
 And taste the soul's o'erflowing.

Stern Duty rose, and frowning flung  
 His leaden chain around me;  
 With iron look and sullen tongue  
 He mutter'd as he bound me—  
 "The mountain breeze, the boundless heaven  
 Unfit for toll the creature;  
 These for the free alone are given,—  
 But what have slaves with Nature?"

The rest of Wolfe's history can be very briefly told. Having given up all idea of a fellowship, he resolved to enter into orders; indeed he seems to have had for some years a tendency to the ministry. He accordingly commenced his divinity studies, in which, however, he does not appear to have distinguished himself as much as his brilliant success in other pursuits might have led his friends to expect. He was ordained in 1817, and was in a short time appointed to a temporary curacy at Ballyclog, a remote district in the County of Tyrone; here, however, he did not make any great stay, as in January, 1818, we find him permanently settled as a curate in the parish of Donoughmore. From his letters it may be gathered that his duties were very laborious; his parish being very extensive, and situated in a wild and hilly district, the population of which was so scattered that it was no easy task for Wolfe to keep up that intercourse with his flock which he thought it incumbent on a clergyman to maintain. His time was so occupied as altogether to preclude him from indulging his taste for literature; and what must have been the severest trial of all, poor Wolfe does not seem to have had a single congenial mind to commune with. He devoted himself with the most exemplary zeal to his multifarious duties, particularly during one year in which typhus fever prevailed to an alarming extent in his parish. He was most indefatigable in visiting the sick, and careless of his own health, exposed himself without precaution to every hardship; and thus unfortunately confirmed a consumptive tendency which had manifested itself while he was in college. In 1821, Archdeacon Russell was induced, from the accounts of Wolfe's failing health which reached his friends, to visit him at Castle Caulfield. He found him just returned from Scotland, where he had gone to consult a physician who was celebrated for his skill in cases of consumption; and witnessed the enthusiastic affection with which his poor but attached flock welcomed him back. The Archdeacon was shocked at the deplorable state in which he found his friend. We subjoin a brief account of it—an account which for the sake of religion,

not to say humanity, we hope is not, at the present day, applicable to any of the curates of the Established Church :—

“The habits of his life while he resided on his cure, were in every respect calculated to confirm his constitutional tendency to consumption. He seldom thought of providing a regular meal; and his humble cottage exhibited every appearance of the neglect of the ordinary comforts of life. A few straggling rush-bottomed chairs, piled up with his books, a small rickety table before the fire-place, covered with parish memoranda, and two trunks containing all his papers—serving at the same time to cover the broken parts of the floor—constituted all the furniture of his sitting-room. The mouldy walls of the closet in which he slept were hanging with loose folds of damp paper; and between this wretched cell and his parlour was the kitchen, which was occupied by a disbanded soldier, his wife, and their numerous brood of children, who had emigrated with him from his first quarters, and seemed now in full possession of the whole concern, entertaining him merely as a lodger, and usurping the entire disposal of his small plot of ground, as the absolute lords of the soil.”

After a great deal of importunity, Wolfe was, with much difficulty, induced to return to Dublin where most of his friends resided. For a short time his health continued to fluctuate; and towards the approach of winter he was ordered to the South of France. He accordingly proceeded to Bourdeaux, where he remained for a month. On his return, his friends flattered themselves that he had derived benefit from the voyage; but their hopes were short-lived. The fell disease soon re-appeared in an aggravated shape. In vain did he, by the directions of his physicians, remove to the Cove of Cork for the winter; the symptoms gradually increased, his strength daily diminished, and on the 23rd of February, 1823, Wolfe calmly and happily expired.

It cannot but be matter of regret that Wolfe should have written so little, and should have discontinued writing at such an early age. The Ode on the Burial of Sir John Moore, which is stated on good authority to have been the last poem composed by him, was written in 1814, when Wolfe was but three-and-twenty; and had he, when his faculties had become more matured, and his excessive sensibility been somewhat blunted, applied himself sedulously to composition, there can scarcely be a question, but that he would have produced something superior to the few fugitive pieces which remain, beautiful as some of them undeniably are. Wolfe, however, seems never to have had any method in his writing, but to

have composed his different poems by fits and starts, as the mood inspired him ; and being utterly indifferent to literary fame, he appears never to have taken the least interest in the fate of his productions ; not one of which we believe was ever published by himself. As soon as he had resolved to enter into orders, he at once discontinued every species of composition, but that which was requisite for his professional duties ; and when ordained he entered upon the discharge of his sacred functions with a zeal and an energy, which, though scarcely to have been expected from one with a mind constituted as his was, effectually precluded him from any other occupation. Unlike his brother clergymen, Maturin and Sterling, Wolfe never regretted his choice of the church as a profession ; nor was his life like theirs, one perpetual strife between the impulse of genius, and the dictates of duty. His brief career presents, as we stated before, scarce an incident of any interest to recount ; but we have thought that a short memoir of one, who as a poet, and still more as a man, reflects credit upon our common country, would not be uninteresting, or inappropriate in an Irish publication.

## ART. V.—ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM.

1. *Debates in Parliament on Administrative Reform.*
2. *Report of the Examiners appointed for examining Candidates for the Civil Service.*
3. *Meetings and Documents of the Administrative Reform Association.*

That Change is the law of our being, is a truism which is enforced upon the mind at every instant of our mortal existence. We live, we breathe, we move in an atmosphere of change, and all things round us bear upon their front the signs and indications of transiency and instability. The moment in which we conceive a thought it passes from us, and is succeeded by another and another, ere that thought is developed. The act, however brief, that we perform occupies a succession of time in its accomplishment. The sounds that strike the ear are gone almost ere noted, and are followed by others equally fleeting and unenduring. The objects presented to the eye impress the same idea of mutability by their motion, intrinsic or extrinsic, as the motion and changes of position of the observer himself, and the variations of light and darkness, sunshine and cloud.

Events of public, as of private, life arise, pass on, and others come crowding after them, even like the flowing past of waters; and habit makes us see, without surprise, that the occurrence which but now was present has, in a twinkling as it were, become a thing of the past, leaving its place occupied by something else, which, in its turn, passes onward quickly and is gone. The minutes, the hours, have their never-ending, never-staying succession,—the days, the weeks, the months, the years, are ever similarly urging, or being urged forward, and fleeing by us in an endless train. Our fellow creatures change around us, and within ourselves we feel and find the same incessant change—that change to which all creation is subject from its birth, and which nothing in creation can for one moment obstruct or arrest in its decreed and perpetual course.

But if it be forbidden and impossible for man to stay this mighty and all pervading principle, he has, however, a power



reserved to him in regard to it, of which he can make a large and a noble use, if he have but the intelligence and the will. If, instead of dreaming of a foolish and vain resistance, he foresee in time the inevitable approach of change; if in time he prepare and be ready to go with it, and seize with happy quickness upon the means that shall chance to present themselves of guiding and directing it, all shock and jarring may be avoided, and the movement will proceed easily and naturally, so as to give rather the idea of a developement than that of a substitution or a transmutation.

Happy, then, is the man or nation that recognises, and is prepared in due season to adopt and observe this policy. Particularly happy is England among the nations of Europe, that it is in the very essence and spirit of her constitution to accept and yield to change when the appointed hour has struck, without being liable to either of the errors which have elsewhere proved so disastrous—that of violent and frenzied anticipation, or blind and obstinate resistance. It were a needless waste of time to recapitulate the several instances in which this happy spirit has been displayed—instances multiplied within the memory of the existing generation, and several of them fresh in our minds at this moment. Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, Reform of the Municipal Corporations of the three Kingdoms, abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, abolition of the Corn Laws, Free Trade, and (despite of lawyers) Legal and Judicial Reforms of no mean magnitude, such have been, within less than thirty years, the important changes effected happily and beneficially, because taken up in their inevitable time and cheerfully accepted. And now again we see a large political change in progress of acceptance—a change not by any means “looming in the future,” but actually upon us and being proceeded with as we write. We allude to what its professed promoters complacently proclaim to be the terror of patronage lovers and seekers, the much talked of agitation for ameliorating the system of appointments and promotions in the offices and employments of the state.

“The French Revolution has resumed its onward march!” said the Thunderer of the Press in February, 1848, on the startling, yet not altogether unlooked for intelligence, that the glass-palace-royalty of Louis Philippe, with all its sheen and splendor, had broken into fragments and gone down all at once in shivering ruin before the terrible hurricane of popular

fury! "*Reform* has resumed its onward march"! do the advocates and abettors of the present Administrative Reform Movement cry out as oracularly and as magniloquently: but it yet remains to be seen if the flaws and cracks they so loudly denounce in the existing structure of our Public Administration, be forerunners of an equally wholesale shattering and scattering, or merely matters remediable at the cost of a little energetic effort, and without a total subversion.

To consider the movement in question, its professed objects, its management, progress, and prospects, is the purpose of our paper; and as the directest way to plunge at once *in medias res*, we shall set out with the text supplied to us by its chief Parliamentary promoters, and go on thence with its brief but not uninteresting history to the present time.

On the 15th of June, then, in the last year, 1855, we find Mr. Layard, M.P. for Aylesbury, bringing forward in the House of Commons a motion in relation to the subject, couched in the following terms, viz.

"That this House views with deep and increasing concern the state of the nation, and is of opinion that the manner in which merit and efficiency have been sacrificed in public appointments to party and family influences, and to a blind adherence to routine, has given rise to great misfortunes, and threatens to bring discredit on the national character, and involve the country in great disasters."

Upon this motion an amendment was moved by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton to the following effect:—

"That this House recommends to the earliest attention of Her Majesty's ministers the necessity of a careful revision of our various official establishments, with a view to simplify and facilitate the transaction of public business; and by instituting judicious tests of merit, as well as by removing obstructions to its fair promotion and legitimate rewards, to secure to the service of the state the largest available proportion of the energy and intelligence for which the people of this country are distinguished."\*

The distinguished traveller and distinguished author, whose motion and amendment we have now set out, have themselves but accepted the movement and by no means originated it, or had any part in so doing. Twenty years ago and more, the

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\* Hansard, Vol. 138, M.S. 204., pp. 2041, &c. 1855.

concentration of opinion upon the subject—that concentration which carries everything in these countries upon which it can be got and brought to bear—had begun, and in the dreary course of the years that have since intervened, neither Mr. Layard nor Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton had made any demonstration even of being aware of what was in preparation. When at length the movement had acquired importance enough to engage parliamentary attention, they adroitly seized upon it, *ut mos est*, with Parliamentary aspirants to distinction, and have sought to make it their own. Credit may be given to them for their services, present and prospective, but they are not to cheat out of their proper fame the earlier advocates and promoters.

Exactly twenty years ago, in the year 1836, Henry Taylor published a work entitled, *The Statesman*, in which the following remarks occur :—

The far greater proportion of the duties which are performed in the office of a Minister are, and *must be (!)* performed under no effective responsibility, where politics and parties are not affected by the matter in question, and so long as there is no flagrant neglect or glaring injustice which a party can take hold of, the responsibility to Parliament is merely nominal, or falls otherwise only through casualty, caprice, and a misemployment of the time due from Parliament to legislative affairs. Thus the business of the office may be reduced within a very manageable compass, without creating public scandal. *By evading decisions wherever they can be evaded ; by shifting them on other departments and authorities wherever they can be shifted ; by giving decisions upon superficial examinations,—categorically, so as not to expose the superficiality in expounding the reasons ; by deferring questions till, as Lord Bacon says “ they resolve of themselves ; by undertaking nothing for the public good, which the public voice does not call for ; by conciliating loud and energetic individuals at the expense of such public interests as are dumb or do not attract attention ; by sacrificing everywhere what is feeble and obscure to what is influential and cognizable ; by such means and shifts as these, the single functionary granted by the theory may reduce his business within his powers, and perhaps obtain for himself the most valuable of all reputations in this line of life, that of “ a safe man,” and if his business even thus reduced, strains, as it well may, his powers and his industry to the utmost, then (whatever may be the theory), the man may be without reproach—without other reproach at least than that which belongs to men placing themselves in a way to have their understandings abused and debased, their sense of justice corrupted, their public spirit and appreciation of public objects undermined.—Page 153.*

It is one business to do what must be done, another to devise what ought to be done. It is in the spirit of the British Govern-

ment, as hitherto existing, to transact only the former business ; and the reform which it requires is to enlarge the spirit so as to include the latter. Of and from amongst those measures which are forced upon him, to choose that which will bring him the most credit with the least trouble, has hitherto been the sole care of a statesman in office ; and, as a statesman's official establishment has been heretofore constituted, it is care enough for any man. Every day, every hour, has its exigencies, its immediate demands ; and he who has hardly time to eat his meals cannot be expected to occupy himself in devising good for mankind. "I am," says Mr. Landon's statesman, "a waiter at a tavern where every hour is dinner time, and pick-a-bone upon a silver dish,"—the current compulsory business he gets through as he may ; some is undone, some is ill done ; but, at best, to get it done is an object which he proposes to himself. But as to the inventive and suggestive portions of a statesman's functions, he would think himself an Utopian dreamer if he undertook them ; and such he would be, if he undertook them in any other way than *through a re-constitution and reform of his establishment.*"—*Page 159.*

This, then, is the great evil and want,—that there is not, within the pale of our Government, any adequately numerous body of able statesmen ; some to be more externally active, and answer the demands of the day ; others to be somewhat more retired and meditative, in order that they may take thought for the morrow. How great the evil of this want is,—it may require peculiar opportunities of observation fully to understand and feel ; but one who, with competent knowledge, should consider well the number and magnitude of those measures which are postponed for years, or totally pretermitted—not for want of practicability, but for want of time and thought ; one who should proceed with such knowledge to consider the great means and appliances of wisdom which lie scattered through this intellectual country, squandered upon individual purposes—not for want of applicability to national ones, but for want of being brought together and directed ; one who, surveying these things with a heart capable of a people's joys and sorrows, their happy virtue or miserable guilt on these things dependent, should duly estimate the abundant means unemployed, the exalted ends unaccomplished, could not choose, I think, but say within himself, that there must be something *fatally amiss in the very idea of statesmanship on which our system of administration is based* ; or that there must be some moral apathy at what should be the very centre and seat of life in a country, —that the golden bowl must be broken at the fountain, and the wheel broken at the cistern.

Yet such is the prevalent insensibility to that which constitutes the real treasure and resources of the country, its serviceable and statesman-like minds ; and, so far are men in power from searching the country through for such minds, or men in Parliament from promoting or permitting the search, that I hardly know if that minister has existed in the present generation, who, if such a mind were casually presented to him, would not forego the use of it rather than hazard a debate in the House of Commons upon an additional item in his estimates.

Till the Government of the country shall become a nucleus of which the best wisdom in the country contained shall be perpetually forming itself in deposit, it will be, except as regards the shuffling of power from hand to hand and class to class, little better than a Government of fetches, shifts, and hand-to-mouth expedients.

Till a wise and constant instrumentality at work upon administrative measures (distinguished as they might be from measures of political parties) shall be understood to be essential to the Government of a country, that country can be considered to enjoy nothing more than the embryo of a Government,—a means towards producing thorough changes in its own structure and constitution, and in the political elements acting upon it, something worthy to be called a *Government*, at some future time. For governing a country is a very different thing from upholding a Government, "*alia res sceptrum, alia plectrum.*"

This is going a little higher perhaps than the exact pitch of the present aspirations of Administrative Reformers, but their large souls "have stomach for it all"! They profess to desire and hope to see accomplished or attained this pitch of perfection, but for the present confine themselves to the narrower and more practical point of obtaining "the best men in the right place" in the minor appointments of the state.

It certainly does not very clearly appear how the perfection aimed at by Henry Taylor in the extract just quoted, can be reduced from the domain of theory and speculation to that of experiment and practice. No doubt there is unfortunately only too much truth in his description of the "hand-to-mouth" system under which the higher administration of imperial affairs is carried on. No doubt present emergencies are thought more of than abstract fitnesses. No doubt the louder and more energetic and more pressing, whether individuals, bodies, or those *corporeal incorporeabilities*, public movements, carry the day in the realms of administration, as they do in minor spheres of life. But these are incidents inseparable from human affairs, necessities of our imperfect state of being here below, and until angels shall come down and take on themselves the task of earthly government, these things will go on and recur again and again, and at best we can only mitigate what it is really not given to us to correct or prevent.

There is no Royal road even to this mitigation. It must be a work of time, of labour, of the aggregate of an infinitude of small efforts in detail constantly and perseveringly made, and perseveringly carried out in despite of opposition, difficul-

ties, discouragements. A reform in the minor appointments of the State, if it progress successfully, would largely conduce towards ultimate ameliorations in the higher departments, according as the parties selected for fitness below should gradually approach the top of the ladder. An increase and enlargement of political education and ideas in the general body of the community, would operate as the due preparing of the soil, and providing of the necessary materials, and binding mortar wherein and wherewith to lay the secure foundations and upraise the structure of the new edifice. The first of these postulates is the immediate object and purpose of the present agitation. The second of them is yet a matter of theory, or, we should perhaps say, of many theories, for many and various indeed are the schemes and theories for general improvement and enlightenment that are constantly being "ventilated" in society.

A cursory review of the Debate in which Mr. Layard and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton made the motion and amendment respectively which we have already given, will best shew the light in which the movement is publicly considered, and the general nature of the expectations entertained of its progress and possible results.

Mr. Layard assumed the fact which was not contested, that a feeling was abroad, very generally, of dissatisfaction with the existing system of administration, and remarked that whether that feeling were justifiable or not, the House would do well and rightly by giving it a fair consideration.

He then proceeded to explain his personal opinions on the matter, by stating that he considered the Government of the country to be a class monopoly in the hands of a few families absorbing occasionally those who had gained notice as leaders of the people and representatives of popular opinion, and thus getting rid of their opposition and silencing their denunciations. The consequence of all this was, a general loss of confidence in the Government. This want of confidence was felt, first as to the management of the Army—second, as to that of the Diplomatic and Consular Services, and third, as to the Civil Service at home.

In reference to the first of these divisions or departments, he read, amongst other letters, one from Lieutenant-General Sir William Napier, which contained the following remarkable passage viz. :—

With respect to favoritism generally, it certainly pervades the British Army to an inordinate degree, seeing that no officer of high or low rank, no man below the rank of an officer, no civilian related to or interested for an officer by relationship or friendship, or seeking himself to enter the army, but whose first thought and immediate course is not, very vehemently to beseech some person privately to use influence to obtain by favor what is sought for. The universal constant prayer is, '*Let me have your interest!*'

Sometimes indeed, some poor forlorn officer merely states his long and arduous services, his wounds, and the number of his relations who have been killed in action;—but this only to *sway the influential person addressed, not as grounds for acceding to his claim!*

Why is this? Surely because the absolute necessity of private interests apart from merit is universally felt to be dominant.

(*Hansard, same volume, page 2047.*)

The English composition of the foregoing quotation is not the very best in the world—not exactly what has won the fame of the "*History of the Peninsular War,*"—but the stubborn English facts which it puts forward cannot be mistaken, nor denied. Mr. Layard proceeded pointedly to illustrate them:—

Colonel Hardinge entered the army as Ensign in 1844. In direct violation of the regulation requiring two years regimental duty before staff appointment, he was made aide-de-camp to his father, and served with distinction as such in the Indian Campaign. He was then made Lieutenant without purchase. Hundreds of poor Ensigns went through that campaign with no such reward. Shortly after, he was allowed to purchase a Company in another regiment, over the heads of all the Lieutenants, and was not in his new regiment many days when he got an exchange into the Coldstream Guards, and thence advanced rapidly through the Staff to his present position.—Now take the case of Lieutenant Henry Buck, who entered the service about the same time. He not only served through all the Campaigns in the Punjaub, but was likewise at Goojerat and other battles, and obtained several medals and clasps. *He is still a Lieutenant!*

Lord Eustace Cecil's promotion was excused the other day on the ground that he had shewn a meritorious desire to "*See Service.*" But he exchanged out of every regiment which was seeing service. His regiment is actually at the seat of war, and he is placed in a battalion which is at this moment in London. I was accused of inaccuracy in the case of Captain Blackett, but his father has written to the "*Times,*" to say that his son was *not* promoted for *merit*; but that it was by the influence of Colonel Upton, with whom he had gone on some pleasure excursion!!

I have a long list of Lieutenants who have served for years and years without having been promoted—I will call the attention of the House only to a few cases; avoiding as much as I possibly can the mentioning of names where it may be considered painful to individuals to do so. There was a Lieutenant Edwards who went to the

Peninsula in the year 1811—was at the storming of Badajos in 1812—and was engaged throughout the whole of the Peninsular war. He was in six medal actions, and he was thirty times under fire, and was twice wounded. He was subsequently with the army of occupation in France, and was engaged on service nearly ever since. And yet, notwithstanding a most earnest appeal to Lord Hardinge by Sir William Napier in his favor, he has remained a Lieutenant!

Let me mention another case—that of Lieutenant D——: that officer made application for promotion to the rank of Captain, without purchase. He was an Ensign in 1839. He is the son of an old officer, and has himself served some twelve or fourteen years (out of his seventeen years in the army) on Foreign Service, having been that time in India and in the China Campaigns, and he has a medal for the Chinese war. He has a family, and has exchanged into the present regiment because it was impossible for him to support his family in England. He is now the oldest subaltern in active service, and he has applied to be appointed to an unattached company. But no;—he has no friends at the Horse Guards, and therefore, he still remains a subaltern.

I will now read to the House a most touching letter furnished to me by Sir William Napier, who has applied in vain on behalf of the writer to Lord Hardinge, the Commander in Chief. The writer is a Captain in the 44th regiment, and has been forty-four years in actual service:—

“This day is the fortieth anniversary of the battle of the Nivelle—How few survive of those whom you so gallantly led that day! Am I not privileged as one of your old followers to address you. . . I have been recommended for a brevet majority (1s. per diem). My Lord Hardinge rejected my claims to this trifling boon with the inconsistency of admitting that he entertains a full sense of my merits! He has promoted a legion of youngsters over me . . . *Cependant n'importe la vie est si courte et si triste qu' on ne doit pas s'en chagriner!*”

Mr. Layard then stated a case of a very opposite description; of a Captain S——, promoted without services stated, in 1853, to a Majority over the Senior Major of his own regiment, who had entered the army years before him, and had been in the Afghanistan and Punjaub Campaigns, and been severely wounded in the Kafir war. In 1855 this lucky individual was made Deputy and Quarter-Master-General and Lieutenant Colonel, with the certainty of full Colonel's rank in three years, he meantime *retaining* his company in his own regiment. This step put him over the head of a Lieutenant Colonel who was six years his senior, and had several times distinguished himself and been wounded in action. It also put him over the head of Brigade Major Simmons, who entered the service nine years before him, and was also several times distinguished and wounded in the Indian battles.



The honourable member went on to read a return by which it appeared that out of 116 Staff Officers, only seven had received certificates of competency from the senior department of the Royal Military College.

Turning to the second branch of his subject, the Diplomatic and Consular Services, he thus summed up his chief grounds of complaint against the first of those services :—

Heads of missions 21 of noble families—nearly all being the large and important missions. Private gentlemen 7, and chiefly in small missions. Secretaries of legation 17 belonging to the nobility, 7 of the other class. Fourteen paid attaches against 10. The Hon. Mr. Stanley of the Derby family made Secretary of Legation in three years; while Mr. Alison, confessedly a man of genius, has been kept in the Turkish Embassy since 1839 without rank as Secretary of Legation, or any increase of pay. In the Consular Service, there is no promotion, and the chief posts of it are given to men who have not served in the Subordinate posts. Men of ability are kept 30 years in insignificant positions, and are mulcted in their miserable salaries not only for income tax, but for what is called the “ Foreign Office Clerks’ fees,”—an abomination in itself.

Mr. Layard’s case in respect of the “ Civil Service,” the third division of his subject, was mainly rested upon the Reports of Commissions and Committees that have from time to time examined directly or incidentally into the system pursued in that service. He first quoted Mr. Romilly’s opinion—one of the gentlemen at this moment sitting as an “ Examiner ” under the new arrangements for testing the qualifications of candidates.

Active exertions in obtaining votes in the House of Commons, large sums of money spent in Elections, a sturdy adherence to one political party, at last followed by one adverse vote, just to indicate that the former unswerving devotion ought to be duly appreciated; these and similar considerations actuate the Minister of the day in dispensing receiverships, secretaryships, commissionerships and chairmanships, according as they fall vacant. In all cases, the men so chosen are appointed, not because they are peculiarly fit, but because as political adherents they must be provided for,—they look upon their appointments not as imposing new duties and opening an important field for fresh exertions, but as a reward for the past, and an agreeable and easy retirement for the future.

Sir James Stephens, of old and long established authority in matters official, especially when connected with the Colonial office, was the next witness cited, and from him Mr. Layard quoted the following description of the three classes into which

the clerks of the Colonial Office are *practically* not technically divided.

The first, a very *small minority*, displayed qualities worthy of the highest admiration, large capacity of mind, literary powers of rare excellence, sound scholarship, indomitable energy, mature experience in public affairs and an absolute self-devotion to the public service. These men had been nearly all sought out and appointed on account of their well-ascertained fitness. \* \* \*

The third class, greatly exceeding in number the two other classes united, possessed only in a low degree, and some of them in a degree almost incredibly low, either the talents or habits of men of business, or the industry, zeal, or knowledge required for the effective performance of their appropriate functions. \* \* \* They were without exception men who had been appointed to gratify the political, the domestic or the personal feelings of their patrons.

The members of the second class, (much smaller than the third, though a little larger than the first) were chiefly, though not exclusively, indebted to nepotism for their introduction to the department.

Testimony of generally a similar nature was also given by Sir Charles Trevelyan and others.

One instance of evidence given *against* Mr. Layard's views was mentioned by him with considerable contempt. However, without agreeing with the opinions therein expressed, we shall hereafter, when noticing the remarks of a distinguished foreigner upon the Administrative Reform Movement, take occasion to shew that the evidence in question is not altogether so unworthy of consideration, as Mr. Layard and others of his rather *advanced* politics would have the public to believe. The person quoted is Mr. Romilly, one of the existing "Civil Service Examiners."

Admitting all the evils of patronage, I do not think the Civil Service should be made the instrument of the political regeneration of the country unless it be directly good for the service itself. Parliament ought to be able to cure its own diseases, without having recourse to the Civil Service \* \* \* It seems to me that the result of open competition will be a democratical Civil Service side by side with an Aristocratic Legislature.

Open competition must necessarily be in favor of the more numerous class. The natural abilities of that more numerous class, the *less rich*—are not inferior to those of the higher. Inducements to cultivate those articles will not be wanting. The comparatively moderate prizes of the Civil Service rise in value as you descend in the scale of society. I therefore believe the great majority of the appointments will fall to those who are in the lower social position,

and the more the Civil Service is recruited from the lower classes the less it will be sought after by the higher, until at last the aristocracy will be altogether dis-associated from the permanent Civil Service of the country."

The nature of the examinations actually existing in the various departments of Government, was then spoken of by Sir C. Trevelyan; and these we take from a Parliamentary Return on the subject, Number 216 of the Session of 1855, moved for by Mr. Monckton Milnes, M.P. for Pontefract, and ordered to be printed in May of that year:—

#### TREASURY.

The candidates are examined in the common rules of arithmetic, such as the rule of three, vulgar and decimal fractions, interest, and discount; and they are required to make an abstract of some official documents, to test their intelligence, and to show that they are able to write and compose correctly.

The general nature of the examination is verbally explained to the candidates, and they are allowed any time not exceeding one month to prepare for it.

#### CUSTOMS.

Persons nominated to clerkships in the Customs, upon presenting themselves to take up their appointments are at once required to write from dictation in the presence of a properly qualified officer or clerk, and are examined in the principal rules of arithmetic, and the first four rules of decimal and vulgar fractions.

If upon this examination there should appear reasonable ground to believe that they will be qualified, they are placed on probation for three months; at the expiration of that period they are subjected to a further examination.

#### EXCISE.

No person is fully admitted as a clerk in the Excise (Inland Revenue) Office until he has been examined, and his proficiency has been ascertained in reading, writing, vulgar fractions, decimals, book-keeping by double entry, writing from dictation, correspondence, geography, and the history of the British Empire.

In the metropolitan post-offices, every person nominated to a clerkship is subjected to an examination in penmanship, orthography, and arithmetic; and if to a clerkship in the Secretary's department of the London office, the candidate is also required to draw up a summary of some official case from the original documents.

A candidate who passes the examination described above receives a conditional appointment, but at the end of three months a further report is made as to his competency before his appointment is confirmed.

No formal notice is given of the first examination, but on passing it the candidate receives notice of the second.

In regard to provincial post-offices, the appointment of the clerks is entrusted to the local postmasters, subject to the approval in each case of the Postmaster-general; and before any appointment is authorised the postmaster is required to send a specimen of the candidate's writing, and to make a written report on his qualifications.

## ADMIRALTY HOUSE CLERKS.

All gentlemen hereafter to be appointed to junior clerkships in the Secretary's department of the Admiralty, at Whitehall, are to undergo an examination, conducted by the Admiralty Inspector of Schools (The Rev. Dr. Woolley) and one of the senior clerks, who will be specially named for the purpose.

The subjects of examination and the number of marks to be assigned to each subject are to be as follows:—

A. Writing from dictation from an English author	—	—	50
B. Making a précis or digest of papers or correspondence	—	—	60
C. Arithmetic, consisting of addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, reduction, rule of three, vulgar fractions, and practice	—	—	50
D. English history	—	—	40
E. Geography	—	—	40
F. Translation from Latin	—	—	20
G. Translation from French	—	—	40
Total	—	—	300

The total number of marks is to be 300, and of these, 100 must be obtained to qualify for an appointment.

The numbers to be reported to the Board of Admiralty in every case, and if a candidate shall pass a superior examination, or display peculiar excellence in any of the subjects of examination, a special report is to be made for their information.

Admiralty, 15 January, 1855.

## MEMORANDUM.

(Examination of Clerks, Somerset House.)

All gentlemen hereafter to be appointed to junior clerkships at Somerset House are to undergo an examination, conducted by the Admiralty Inspector of Schools (the Rev. Dr. Woolley) and one of the senior clerks, who will be specially named for the purpose.

The subjects of examination and the number of marks to be assigned to each subject are to be as follows:—

A. Writing from dictation from an English author	—	—	50
B. Making a précis or digest of papers or correspondence	—	—	60
C. Arithmetic, consisting of addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, reduction, rule of three, vulgar fractions, and practice	—	—	60
D. Decimal fractions, interest and discount, annuities, exchange, and system of double entry	—	—	60
E. English history	—	—	30
F. Geography	—	—	40
Total	—	—	300

The total number of marks is to be 300, and of these, 100 must be obtained to qualify for an appointment.

The numbers of marks obtained are to be reported to the Board of Admiralty in each case, and if a candidate shall pass a superior examination, or display peculiar excellence in any of the subjects of examination, a special report is to be made for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

HOME OFFICE.

— Nil. —

31 March, 1855.

(Signed)

H. WADDINGTON.

FOREIGN OFFICE.

— Nil. —

(Signed)

G. LENOX CONYNCHAM,

March, 1855.

Chief Clerk.

*Note.*—Although it will be seen by the above return that persons nominated to clerkships in the Foreign Office are not subjected to any preliminary examination, a rule has been laid down by Lord Clarendon, and applied to all appointments during the last year, that every person nominated to a clerkship is to be considered as appointed only on probation, and if at the end of six months' trial in the office he is found to be unfit, his appointment is to be cancelled.

COLONIAL OFFICE.

Persons nominated to clerkships in the Colonial Office are not subjected to examination as a condition of admission into that office; but all persons nominated to clerkships are compelled to perform a probationary service of one year.

PAYMASTER-GENERAL'S OFFICE.

The subjects of examination are—

Practice.

Rule of three, direct, inverse and double.

Vulgar and decimal fractions.

Interest, purchase of stock, and exchange.

Writing from dictation.

A précis or abstract of some official documents.

Before the term of probation expires, the candidate is examined as to his knowledge of book-keeping.

No particular notice of the examination to be undergone is given. The candidate is apprised of it on his nomination, and usually presents himself for examination within a fortnight or three weeks afterwards.

11 April 1855.

(Signed)

E. A. HOFFAT.

## OFFICE OF WOODS, &amp;c.

A person nominated to a clerkship in the Office of Woods is not subjected to any formal examination, but the first year of his service is strictly a period of probation.

## AUDIT OFFICE.

1. Persons nominated to clerkships in the Audit Office are subjected to a preliminary examination, which comprises handwriting English composition, and the following rules of arithmetic, viz.: Rule of three, practice, interest, and vulgar and decimal fractions.

2. The examination is conducted by a committee of three persons—the junior inspector, the chief clerk and the bookkeeper. The questions and answers are in writing, and are submitted by the committee, with their report thereon, to the Board for their final decision.

3. The length of notice given to each candidate that such examination will be required is for a period not exceeding six weeks; the notice is by letter, and the six weeks date from the date of the letter.

4. When a candidate is judged by the Board to have passed this preliminary examination, he is admitted to probation. The probationary period is one year, on the completion of which a further examination by the committee takes place in foreign exchanges and book-keeping by double entry.

## REGISTRAR-GENERAL'S OFFICE.

Subjects of examination:—1. Writing from dictation; 2. Arithmetic; 3. Geography; 4. History (occasionally).

Mode and length of Notice given:—The examination takes place immediately on the person nominated to a clerkship reporting himself at the office, without any previous notice.

## ORDNANCE OFFICE.

Revised Regulations of the Master-General and Board of Ordnance relative to the Examination of Gentlemen appointed to be Clerks in the Ordnance Civil service, in accordance with a Report of the Treasury Committee, dated 17th December 1853, and a Minute thereon of the Lords of the Treasury, dated 17th January 1854. The examination is to be conducted by a committee to be composed of—

One of the members of the Board,

The chief clerk in the Office of the Secretary to the Board, and

The chief clerk in the Cash Account Office.

1. The candidate is expected to be able to read aloud with proper emphasis and discretion.
2. To write correctly from dictation.
3. To be conversant with the common rules of arithmetic, including vulgar and decimal fractions.
4. To be acquainted with book-keeping by double entry, if appointed to an office of accounts.
5. To be acquainted with geography.
6. To be able to write a letter and make an abstract of correspondence.

7. To give a written or *visd voce* opinion on an ordinary subject which may be proposed to him for the purpose of testing his general intelligence.
8. The candidate must be between the ages of 17 and 23 years, of which proof must be given by an extract from the parish register, or by a declaration before a magistrate.
9. He must pass a medical examination, in order to ascertain that he has no bodily ailment likely to incapacitate him for service.
10. When the candidate shall have passed the requisite examination, his abilities are to be further tested by one week's employment in each of the following offices, viz.: The Office of the Secretary to the Board, and the Cash Account Office.
11. The result is to be reported to the Board, and, if satisfactory, the candidate is to be admitted as a clerk on probation for twelve months, and a quarterly report is to be made of his conduct and abilities. Should these further reports be also satisfactory, the appointment will be confirmed.
12. In the case of clerks appointed to foreign stations who, either from want of qualifications or from misconduct, may be deemed by the storekeeper unfit to be confirmed in their appointments at the end of the probationary year, a court of inquiry will be assembled, who will report their proceedings, with their opinion, to the Board.
13. In the case of gentlemen who may be appointed to clerkships in the colonies in which they are resident, the examination will be conducted and reported upon by the respective officers at the station.

#### WAR OFFICE.

Candidates will be examined in English grammar and composition, English history, and the British constitution, geography and arithmetic.

Questions under the above heads, which vary from time to time, are asked of each candidate, who is also required to write correctly from dictation, and in a clear good hand.

The greatest importance will be attached to superiority in English grammar, English composition, and writing correctly from dictation, and in arithmetic to the extent of a practical acquaintance with the rule of three, practice, interest, and vulgar and decimal fractions.

A candidate will be allowed to indicate any book or subject upon which he may wish to be specially examined.

Against the name of each candidate marks will be placed, showing the number of questions answered correctly and incorrectly.

A candidate, having passed his first examination, will be admitted a member of the War Office for one year, on probation, when he may be again examined upon the War Office Regulations, the Army Estimates, and the details of a pay-list. And upon passing this examination, if his conduct, diligence, and general attention to his duty has been such as to obtain the approbation of the principals of the room in which he has been placed, he will be admitted a permanent member of the department.

7 April, 1854.

(Signed)

B. HAWES.

## POOR LAW BOARD.

No person has been nominated to any clerkship in the office of the Poor Law Board since July 1855, when the committee appointed by the Lords of the Treasury to inquire respecting this office recommended that clerks should be examined previously to their appointment; and, consequently, no person has been subjected to such examination.

(Signed) W. G. LUXLEY

7 April 1855.

Assistant Secretary.

## EXCHEQUER.

The office of the Comptroller-general of the Exchequer, now intrusted with functions formerly performed by the auditor of the receipt, the four tellers, and the clerk of the pells, is created under the provisions of the 4th Will. 4, c. 15. All the officers and clerks of the department are nominated, on probation, by the Treasury, and are only confirmed and appointed, after a service of twelve months, on the certificate of the Comptroller-general.

## PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE.

— Nil. —

2 April 1855.

(Signed) O. GREVILLE.

## NATIONAL DEBT OFFICE.

A candidate nominated to a clerkship in this office is subject to an examination, to show that he can write with ease and facility a clear legible hand; that he can copy in a fair and correct manner from manuscript or print, and manuscript accounts selected and set before him for that purpose; that he is complete master of arithmetic up to and including vulgar fractions; that he has a fair knowledge of history and of geography; and can produce certificates of good general conduct, one of which must be from the head of the last school in which he has been educated. There is no fixed length of notice given to the candidate that such examination will be required; the length of time, however, may be stated to be from a week to a fortnight after the nomination, and before the candidate is required to attend.

## CHIEF SECRETARY'S OFFICE (IRELAND).

Gentlemen who are nominated to clerkships in the Chief Secretary's Office and offices connected with it, viz., Inspectors General of Prisons, Directors of Convict Prisons, and Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums, are subjected to examination in—

1. Writing from dictation.
2. Arithmetic, including vulgar and decimal fractions.
3. Making an abstract of a set of papers, according to written instructions, and drawing up an official letter from them.

The examination is conducted by one of the senior clerks, under



the direction of a Board, consisting of the Chief or Under Secretary, and the head of the department for which the candidate is intended.

POOR LAW COMMISSION (IRELAND).

The subjects of examination for persons nominated to clerkships in the Poor Law Commission Office in Ireland are—

Arithmetic, including vulgar fractions and decimals.

Geography of the British Islands.

Writing from dictation and copying, the time occupied in each case being noted.

Writing letters on a given direction.

Making abstracts of letters.

Grammar, especially orthography.

The foregoing is an abbreviated statement (under the different headings of the various departments of Government) of the efforts made *sponte sua* by the Government in the direction of Administrative Reform. To these efforts Mr. Layard gave a certain degree of credit; but found fault with them in most instances as being too vague and general, and not sufficiently testing particular qualifications for particular offices.

Sir Stafford Northcote (M.P. for Dudley,) whose competency from official connexion and knowledge as well as other circumstances cannot be contested, spoke next upon the subject, and complained that Mr. Layard, according to a practice by no means uncommon with popular denunciators of grievances, had not suggested anything likely to be a practical remedy for the evils he complained of, confining himself nearly altogether to their exposition. His own suggestions (which he had mainly embodied in a joint Report drawn up by him in conjunction with Sir Charles Trevelyan in November 1853—viz. a Report “on the Organisation of the Civil Service,”) were “promotion by merit—division of labour in the offices and appointments by competition.”—appointments by patronage to be done away with—the scale of remuneration to be raised—and the existing system of superannuation so to be altered, that the deductions on that account from the annual salaries of the employes shall not be, as at present, lost to their families in case of death ere the period of active service is attained.

There are few grievances affecting the ordinary crowd of servants of the State, which so loudly call for reformation, as that involved in the system of superannuation thus alluded to by Sir Stafford Northcote. It is now some twenty years ago or more since the Act was passed which established it, and

certainly it reflects but little credit upon senatorial wisdom that the consequences should not have been in some degree at least, foreseen and provided against. By that Act five per cent. was to be, and has been, deducted ever since from the annual income or salary of Government officials, to form, as was said, a fund for retiring allowances, and thus to save the country from the burthen of pensioning off her worn-out servants. How this worked we can most easily present to our readers by supposing a case of a similar system applied to private life.

A private gentleman then, we shall suppose, who has engaged a servant at the nominal rent of £20 a year wages, reserves to himself the power to retain five per cent. thereon, or £1 annually, in order to make a sum to give the man for his support when no longer able to work. In the first place, the reflection will suggest itself at once, that it would be better to let the man make his own economies, rather than thus strive to teach himself prudence in spite of himself. In the next place, assuredly if the man's services were worthy of £20 a year, he ought to get that sum for them, and if his long and faithful service deserved subsequent consideration, it would be no more than a fair and natural thing for the master to pension him out of his own pocket.

But supposing this servant, after some eight or nine years or thereabouts of good service should happen to die, and thus be of course beyond all requirement of superannuation allowance, would not the reader think it hard and gripping indeed if the master, instead of paying over to the widow and family of his deceased servant the £7 or £8 stopped as before mentioned from the man's salary during those years, should convert that sum to his *own use*, being enabled to do so by the want of express engagement to the contrary.

Yet this, of which we trust there is not an instance in private life, has been the constant practice of the great and enormously wealthy state of Great Britain and Ireland during the twenty years since the passing of the Act! and the case is rendered far worse by the fact, that although in consequence of the precariousness of human life, so many have died before accomplishing the period of public service to entitle them to compensation, that the fund created by the deductions mentioned has accumulated vastly—in fact, in something of a geometrical ratio of progression in successive periods of at

most three or four years during the interval, there has been not the least abatement in the exaction, nor a single case of deviation from the iron rule and practice, no matter what the hardship may have been in hundreds of instances, and the large overplus of money resulting has been laid hold of by the State, and appropriated to other purposes!

The reader will surely agree that *this* is a point which ought to be very particularly borne in mind by the promoters of Administrative Reform. It is one thing to economize the public money, but it is quite another thing to detain and appropriate, as the State has evidently done, so much of the justly earned wages of those in its employment.

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, in moving his amendment, approved of a good deal that had been suggested by the Government Commissioners in reference to our subject, as also of the progress, such as it was, that had been made by the Government in carrying out their views; but found fault with them for want of originality, vigor and comprehensiveness of plan. He insisted much upon the advisability and propriety of requiring tests and examinations for high offices, as well as for those of more humble position, and for, as a general rule, shutting the doors of those high offices to all who had not graduated below; and he more than insinuated that in his opinion the conservative party, with whom he generally acts in the House, would *furnish (including himself)* the only *safe* statesmen to have the guidance and working out of *safe* Administrative Reform.

To the movement of which Mr. Layard has constituted himself the type and exponent in the House, Sir Edward Lytton thus objected:—

I do not think that those who are now so fiercely agitating against the influences of Party and of Parliament are aware of the logical consequences to which their agitation may lead. Talk thus loosely, yet thus fiercely, of the influences of party! The influences of party are the sinews of freedom! Party and freedom are twine. Oh yes, without the influences of party you might indeed have able and efficient men in your *bureaux*, but you will have exchanged the nerve and muscle of popular government for the clockwork machinery of despotism!

But, sir, to judge by the language out of doors, it is not meant to clear away the obstacles that beset the career of a clerk in a public office. No! it is meant to make the Queen's Government independent of the influences of party,—in other words, independent of the opinions of parliament.

That is the only way in which I can interpret the language we hear out of doors: why, sir, if it be meant that the crown is to appoint to the higher offices of state free from the influences of party and the opinions of Parliament, the Crown would become as absolute as in the time of the Tudors. And if these agitators say, "oh no, we did not mean that; we mean that the people are to dictate to the Crown, according to their ideas, who are to be ministers of state through other channels than parliamentary parties, through patriotic associations, and audiences accustomed *plausu gaudere theatri*." I tell them that they would root out the durable institutions of liberty to make room for the deadly ephemerals of the jacobin clubs. But if they say, "oh no, we mean neither the one nor the other"—what do they mean—except to bring Parliament into contempt and trust the chance of a substitute to the lottery of Revolutions!

But let the House enquire if the Government is not in some degree responsible for the loud cry which has been raised against family patronage and party influence? It has ever been the peculiar characteristic of the Whigs to concentrate power as much as possible within their own narrow and exclusive coteries, and to make a marked distinction between the great body of their supporters and the high bred materials from which they construct their cabinets \* \* \* Now it is because the public have seen this exclusive principle, this pressure of family connexions, that now the cry has arisen against the governing classes.

As soon as possible this question must be taken out of the hands of agitators, and be turned to safe directions in the hands of statesmen.

Mr. Gladstone spoke the sentiments of the Peelite section of the House on this occasion.

There has been in the proceedings of the Administrative Reform Association, a tendency to fasten on the aristocracy of the country, and on a peculiar class known as the privileged class, the responsibility of the deficiencies and the weakness of the public service. It is only natural to construe the motion of the hon. member for Aylesbury as having to a certain degree the same tendency. I am not prepared to join in a proposition of that kind. \* \* \* With regard to the motion of the Hon. Baronet by way of amendment, it takes no notice that for the last five years there has been a most searching and uniform investigation and revision of the public establishments. \* \* My main objection however is the vague and unmeaning language of the amendment \* \* The country I think is in danger of being misled by a number of feeble and illusory remedies.

On the part of the Government spoke the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir G. Cornwall Lewis, to the following effect.

So long as a popular assembly exists in a free country there must be a distinction between the Executive and Legislative Authority,

and the executive must be entrusted with certain duties which the Legislative authority is incapable of discharging. \* \* \* Could it be possible in any popular Government altogether to exempt appointments to administrative offices from party and political considerations? If we look to the United States we shall find the system of party and political influences carried to a much greater extent than ever in this country.

The necessity of a careful revision of our various official establishments is not justified by any omission on the part of Government. In 1844 a revision took place of the Home Department; and the result was the introduction of various reforms. In 1849 a revision of the Treasury took place, and also of the Colonial Office, and reforms were introduced into both. In 1852 an investigation was made with regard to the Irish Chief Secretary's Office, the Privy Council, Dublin, and the Fines and Penalties Office in the same city. Since then there has been a revision of the War Office, The Board of Trade, Committee of Council of Education, Colonial Land and Emigration Office, Copyhold Enclosure and Tithes Commission, Board of Ordnance, Office of Works, Post Office and office of the Registrar General. In all these cases extensive reforms have been the consequences.

"I cannot but think that the Order in Council (under which the "Examination" system was established) gives a practical proof of the efforts of Government for securing efficiency, and goes much further in that direction than the very general recommendations of meetings out of doors. .... So far as measures for the advancement of the cause of Administrative Reform are concerned, we have gone as far as it is in the power of any one to embody practically the suggestions that have been made.

The young and able, and somewhat enthusiastically Radical Lord Goderich began by attributing the cry throughout the country for Administrative Reform to the revelations of the Sebastopol Inquiry Committee. .... He complained that the Government had made no declaration of purposing to deal with the important branch of the subject which involved Army Promotion, and particularly found fault with their silence upon what appeared to him the most needed reform in military matters—the placing the whole War department under the undivided control of a minister sitting in and responsible to Parliament. He desired to see the *total* abolition of Government nominations in respect to offices in the Civil Service; and protested against the system of confining the high offices in the Government to one class.

The people of this country were becoming more and more inclined every day to say, "The Aristocracy have had the monopoly of

employment, things have gone wrong under their rule ; we will hold them responsible," and he was afraid the time would come when the people would say, "as the Aristocracy have hitherto had too large a share of the administration of public affairs, for the future we will exclude them altogether."

There might be danger to free institutions unless Parliament performed the task set before them, of proving that free institutions and good administration were not incompatible.

The eccentric Mr. Drummond, member for West Surrey, cited a number of cases to prove that the charges of bad selection of officials from the exercise of patronage, motives of favoritism, corruption, &c., and the consequent blunders and failures in large enterprizes and establishments, were as applicable to the managers and directors of private affairs, as to those of the public.

Lord Palmerston cited the fact of Mr. Layard's own appointment to the under-secretaryship of the Foreign Department as an instance that routine and favoritism and aristocratic influences were not so omnipotent as was asserted. He bore testimony to the strictness with which the examination system was enforced, and mentioned the case of a young man recommended by himself who had been rejected under it. He then proceeded to call to notice several appointments to high offices of men whose merit could not be contested—warned the House against expecting too much from the competition, and examination system, as in such a country as England there were too many openings in private enterprize and the professions for young men of talent and energy, to make it likely that any great proportion of that class would seek the small and tardy rewards of the Civil Service, and concluded by adopting the wordy and vague amendment of Sir Bulwer Lytton "as a pledge," he said, "that Government would direct its serious attention to a continued revision of the different offices connected with the state."

We have now given the marrow of the Debate which first fully and fairly placed before Parliament the question of Administrative Reform. Since then, and down to within not very many days of that on which we are writing, there have been various debates and motions on the same subject—some dealing with one branch of it, some with another, and some with it as a whole, but none more clearly setting forth what is sought to be accomplished by the movement than the Debate which we have endeavoured to epitomize. The question mean-

time has not only held its ground, but gained fresh ground, and on the last occasion alluded to, Lord Goderich has managed to surprise and win a victory over Ministers on a motion which directly goes to do away with patronage altogether.

Whether this extreme principle can be successfully or to any great extent *practically*, carried out—as also *whether it ought so to be* if it could—are grave questions for consideration. If it cannot, then it ought not to be so much agitated, and rising men in Parliament ought to think in time of the responsibilities they are incurring in their high-pressure agitation in respect of it, and see whether it would not be more in the public interest, and in that of their own future career, to practice a little self-denial on this exciting and popular topic, and seek to make their way to distinction by another road.

On the point as to whether the extreme principle ought to be carried out if it could, or can be, there is much to be said—much to be most carefully reasoned upon and examined.

One aspect—for there are more than one—of the danger which may not only with plausibility, but with not a little sound reason, be predicated of so total a change in the mode of distributing or attaining public employment, has been casually touched upon in the extract we have given from Sir Balwer Lytton's speech, but is more developed in the following remarks on the subject by M. le Comte de Montalembert in his recently published Pamphlet entitled, “*De L'Avenir Politique de L'Angleterre.*”

Le mouvement qui se résume sous le nom de la Réforme Administrative est l'indice d'une tendance *dangerouse* chez le Peuple Anglais. Autrefois le nombre des fonctions publiques était plus restreint qu'aujourd'hui. Le fonctionnaire nommé et rétribué par l'Etat semblait un être tout à fait exceptionnel ; il n'inspirait ni estime ni envie à l'immense majorité des Anglais qui ne demandoient point des places, n'en éprouvait pas le besoin, et se résignaient sans effort à ce que le petit nombre de celles qui existaient fussent l'apanage exclusif des clients de l'aristocratie ou des parvenus du monde politique, cet état de choses *a changé comme en France*, l'extension de l'éducation chez les masses, en déclassant une foule d'individus, a créé une foule d'aspirants à la bureaucratie, et d'un autre côté les progrès lents mais incontestables de la centralisation administrative *a augmenté le nombre de places à donner*. La demande est et sera toujours très supérieure à l'offre ; mais l'un et l'autre se sont accrues.

C'est le plus grand péril de la Société Anglaise ; le mal est loin d'être aussi grand que chez les Nations du Continent, mais l'An-

giétarre est déjà sur la pente fatale. Il est temps pour ses hommes d'Etat de reconnaître que le désir universel et immodéré des emplois publics est la pize des maladies sociales. Elle répand dans tout le corps de la Nation une humeur vénale et servile qui n'exclut nullement, même chez les mieux pourvus, l'esprit de faction et d'anarchie. Elle crée une foule d'affamés capable de toutes les fureurs pour satisfaire leur appétit, et propres à toutes les bassesses des qu'ils sont rassasiés. Un Peuple de solliciteurs est le dernier des peuples. Il n'ya pas d'ignominie par où on ne puisse le faire passer.

La Vritable Réforme Administrative consisterait donc à réprimer énergiquement la tendance démocratique qui multiplie les emplois, qui fait remplir par les agens salariés, nommés et révoqués au gré du gouvernement ; les fonctions naguère gratuites, inamovibles ou électives ; qui augmente indéfiniment la responsabilité du pouvoir, et qui finit par l'accabler, sous le poids des cupidités impatientes, des rancunes implacables, et des dévouemens impuissans. Tous Les Anglais dévoués à la grandeur de leur pays devraient se liguier pour refouler ce flot continental de la bureaucratie qui mine peu à peu ses antiques institutions et qui finira par engloutir sa prospérité, sa liberté et sa gloire !

Quant à la Réforme qui consiste à tenir plus largement ouverte la porte des carrières où l'intervention du pouvoir est obligatoire telles que l'Armée, la Marine, la Diplomatie, elle est dans les nécessités du temps ; et elle se fera comme se font toutes les réformes en Angleterre, graduellement et sincèrement. L'Essentiel est de ne pas accroître démesurément le nombre des candidats avec celui des primes à décerner."

Mais qu'on ne se le dissimule pas—dans l'état actuel des mœurs anglaises il ne s'agit guère que d'une lutte entre deux catégories de fils cadet—ceux des familles titrées et des grands propriétaires fonciers et ceux des nouveaux riches sortis des classes moyennes.

The answer that has by anticipation been given to these well reasoned fears of M. de Montalembert is, that Administrative Reform does not seek to multiply places, nor to render them more attractive, but to substitute talent and merit for favoritism and interest in the selection of the men to fill them. But when once it shall be declared, as by the success of Lord Goderich's recent motion in the House of Commons it practically is declared at the present moment, that the narrow channels of favoritism and interest are no longer at all to exist, but utterly to give place to the broad river of unlimited competition, there is too much reason to fear that multitudes who can now command no interest, nor count upon a patron, and therefore have resignedly and manfully committed themselves to the industrial battle in the more difficult and laborious, but finally more remunerative, and at all times more honorable



careers of the professions and callings of private life, will turn from these, and seek a shorter, and what appears to them an easier way towards emolument, by contending for place.

*All* cannot be successful, *many* cannot be successful—nay of course but a small *minority* can possibly be successful. But *all will think themselves entitled*—few—very few indeed, will acquiesce quietly in their own rejection, and whatever Government may rule the day, will have in the merest self-defence to enlarge the field of public employment in the hope, whether well founded or not we will not now stop to predict, of lessening the number of the disappointed applicants or assailants, as we may with a not inaccurate synonymy, designate them.

The injurious effects of "Bureaucracy," as is compendiously designated the system of multiplying public offices and employments, are too plainly visible in Prussia and in France to need much comment. It spreads as it were a vast network of official superintendence and interference over those countries, which embarrasses and represses all individual and communal action; the main strings of the whole being necessarily in the hands of the central Government, to be by them tightened or relaxed at pleasure, and according as it may suit their purposes and policy.

How this "Bureaucracy" or "Functionarism" as it is sometimes called by English writers, grew up to its present rankness and intricacy and mischievousness on the Continent, is well shewn by Mr. Laing in his "*Second Series of the Notes of a Traveller*"; (being "*Observations on the Social and Political State of European People in 1848 and 1849,*") published in London in 1850.

Continental sovereigns after 1815 appear to have felt as by a common instinct, that their kingly power was in a false position in the new social state which the general diffusion of landed property had produced. It wanted a barrier and a support. They all attempted as by common accord, to create a third element in the social structure, and to replace the class of nobles having large landed property with more or less of the social influence belonging to such property, by substituting *functionarism* for aristocracy as a support of their thrones.....The art of Government has been described to be the making two-thirds of a nation pay all it possibly can for the benefit of the other third. This is realized by the functionary system. All this functionarism, with its numerous ranks and gradations filled with a staff of clerks and expectants in every department looking for employment, appointments of promotions was intended to be a new support of Government, a third class in close

connexion with the people by their various official duties of interference in all public or private affairs, yet attached by their interests to the governing power.

In France, at the expulsion of Louis Philippe, the civil functionaries were stated to amount to 807,030 individuals.....In every modern state functionaries are necessarily numerous. But we would be rather surprised to hear our own collectors, comptrollers, assessors, tidewaiters, gaugers, considered as a high and influential class, or considered as a class at all in any way distinct from the respectable middle class in which they are merged.....The general movement in 1848 in every country governed by this Bureaucracy, to get rid of it and obtain liberal constitutions, proves that it is not the true intermediate element required in the new social state of continental Europe. In countries that had constitutional or representative assemblies the movement was not less violent than in the most autocratically governed states.

The functionary class wants the moral dignity of character which has influence with a people in times of social disruption, and forms a dangerous machinery not only ready to inflict misgovernment and oppression on the country but ready to support any one who gets hold of the reins of Government at the point in which they are centralized.....In a Monarchical Government it serves neither king nor people, and it is dangerous to the liberty of the more democratical states. (pp. 183-193.)

Mr. Laing goes on to remark that two states, democratical Norway in the old world, and the United States in the new, have endeavoured by opposite means to check and correct the dangerous tendencies of functionarism. Norway has tried it by giving public functionaries a vested right in their offices, from which they cannot be dismissed by the Executive without a previous enquiry and sentence by an independent court. Claims to promotion and the fair selection of the most deserving for first appointments are under the guardianship of Committees of the *Legislative* Branch of the State. Under these circumstances public functionaries are emboldened to speak, act and vote against Government wherever they have the opportunity and the will. In America the whole staff of Government from the very highest to the lowest is changeable, and is generally changed every four years, usually with every change in the presidency, and where changes do not occur, it is only by the goodwill and sufferance of the new president. Not ignoring the disadvantages that attend on either of these two systems, he yet prefers either of them with all their inconveniences or evils to the system before described in Prussia, France, &c., upon which he makes the following further remarks:—

The indirect effects of the functionary system deteriorates the character and retards the prosperity and industry of the people of Germany, &c. &c. as much as its direct effects. The whole youth of the country are kept in a state of dependence, looking for an appointment to a public office, instead of depending upon industry and exertion in the useful arts.....A great proportion of the small capitals gathered by tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers, functionaries, clergymen, and others in the middle station of life, is thus wasted in maintaining these expectants in idleness. The same capitals would be applied here in extending business. Such savings as with us the foundations of almost all our commercial and manufacturing prosperity, while in Germany they are spent in supporting sons at a university to qualify them for office, and then in supporting them in some inferior office of the state, till a higher step and salary can be obtained. The prospect of office turns away the industry and capital that might be employed with more advantage to the country and the individual in the humbler paths of trade. (*Laing, p. 196, &c*)

The evils thus well and truthfully described by Mr. Laing and prognosticated for England by her encomiast M. de Montalembert, notwithstanding all his anxiety to see everything belonging to her and every movement of hers in the most favorable and *coulour de rose* point of view, would surely be bad enough in themselves, but there is a very probable, if not inevitable, circumstance of aggravation which is further to be taken into account.

The question arises, what would be the influences of this system upon the form of Government? This consideration evokes another face of the danger to be predicated of the state of things likely to ensue from the extreme principle embodied in Lord Goderich's motion.

It is to be borne in mind in the first place, that although the revolutionary whirlwind of 1848 passed without violent result over England, no person who is acquainted with the real state of feeling and tendency of mind among her people doubts that revolutionary principles and ideas are very rife amongst them. M. le Comte de Montalembert, somewhat superficial observer as he is, does not escape being struck with it. At page 224 of this Pamphlet he says:—

Personne ne se fait illusion sur le péril que présente d'un côté la propagande des idées démocratiques par une presse que rien ne restreint, de l'autre l'accroissement prodigieux de la population ouvrière des villes et des fabriques, étrangère inabordable à toute influence religieuse et enfantée par le développement de cette production houillère qui a dépassé toute attente et renversé toutes les proportions de l'ancienne société anglaise.

It is all very well talking of the barrier which the numerous classes in England having an interest in the existing state of things, would oppose to any organic change. It is very plausible to cite the occurrences of the 11th of April 1848, when householders of high and low degree turned out with special constable batons to stay the "fierce democracy." In the latter case the "fierce democracy" consisted of about a hundred "gamins" with a large intermixture of pickpockets, and about as much represented a grave popular movement, as the five or six scene-shifters who come in with Richmond and with Richard the III. alternately, represent the armies that held bloody argument on Bosworth field.

It should and it ought for common safety to be borne in mind, that not only the wild and distracted and most disastrous movements on the Continent in 1848, but notably the Great French Revolution itself, *began with the middle classes*—with the classes who had an interest in peace and order, and who never for one moment contemplated giving rein and opportunity to the hideous excesses that followed. They thought it no harm to take a short cut towards removing the social inequalities between themselves and the class immediately above. They never dreamt that the same views might actuate the classes *below them*, whose wild energies and passions they excited and used for their own purposes, but found they could not restrain when the desired point was attained, and so in their turn had to succumb and share the fate of the fallen aristocracy. At this moment there is in the hearts of the rich and powerful middle class of England a similar desire for some sudden movement that shall raise them, as they think it would, to the topmost platform of the State, but they forget that the volcano's workings are ever sure to upheave from its lowest depths the desolating lava that sweeps away the pleasant villa as well as the lordly castle. Unthinking of this, or deliberately ignoring it, the middle classes of England, like the bourgeois class of Louis the Sixteenth's reign—like the "*gros épicier*" class of Louis Philippe's reign—like the "*moderate liberals*" and *reformers* of other countries in 1848, will go on with their coquettings with democracy, till in their turn—which may Heaven long avert—they, and all like them, will be suddenly crushed and overwhelmed.

If the Charing Cross riot of 1848—in which we repeat that none but a set of boys and pickpockets were really engaged—

tended to inspire, by its easy and total rout and suppression, a feeling of confidence in the resisting and controlling power of the higher and middle orders of the State, the occurrences in Hyde Park on the occasion of the introduction into Parliament of Lord Robert Grosvenor's obnoxious and intermeddling and hypocritical Sunday trading bill, ought to disabuse us to no small degree of that confidence. Police, upper and middle classes, and all authority, was set at nought, and His Majesty the People loudly proclaimed and rather roughly proved that he would have his own way, and punish in his own way those who wanted to interfere with his pleasure. *And the Parliament of England succumbed* to this *real* popular movement—succumbed unconvinced, sorely against the grain, but succumbed absolutely, undignifiedly, and instantly! It has now established a precedent against itself—it has taught the movement-classes the secret of their own power, and if the latter do not better the instruction, it will be against the experience of the world hitherto, which has uniformly shewn that hasty and extortionate concessions were but made the groundwork for fresh demands and exactions.

Taking, then, into serious consideration the temptation and tendency inseparable from a wide-spread and unmixed system of competition for public offices, towards, in the first place, diverting young men's energy and capital from independent enterprise to venal and idle expectancy—in the second place, towards compelling the Government of the day to enlarge continually the circle within which that expectancy is to be gratified by multiplying places and its own patronage, and finally, towards working a mongrel and disastrous, yet effective, revolution of its own by the overpressure of the crowd of applicants—the ingratitude of some, the exasperation of others—the grasping cupidity of all—the whole resulting in the overthrow of successive forms of government till the most reckless or the most iron of all is reached;—taking also into consideration the predisposing tendencies of the potent middle classes of England towards revolutionary change, and their very questionable power of checking or moderating that change when once begun—taking further into consideration the unquestionably Republican tendencies of the lower classes and the unhappy precedent given them last year of how they overawe and control the Legislature and the Executive—surely cannot be denied that there is something to "g

pause" to all who do not mean Revolution and Republicanism ; and to induce them not to press too fast and too extremely a movement like that for Administrative Reform ; which, if judiciously, moderately, and seasonably handled, is capable of most beneficial results, but, like everything else, and more than most things, is capable of most serious abuse and evil if pushed on too fast and too far.

It would surely be better to bear for yet a while longer with the small remnants now existing of undue aristocratic privileges—the ills we know—rather than to open blindly and rashly the Pandora's box of democracy with its single gloomy hope at bottom, that of finally finding refuge in the stern quietude of despotism.

A good deal has been accomplished already, quite enough to ensure that, even if no further progress was made (a thing impossible), still there would be left permanent traces of the movement upon the surface of our political society, and permanent ameliorations of much that was unsound or defective before. That our readers may have a sufficient general idea of what the Civil Service Commission of last year—the first *forced* fruits of the Administrative Reform Movement—has been about, and what experiences it has had, we shall proceed to give extracts from their first Report, this year presented to Parliament by command of her Majesty.

Sir Edward Ryan, Assistant Comptroller General of the Exchequer, Mr. John George Shaw Lefevre (brother to the Speaker of the House of Commons) Clerk Assistant of the House of Lords, and Mr. Edward Romilly, Chairman of the Board of Audit, were the Commissioners appointed about a year ago.

Early in their first Report, after mentioning the steps taken by them, in conjunction with the heads of Public Departments, to establish or extend a system of examination of candidates for appointment to junior situations, they give the following summary table of the number of examinations in the ten months that their system was fully at work :—

Admiralty	...	...	...	...	...	70
Audit Office	...	...	...	...	...	20
Chelsea Hospital	...	...	...	...	...	2
Civil Service Commissioners	...	...	...	...	...	8
Colonial Land and Emigration Office	...	...	...	...	...	2
Colonial Office (Ceylon writership)	...	...	...	...	...	1
Committee of Council on Education	...	...	...	...	...	36

Customs ...	...	...	...	...	157
Exchequer	...	...	...	...	1
Factories Office	...	...	...	...	1
Foreign Office (unpaid attaché)	...	...	...	...	1
General Register Office	...	...	...	...	8
India Board	...	...	...	...	4
Inland Revenue	...	...	...	...	51
National Debt Office	...	...	...	...	1
Police Court	...	...	...	...	1
Poor Law Board	...	...	...	...	1
Post Office	...	...	...	...	30
Prisons Department	...	...	...	...	6
Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office (Scotland)	...	...	...	...	1
Stationery Office	...	...	...	...	3
Trade (Board of)	...	...	...	...	3
Treasury	...	...	...	...	6
War Departments	...	...	...	...	281
Woods (Office of)	...	...	...	...	1
Works (Office of)	...	...	...	...	1
Total ...					697

It would be going into unnecessary detail to give the Commissioners' explanations of the particular causes of rejection. We may record, however, that 69 out of the 300 cases and upwards where that decision was come to, were, on account of deficiency in the most ordinary and elementary branches of education—spelling, writing, and simple arithmetic, and upwards of 2 more on account of deficiency in spelling, conjoined with deficiencies in the not very abstrusive requirements of knowledge of book-keeping, history and geography.

At page xix of their Report the Commissioners offer the following general observations upon the subject of their labours.—

The great differences which exist in the situations for which certificates of qualification are required render it obviously desirable that there should be corresponding differences in the standards by which the knowledge and ability of candidates are tested. It will, however, be apparent, on reference to the tables printed in the Appendix, that the schemes of examination there collected have been framed with little regard to this principle. There are, indeed, numerous variations, but they have arisen principally, if not entirely, from the circumstances under which the schemes were framed. It has already been stated that we deemed it expedient to adopt, not only

\* During the same period there were 381 candidates examined in the provinces, making a total of 1,078. The number of certificates granted in the same interval was 676, and the number refused, 309.

in substance but with almost literal exactness, the suggestions furnished by the authorities of the several departments, and it was not to be expected that these suggestions should be in all respects identical.

As the duties and prospects of a junior clerk in a large proportion of Your Majesty's Civil Establishments are nearly the same, we consider that greater simplicity of standard would be desirable, and at the same time easily to be attained. With the view of obtaining this simplicity we propose to place ourselves in communication with the heads of the departments, to ascertain clearly from them the *specialités* which they regard as necessary, and to submit for their consideration schemes of examination in which these *specialités* will receive due attention, while at the same time the ordinary attainments required by all alike are defined in uniform terms.

There are some qualifications, however, which appear to us to be indispensably necessary to a junior clerk in every Government office, and, with very few exceptions, to all persons appointed to any junior situation; viz. :—

To write a good hand.

To be able to spell correctly.

To be able to write a simple letter grammatically.

To be conversant with the elementary portions of arithmetic.

There is doubtless some little difficulty in deciding what shall be the minimum of handwriting. We know no better definition than that which we find in the rules for examination authorized by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, namely :—"that good handwriting should consist in the clear "formation of the letters of the alphabet."

Having regard also to the use, in several departments, of copying machines, we conceive that the requirement of the Committee of Council of Education in this respect, "that the handwriting should be rapid, neat, and of that even stroke which allows legible copies to be taken by pressing," would be reasonable and useful in various cases.

We regret to say, that hitherto we have found it impossible to place the standard of writing generally on this satisfactory footing. Had we insisted on it the public service would have been obstructed by the rejection of the great number of candidates whose writing does not satisfy either of these conditions.

We hope, nevertheless, that in a short time when it shall have become publicly known that such good handwriting as is above described is indispensable, the candidates who are sent to us will have made themselves masters of an accomplishment which we believe it to be within the power of every diligent person to attain.

The requirement of correct spelling is not only necessary in order that the correspondence of the department may not be discreditable, but also as shewing whether the candidate has received a good education.

The most frequent of these failures have been of course among the candidates for the lower class of situations, especially tidewaiterships.



With regard to these, we have, in accordance with the rule prescribed for their examination by the authorities of the Customs, limited their requirement of orthography to "tolerable spelling only;" and we think that it will be admitted, on inspection of the Table G. in the Appendix showing the spelling in various cases of rejection, that we have not excluded any one who satisfies that definition.

The numerous cases in which we have been obliged to refuse certificates on account of bad spelling might, unless otherwise accounted for, lead to an erroneous impression as to the general state of education of the youth of the country. There are, however, other causes to be taken into account, &c.

And so the Commissioners go on to endeavour to assign somewhat recondite reasons for the not very creditable fact to which they have been forced to bear testimony. It is, as may well be imagined, not worth while to follow them in this part of their subject, and we shall therefore go on to what is of real interest and importance, in so far at least as their own fitness for the business with which they have been entrusted is concerned, namely, their statement of the general principles on which they have proceeded.

We do not wish to be understood as holding the opinion that an intellectual examination, however carefully conducted, affords a complete and unerring test of the qualification of candidates for official employment.

We admit that there are aptitudes for the transaction of business which cannot be discovered or measured by this process; but it is nevertheless certain that our examination furnishes the means of excluding the incompetent, and where competing examinations take place or the candidate submits himself to voluntary examination in extra subjects, his intellectual qualities may, to a great extent, be accurately ascertained. In this manner the departments are supplied with information as to the capacity and special acquirements of their clerks, and are better able to judge of the most advantageous mode of applying their services in the transaction of public business and of the relative merits of parties, which have to be weighed in cases of promotion.

We have satisfaction also in knowing that if, notwithstanding the examination by the Commission, any incompetent person should find his way into the public service, the period of six months' probation which the Order in Council requires, will afford an opportunity to the department to ascertain his deficiencies, and to dispense with his services. We expect to derive advantage from watching the results of this probation, and accordingly we propose to request the several departments to inform us of every case in which candidates who have received our certificates shall have been found inefficient, so as not to justify the confirmation of their appointment. We think that this information may enable us to ascertain and to remedy defects which may exist, either in the principle or the practice of our examinations.

We have thus far addressed ourselves exclusively to that portion of our proceedings which relates to the examination of candidates for the purpose of ascertaining their intellectual qualifications.

This, however, is only one of the points to which we are required by the Order in Council to direct our attention.

We shall proceed to offer some observations on the other points which that order requires us to ascertain, (namely,) age, health, and character.

There is at present some variety in the rules in force in different departments with respect to the minimum and maximum ages of admission.

With regard to the minimum, it seems to us desirable that it should not be fixed so low as to encroach on the ordinary period allotted to education, inasmuch as the amount and nature of the official occupations of a junior clerk is generally such as to leave but little opportunity to him of supplying deficiencies in his previous general education.

It is more difficult to arrive at a definite opinion as to the maximum age at which a candidate should be admissible on the permanent establishment of the departments.

The age most usually prescribed by the several departments as the maximum for admission is 25, and we do not think that a higher limit should be adopted.

With regard to health, we have in general been satisfied with a certificate from a respectable medical practitioner who had personal knowledge of the candidate, and could declare that he was not subject to any disease or infirmity which would be likely to interfere with the proper discharge of his duties.

The duty of ascertaining the character of the candidate is attended with considerable difficulty.

To obtain accurate information on that point, to correspond with his referees, would require such an interval as to create serious inconvenience by the long vacancy of the office. Even a single week, which is barely enough for the intellectual examiner, has given rise to enquiries as to the cause of the delay.

We have tried to meet these difficulties by regulations in a circular addressed to heads of departments which will be found in Appendix IV. ; but we are well aware of the proverbial facility with which favourable testimonials are obtained from partial or good-natured friends, and we think that although some security against the admission of unworthy persons will be derived from our arrangements, care should be taken that the individual who actually nominates should not be relieved from responsibility on this point, by transferring it to the Civil Service Commissioners.

The following few extracts from several pages (in the Appendix of the Report) of similar blundering, will give an idea of the mistakes in orthography made by candidates :—

worriors [warriors] : poluted.

contumanics [contumelies?] decerns : *analagous*.

expiation : majesties ; excercised : Van diemands : thonged

[thronged] : *memmoranda* : *infringment* : *poposition*.

councils [counsels.]  
each [each]: where [were]: immergencies [emergencies]: indepe-  
dant: preasant [present]: justise marmer [murmur]: chie  
[shield]: poluted: compeled: sedicious.  
there [their]: volutarly [voluntary]: contrymen [countrymen]  
millitary: magistraits: prepared.  
government: mutial: individual: emmergencies: determin  
[determined] cheiftain: emerguentcies: expresed.  
genious [genius]: peice [piece]: commitee: occasionally.  
government: rescourses: foreign (3): eought [caught]: commite  
based [based]: deivide: St. Georg's Channel: Isle of White  
Gibraltar: ginious [genius]: &c.  
promenencies; unevenness: erugularity: wholly: probaby: messag  
[messages]: deleneated.  
naturally [naturally]: luxery: heigtth: simolar [similar]: porponin  
until: approaching: leasure.  
fingures [fingers]: cishel [chisel]: smoth [smooth]: prominec  
[prominencies]: deleniated.  
vehiment: epedemical: sanitory: occured: morality (2) [mortalit  
diarea: poliece [police]: contagious.  
conscentrated: cavnars: likeing: mus [must]: peble [pebble]  
imployed: sceals [seals]: departmen: Her Majesty's gentlemen  
[for government]: collonies: thouse [those]: fullfilling: unat  
analogous: seperately: parliment: preperation: intervails: c  
cerneing: British.  
contraversy: imploy: has [as]: his [is]: firtue or firsue [virtue]  
legeslative: majesties.  
attacs [attacks]: repaciousness: principal [principle]: who  
[wholly]: pursuite: umouring [humouring]: allagory [allegor  
hear [here]: sattisfactory: scession (2): waist [waste]: coe  
[course]: analagous: (2) seperately: advise [advice]: porponin  
aford: wellfare.  
sperate: excellencies: opperates (2): concideration: precipitat  
[precipitate]: grasiously: proclamation: withheld: seperate  
misconception: constitiut: consideration: annalagous: reco  
[recovery].  
were [where]: comprodiction [interdiction]: severery [severe]  
sympton: necessary: aduced: scources: sanitory: morality [m  
tality]: diarea: discribes.  
unwanted [unwonted]: their [there]: asurances: harty [heart  
spontenious: misunformed: precides [presides]: expresed: alian  
unaded: harts [hearts]: brauny [brawny]: subjice: leavel: gov  
ment: improble: (and say 16 mistakes in M.S.)  
weary [wary]: sceptisism: falicies [fallacies]: sophisism: aduce  
diareah: proportiun: derectiun: deseases.  
preeminit: displayed: phisical: evey [every]: diarea: representati  
read [ready]: sanitory: contagious.  
descentions: occassions: withheld: ascent [assent]: seperate  
analogous: occured: principal [principle]: principle [principa  
Govenors (twice): ristriciion.  
accended: hansome: exeedingly: statelgness [stateliness]: humai  
decession [decision]: controll: hatereds: prolux: pamphle

*paricide : untill : condine : tollerated : chartars : dissolved : caprepe (twice) : sherifs : torys [tories] : unimated : desceners : gooded [goaded] : psecutions : desparate : map of the publication [mass of the population] : obhored : addored : Summersetshire.*

Although our extracts from this Report and its Appendices have now taken up some space, we cannot omit a few more extracts giving specimens of the Papers actually used in the Examination of Candidates.

*Paper used at Examination for Junior Situations in the War Department (Pall Mall).*

1. Reduce 43*l.* 11*s.* 9½*d.* to farthings.
2. Find the number of ounces in 18 tons 9 cwt. 3 qrs. 15 lbs.
3. How many grains are there in 17 lbs. 3 oz. 7 dwts. ?
4. The breadth of a rectangular field is 26 yds. 2 ft. 8 in., and the area is one acre : Find the length.
5. The side of a solid cube is 7 ft. 3 in. ; find the content in solid yards, feet, and inches.
6. If the price of one ounce of gold is 3*l.* 10*s.*, what is the price of 14 ingots, each weighing 3 lbs. 7 oz. 14 dwts. 21 grs. ?
7. If one yard of cloth cost 15*s.* ¾*d.*, what will be the price of 32½ yards at the same rate ?
8. Find the price of 56 tons 15 cwt. 2 qrs. 21 lbs. at 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per ton.
9. If 90*s.* will pay 5 men for 12 days' work, how much will pay 32 men for 24 days' work ?  
 Explain the principle of the rule by which you proceed.  
 What should the result be if the efficiency of the second set were half that of the first, and their day's work five fourths as long ?
10. At what rate per cent. per annum simple interest will 300*l.* amount to 414*l.* in 8 years ?
11. What will be the amount of 550*l.* in three years at 5½ per cent. per annum compound interest ?
12. Find the amount of 875*l.* at the end of 15 months at 4 per cent. per annum compound interest, the interest accruing quarterly.
13. Add together ¼, 2⅓, and 13 ⅞; divide by 18 ⅞, and subtract the result from 5 ⅞.
14. Add together ⅓ of a shilling, ⅕ of half a crown, ⅔ of a pound, and ⅓ of a guinea. Express the result as the decimal of a pound.
15. Find the greatest common measure of 3042 and 3094, and reduce 5042 to its lowest terms.
16. Multiply 192.336 by .73307.
17. Divide 16 by .2, and the result by .0002. What is the rule as to the place of the decimal point in multiplication and division ?
18. Express .01036 and .15863 as vulgar fractions in their lowest terms.
19. Explain any rule with which you are acquainted for determining

"Equated time of payment," reckoning either simple or compound interest, and apply it to find what sum paid two years hence will be an equivalent for 100*l.* due one year hence, and 500*l.* due three years hence, the rate of interest being 5 per cent.

20. If 23 lbs. at 2*s.* are mixed with 27 lbs. at 3*s.*, and the mixture is sold at 2*s.* 9*d.* per lb., what is the total gain? and what is the gain per cent. on the money laid out?
21. Extract the square root of 106929; also the square root of 803.7 to two places of decimals.
22. Explain some of the uses of logarithms. Given  $\log. 2 = .301030$  and  $\log. 3 = .477844$ , find the logarithms of 5, of 15, and of .15.
23. Explain the meaning of the term *local value*. Have Roman numerals any local value?

$$\frac{x-3y}{x+3y}.$$

24. Add  $\frac{x-3y}{x+3y}$  and  $\frac{x-y}{x+y}$ .

25. Divide  $81a^4 - 16b^4$  by  $3a + 2b$ .

26. Solve the equations,

$$(a) \quad \frac{x}{z} + \frac{x+1}{7} = x-2.$$

$$(b) \quad x^2 - \frac{x}{7} = 48.$$

27. It is required to divide the number 34 into two parts, such that the difference between the greater and 18 shall be to the difference between 18 and the less in the ratio of 2 to 3.
28. Sum the arithmetical progression  $1 + 5 + 9 + \dots$  to 21 terms.

Then follow specimens of a dictated theme and of official papers to make a *précis* or abstract of. Next in order come portions of Cicero and of Tacitus, Horace's Odes, "Angustus tam amici pauperiem pati," and "Cur me querelis exanimatus"—an extract from Charles the First's address to his judges to be translated into Latin—French into English, and vice versa translations. Ditto German, prose and poetry—Dates required, as of "The Deluge," "The Exodus," "The Building of Rome," "The Peloponnesian War," "The Hegira," "The Coronation of Charlemagne," "The Invention of Printing," "The Revolution," and "The Separation of the Crowns of Great Britain and Hanover." After this come the following questions: viz.

2. Give the current traditions as to the life and exploits of King Alfred.
3. What was the origin of William the Conqueror? How did he obtain the crown of England.
4. Under what king were the crowns of England and Scotland united?

5. Trace the descent of the reigning sovereign from King George I.
6. Name the sovereigns who ascended the throne of England in the 17th century, giving the dates of their accession, their relationship to each other, and the places at which they respectively died.
7. What are the peculiar privileges of the House of Commons? What great changes were made by the Reform Bill?
8. Are the laws of England and Scotland in all respects identical? If not, mention points in which they differ.
9. What important constitutional questions were raised,—(1) by the illness of George III.,—(2) by the protracted trial of Warren Hastings?
10. Mention any points in which Scripture History is confirmed by classical writers.
11. It has been said, that "the only event in the history of the human species which admits of comparison with the propagation of Christianity is the success of Mahometanism." In what points does the parallel fail?
12. What were, at different times, the titles of the chief magistrates of republican Rome? Name the first and last of the 12 Cæsars, and the principal writers of the Augustan era.
13. A work has been written on "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World;" mention any battles which you think entitled to be so termed, giving your reasons.
14. In what year was the independence of the United States acknowledged? What is their constitution? Is that of any European state at all similar, and in what respects?
15. Between what states and at what period was Poland divided? What was its ancient form of government?
16. Name the two European states which have most recently come into existence
17. State any particulars which you know as to the history of the Crimea. Whence arose its importance in a commercial point of view? Give the classic legend.
18. Mention any beneficial changes accomplished at the commencement of the first French revolution.
19. The last hundred years being altogether excluded, what was, in your opinion, the most glorious and what the most disgraceful era in English History? Give your reasons in detail.

The concluding question of the above series is one that we should imagine likely to draw forth a rather striking diversity of opinions from the candidates, according to their bias, political and religious, especially in reference to the latter. The Protestant will, of course, triumphantly pronounce that the "Reformation," or the Revolution of 1688 in its most ultra-Protestant aspect, was the most glorious; and that king John's submission to the Pope's legate, or the reign of Philip and Mary, furnished the most disgraceful. It is unnecessary to speculate on the widely discrepant views of the Roman

Catholic, but that they will be widely and utterly discrepant there cannot be the shadow of a doubt.

The appendix on these subjects is very long, and contains a variety of papers for candidates of various branches, but the general character of the examination is similar to the specimen we have given in the case of the junior situations of the War Department. This appendix concludes with several lithographs of MSS. purposely or accidentally misspelt in various places, or deficient in punctuation, which the candidate is called upon to correct in both particulars, and to copy out clean.

At first perusal of this Report and its Appendices, one would be inclined to think that a very considerable step has been made towards the desired Reform of the Civil Service in some of its most important branches. But the Administrative Reform Association appear to think otherwise. In one of their earlier of their publications they say:

"To expect Administrative Reform to be wrought out by such hands (i.e., the present high officials of Departments) is idle and Utopian. The Reform must be compelled from without: way must be made for the ablest men to every office in the State, by force of the public will.

"The recent appointment of the Examining Board is no real measure of Administrative Reform. It retains to the political chiefs of offices, the patronage and rights of appointments, and by them and the permanent officials of Departments, that portion of Administrative Reform comprised in the new order in Council for the establishment of an Examining Board will be mainly entrusted."

In order to see exactly what it is, that this Association which has taken upon itself the championship of the question of Reform requires, we extract the prayer of their Petition on the subject, presented last year to the House of Commons. After a long preamble, in which they set forth the conclusions they deduce on the state of the Public Service from "The Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the condition of the Army before Sebastopol"—the Report of 1850 of the Committee "on Official Salaries"—that of the "Committee of Enquiry into Public Offices" in 1854, and other "sources of authentic information," they—

1. Pray—"That the system of nomination to offices through the Secretary of the Treasury may cease.

2. That the Bill at present before Parliament for regulating the

appointments of junior clerks may, with such amendments as may be thought fit, be passed into law.

3. That admission to the public service may be opened on equal terms upon conditions of character, fitness, and merit to all subjects of Her Majesty.

4. That there may be established a system of promotion based upon fitness and merit, which shall include the whole of the non-ministerial offices of the Civil Service.

5. That fitness and merit for appointment may be determined by public competitive examination.

6. That the grounds of promotion may be determined by testimonials of Heads of Departments and by public competitive examination.

7. That Examiners may be appointed to hold public competitive examinations, grant certificates of fitness and merit, and confer certain distinctions.

8. That all appointments may, in the first instance, be made by Heads of offices, in conformity with recommendations of the Examiners for a period of probation only, and may be confirmed only at the close of the term of probation by the nonministerial Heads of offices or departments.

9. That to the Heads of offices and departments may be entrusted the entire office arrangements, power to dismiss for incompetence or neglect of duties, and that they may have placed at their disposal full means for the conduct of the business of their department, and shall be held responsible for its full and punctual performance.

10. That a Royal Commission may be appointed to inquire into the present condition and efficiency of the Civil Service with a view to the complete reorganization of the offices and departments, and the removal, on equitable terms, of such persons as may be found, from whatever cause, incompetent for their duties.

11. That the Commissioners may be required to lay before your Hon. House at an early period a complete list of the whole of the Government departments and offices, their duties, staff, expenditure, and entire number of persons employed; and may be authorized to transfer such persons as may be found wrongly placed to offices better suited to their acquirements.

12. That a better scale of payment may be adopted in the public service.

13. That the system of superannuation, stoppages, and retiring allowances, may be materially altered. That in the Diplomatic Service there be established the profession of a British interpreter.

14. That care be taken to appoint fit men to the office of consul. The system of consular fees to be abolished and fixed salaries established.

15. That measures be taken to establish a self-supporting system of military education. Commissions to be conferred for fitness and merit.

16. That staff appointments be given as the prizes of the highest military service and ability.

17. That promotion from the ranks may be more widely thrown open, and be based upon a system of achievement and efficiency.



18. That the rule of promotion by seniority, which puts men advanced in years in the positions of commander in chief, Generals of Division and Brigades &c. be forthwith rescinded, and that men in the prime and vigour of life be appointed.

19. That the pay of all ranks be placed on a more equitable footing.

20. That the exclusive power of appointment and promotion in the Navy be withdrawn from the first Lord of the Admiralty.

21. That certificates for Naval Cadetships be obtainable by merit, determined by open and competitive examination.

22. That no assistant surgeon in Army or Navy be appointed unless fully qualified, and that medical pay and rank be increased.

23. That competent medical authorities be appointed to grant certificates under special circumstances to parties presenting themselves to act as assistant-surgeons.

24. That a dispensing department be constituted as a distinct branch of the service.

25. That the jurisdiction of Parliament upon railway and private bills may cease, and that tribunals be established, with power for the adjudication of such bills in the cheapest and most expeditious manner.

26. That the several changes in the civil, diplomatic, military, and naval services be effected without unnecessary delay.

And your Petitioners will ever pray!

It will be seen that the demands of this Association are not likely to be charged with want of comprehensiveness at any rate. The Army, the Navy, the Diplomatic Service, all the Departments of the Civil Service at home and abroad, the Medical Service, Civil and Military, the powers of Parliament, and to a certain extent those of the judicature of the country also, come within the sweep of their net! And the whole is crowned by the request, or rather demand, that the several changes mentioned be effected without delay!

Now, with every regard for the certainly very respectable names that appear on the muster roll of this Association, and for the doubtless most patriotic motives that have animated them one and all in thus coming together to consult for the public weal, we cannot think that the body they belong to has altogether achieved that position in the country, which would entitle it to assume the tone of dictation and extreme urgency which its demands betray. Even in a proved case of needful changes there is a slowness in what the Americans would call the "action taken upon them," in England, characteristic of the cool, reasoning temperament of her people, and however irritating to enthusiasts, very salutary in its ultimate effect, as it ensures the maturing of any change, and avoids the many evils that attend upon rashness and sudden innovation. And

the demonstrations of the Administrative Reform Association will, unless very judiciously conducted indeed, and successful in securing a greater amount of general support and sympathy than it has at present, in nothing tend to hasten matters, but rather, if they have any effect, to suggest the propriety of even increased caution and care in making the next onward step.

The vote of the House of Commons on Lord Goderich's motion of last month, was undoubtedly calculated to give the impression that this "next onward step" should be taken at once. But the practical good sense of England has come to the rescue, and in effect nullified that vote by denying to its promoters and supports the weight and influence necessary to compel the carrying out of its objects.

The "Administrative Reform Association" have published many tracts, in several of which there are no doubt sound principles advocated; but still oftener there is but the reproduction of trite and stale truisms and vague enunciations, and wordy and unnecessary vindications of general principles. We would propose to them a more practical course, and one that will far better subserve the end they have proposed to themselves than the course they have hitherto pursued. Let them no longer waste time in undisputed generalities, sweeping animadversions against all who do not at once bow their judgments to the Association's dogmas, and theoretical speculations of the loosest kind. Let them apply their intellects to shewing, if they can, that the extreme reforms they would so hastily urge, are not likely to be attended by the dangers predicated of them by men as sincerely anxious for *real* reform and effective (but *sound*) progress as the members of this Association can possibly be. Let them demonstrate if they can, that the open, unbridled, untempered system of appointment by competition, and competition alone, will not operate to introduce the evils of Bureaucracy to which we have such unexceptionable witnesses, and will not increase and largely develop the already formidable tendency there is in public affairs towards centralization, with the ultimate and inevitable consequence of making the Government all in all, and adding new incentives to ambition and rapacity to seize upon it and use it for the purposes of despotism.

The well known Prussian statesman and writer, the Chevalier Bunsen, for so many years the Representative at the British Court of the Prussian Government—a man whom an

English Periodical, the "North British Review," speaks of in the following quaint but highly laudatory terms, viz :—"a thoroughly educated, highly accomplished, well-experienced, pious, patriotic, *healthy-bodied*, healthy-minded, and in every respect harmonious and *well-rounded* German gentleman" (!)—has lately published in his own country, a work entitled, "Signs of the Times : Letters to Friends on Freedom of Conscience and the Rights of Christian Congregations :—" in which the following occur, pertinent to our subject, and relating to a portion of his own.

On my return to my own country last summer, after fourteen years' absence, I began to compare the impressions with which I had left Germany with the more ripe views which, through more extended study and a more large experience, had obtained.....I confess as a German and as a Prussian not without sorrow, that experience and reflection have convinced me of the truth of the political principle, that the system of centralization is inconsistent with the education of the people to true freedom, and is a system which, in the long run, weakens more than it strengthens.

It will be for the pamphleteers of the Administrative Reform Association to shew how they purpose to avoid this "rock ahead" of centralization. If any Government at all is to be carried on, there must be "places" and "offices" under it, and these "places" and "offices" no matter how appointed to, must in their management and *in reference to the duration of tenure*, be absolutely under the control of the Government of the day. Let then the sphere of appointments be enlarged as it inevitably must, under the influence of the clamour of the multitudes disappointed in the open and general competition for office to which the youth of the country are now to be invited, and the influence of the Government of the day must, so long as it holds together as a Government, be proportionally or perhaps we should better say, *out of all proportion*, increased. But the energies which will have been thus seduced and perverted from the plain and open and honorable road of industrial enterprise, or professional ambition, to what is really neither more nor less than *place hunting* under the deceitfully alluring form of the reward of merit, will prove as unruly in fruition of their success as in the struggle to obtain it. The *immediate* authority, or *actual form* of Government will then have to enter upon a battle for existence, and "weakened more than strengthened," as the Chevalier Bunsen remarks, by the extreme centralization, it will have to give place to another

form, in its turn to be forcibly changed, and changed again, by the operation of the same ungovernable impulses, till the rude and primal instinct of the commonest safety makes men accept *any* form, however stern and restrictive, that promises to ensure order and security from perturbation and convulsion.

We neither attempt nor wish to make disguise of the fact that we are very much indisposed indeed to wish success to any movement tending to eliminate the aristocratic element from the constitution. There is nothing in the history of the experiment wherever it has been made, of a chief of the State and a "People" class, with nothing intermediate, to reconcile us to making the essay here at home and in the present day. Not a slight objection to it in point of practice is, that it inevitably is a state of transition and totally destitute of permanency. The monarchy may survive the fall of the aristocracy, but only like Ulysses in Polyphamus' cavern, "to be devoured the last," by the insatiate and overweening democracy, or on the other hand, the popular power badly seated and ill founded, may be annihilated under the iron pressure of autocracy. But the two powers, monarch and people, never remain for any long continuance in equipoise, either assuredly kicking the beam in the long run, unless a third and middle power to regulate and moderate between—the power of a constitutional aristocracy—be in existence and operation.

In a country so circumstanced as Great Britain with all her institutions, that of her aristocracy in particular, so long settled, so deeply rooted and embedded in the soil, nothing could be more injurious, more entirely disastrous, than a suddenly compelled change tending ultimately and not remotely to uproot any of those institutions. A modification no doubt there ought to be in proper time, as the very best institutions of human foundation have the inevitable imperfection and liability to decay that is inseparable from all that is human, and must certainly stand in need of periodical revision and amendment. But our great fear is, that the Administrative Reform Association is going not a little too fast, and is prone and eager to throw away the power of effecting a moderate but certain good, in the grasping effort at a victory of a larger but far less beneficial character.

To the extent that these Reformers go in ameliorating and amending what is existing without too radical a change, we also are Reformers, earnest and sincere. But the moment

that the cry, already too unmistakeably raised by their over-excited partizans, becomes distinct, urging further and faster progress, and the dangerous policy of total subversion, for the wild purpose of random substitution or creating anew, or giving undue preponderance to a part of what is existing already—that moment we must be permitted to draw back and decline the responsibility of results easily to be foreseen, and most earnestly and seriously to be deprecated.

Upon full and calm consideration of the whole of the subject, taking into account the existing and long established state of things in England, the dangerous and volcanic aspect of affairs abroad, and all the considerations we have been urging in the present paper, we are bound to express our firmly seated opinion that change, in the direction to which the agitation points of the Administrative Reform Association has for the present gone far enough, and that a sufficient pause ought now be made to give a full opportunity of testing the efficacy for good or for evil, whichever it may prove to be, of what has already been accomplished. We do not hesitate to say, that up to the period of the recent parliamentary advancement successfully made by the over ardent Lord Goderich, we think the progress of the movement had been entirely beneficial and laudable. The undue and excessive preponderance of the aristocratic body in the state had received a salutary and wholesome and very needed check. Nepotism and favoritism and abuse of patronage had not indeed been put an end to and done away with, but they had been exposed and in public condemnation, and the counteracting principle of encouraging, fostering and rewarding merit had been proclaimed and was being acted upon. The really monstrous practice of filling the public offices with nominees of influential individuals,—these nominees in a very great multitude of cases possessing in reality no other qualification in the world for public employment than the mere fact of being recommended by individuals of position and influence—has been nearly altogether stopped, scarcely a single appointment now occurring without the previous test of an examination of a real and practical, and in several instances a severe nature; and a crowd of candidates who failed under the test, having been rejected for that cause, notwithstanding the influence of their patrons. This alone is a great step—wonderful change from the constant and immemorial custom theretofore existing, and a change effected with marvellous

rapidity and success. It would be well—it would be wise—it would be *safe*—here for awhile to make a pause, and give fair play to an experiment not only promising so well, but that has already produced such unexpected and excellent results.

In fact the impatient pushing onwards, upon which we have been remarking, has, along with its darker characteristics and tendencies, one trait and one tendency enough in itself to abate our disposition to yield to and help it forward: "*ôte-toi de là que je m'y mette*"! is the epigrammatic phrase in which our good allies and neighbours of France convey their appreciation of the motives actuating, in their opinion, the middle class reformers or perturbators, who have twice so seriously shaken the social edifice in that country. "Let the aristocracy make room for us" / would be the candid and literal application of this expression, translated and applied to the aspiring reformists of the middle class in England. They object to the state furnishing employment and means of emolument to the scions and protégées of the aristocracy. They have not the slightest objection, or rather they have the direct *intention*, that the State shall transfer its favors and its advantages to the *aristodemocracy*, or *plutocracy* as we may term them. But fortunately there is, besides that formidable third party, the real Democracy (to whose ultimate profit all the restless scheming and cabaling of the *plutocratic* class are ever sure to tend), yet a fourth party in the case—the rational, moderate and *disinterested* friends of reform, and up to this they have succeeded in delaying a little the unseemly rush of those whose motives in clamouring for administrative ameliorations are at the best so open to heavy suspicion and distrust. All who are true friends to salutary change, which inevitably implies (in order to be salutary) that whatever is good, stable and necessary in the existing state of things should be maintained and defended—ought to rally at once and determinedly to those who have taken the temporarily unpopular, but manly and constitutional part, of insisting that our Institutions shall not be rashly and suddenly changed to suit a theory, or a party-purpose, but that each step in alteration, while taken with a due alacrity of obedience to the national will, when fully and fairly ascertained and enunciated through the proper organs, shall be taken also with a full consideration for the rights and interests of all parties and classes in the State, and a clear and just appreciation of, and preparation for, the results which are naturally to be expected to ensue.

In one direction there is perhaps less danger to be presently anticipated from an energetic movement onwards than in most others, and thither we would fain direct the excess of energy from which we anticipate evil consequences in those others. Military Reform offers a wide and fair field for action—a field wider at least just now, and more requiring attention for the time, than the Civil Service, inasmuch as while there is in the latter a positive and incontestable manifestation of willingness to accept, or (if the phrase be thought more suitable) a submissiveness in adopting ameliorating changes, in the administration of the Military Service there has, on the contrary, been displayed an equally decided, or still more marked tendency to relapse into all the old abuses and mischiefs of that administration. It will be seen that we by no means propose a suspension of action; and that those who having once tested the *aigro-dolce* of public agitation, are longing for its seductive piquancy again, need not fear that we propose to them to starve their tastes, but rather to turn to where they can still more abundantly gratify and satiate them. There is no stone of Sisyphus to labour at continually and vainly in the Civil Service, or if there were, up to the present time, it has, contrary to all the traditions of Tartarus, at length been pushed over the summit—if only a little way, still enough to save us from immediate recoil. On the other hand, all the upheaving and straining and upheaving again, that has been used with the dead weight at the Horse Guards, threatens to terminate only in a heavier and more hopeless rebound than ever before. Thither then—thither let every one turn who is earnest in the cause of Reform—thither let them bring and muster all their energies, for there all will be wanting, if we are to judge from the very determined, and, considering the bent of public opinion, the not a little audacious retrograde demonstrations of the ruling powers in the administration of our Military Affairs.

The appointment of Lieutenant General the Earl of Lucan, Lieutenant General Airey, and Colonel Gordon to high military posts and honors at home, immediately upon their return—(a return too made while the war was fiercely raging)—from the Crimea, where their utter and amazing incapacity, perverseness, and blundering were productive of such disastrous results, are scarcely to be spoken of with ordinary patience. In truth those appointments have, by their enormous incongruity and impropriety, in a manner paralysed the public mind and



rendered it as yet, as it were, almost speechless with astonishment. While the indignation they have excited is perfectly well known and already not a little dreaded at head-quarters, the practical demonstrations of it have been as yet few and limited—a matter, however, in which, if we do not very much mistake the signs of the times, there will very speedily be a most unmistakeable change.

The incriminating Report of Colonel Tulloch and Sir John McNeill—criminatory of the three officers mentioned in the preceding paragraph—has sunk deep into the public mind, and received as it deserved the fullest credence as an honest, unbiassed, careful, and searching exposé of misconduct, that escapes the deeper stigma of (in effect,) *murderous* criminality, only by the somewhat mercifully allowed plea of incapacity. "The Enquiry into an Enquiry"—or virtual *trial* of the Crimean Commissioners themselves, for daring to speak the truth about the monstrous doings and still more monstrous omissions of the Military Chiefs in the late campaigns, will, instead of mitigating the popular resentment by blinding our eyes and misleading our judgments, as there is but too much reason to believe was the intent with which it was set on foot, and is being carried out, must only tend in reality to increase still more the general and just exasperation, and not very improbably occasion ere very long, an explosion that will not only shatter to pieces the frail and rickety defences that have recently been set up, but open a wide and ruinous break into the very heart of the grim and frowning old citadel itself, of military mismanagement, favoritism and maladministration.

There were and are a number of circumstances about this really most unnecessary Commission of Enquiry into the Crimean Commissioners' Report, calculated not merely to breed suspicion of it and of the motives of those who forced it upon the Government, but actually to condemn them. In the first place, if the shallow pretext be depended upon, as it has been to a considerable extent, that in fairness towards the inculpated parties, such an enquiry ought to be made in order to give them the opportunity of defending and if possible clearing themselves from the charges brought against them, the answer is prompt and full—that these men *had* that opportunity when the Crimean Commissioners were actually sitting in the camp before Sebastopol, where all necessary witnesses were on the spot, or within easy reach of summons from Constantinople.



The evidence already given before the new Commission or *Inquisition* in the hall of Chelsea Hospital, has established, in spite of the attempted denial—(a denial *not repeated* when the refutation proved so unexpectedly at hand)—of Colonel Gordon as to his having had full warning and notice of the extent and nature of the questions he had to answer,—that the amplest opportunity was given by Colonel Tulloch and Sir John McNeill to all parties implicated to make their own case in defence. But if even after this it had been really necessary to give those parties further opportunity, as has now been given, for the same purpose, surely the Crimean Commissioners themselves should have been shown equal fair play, and got equal facilities to bring forward any evidence they might deem necessary to bear out the Report which they have so honestly made. This, however, is *denied to them*! Some of their most important witnesses are yet in the Crimea or otherwise absent from the country. Six, or perhaps even three months' delay, would ensure that all persons whose testimony might be considered at all necessary, should be brought within reach of call; but the aggrieved dignity of the three high-placed favorites of the Horse Guards would not brook even that delay, and their favor at head-quarters has made their impatience prevail. On which side the advantage of this highhanded promptitude is, there cannot be any doubt.

In the second place, there was a most significant demonstration of unwillingness, on the part of several general officers to be members of the Chelsea Court of Enquiry. We do not mean to say that the medical certificates, under which so many were excused, were altogether unfounded; but one glance at the old officers who have ultimately had this onerous duty put upon them, will at once convince the observer that quite as much justification for such certificates could be found among those who do sit as for those who have escaped the task. It may seem strange to the civilian, that men who have attained high rank in their profession after a long period of well recognized service, should yet appear to shrink, like a half-fledged ensign, from the chance of coming in contact with the Horse Guards; but there is a difficulty of overcoming the effects of early and constant training in every profession, and the principle and practice of unreasoning obedience and submission gets to be implanted so deeply in the bosom of a military man as to become as it were a second and stronger nature. Accordingly

there has been a decided *shrinking* from the chance of having to maintain the conclusions of the Crimean Commissioners' Report against the known will of the high Military Authority to whom Lord Lucan, General Airey, and Colonel Gordon owe their most questionable appointments.

In the third place, there have been demonstrations by the fashionable audiences attending in Chelsea Hall, which if the members of the present Court of Enquiry be at all impressionable, may have their effect upon the verdict—an effect unfavourable to the Crimean Commissioners, in consequence of those unbecoming and most improper demonstrations.

In the fourth place, the over readiness and sweeping assertions of some of the chief witnesses has a peculiar significance. High officers of one service seem to think it necessary at all hazards to defend their equally fortunate brethren of the other. It is true that, as always happens with over-earnest (and possibly not *over-sincere*) witnesses, the excess of zeal betrays into strange mistakes and contradictions. A Naval chief of old and long service suddenly finds himself ignorant of what the youngest "reefer" in his fleet will know, the number of yards of canvas that his ship can spread! And this obliviousness takes place exactly when it was of importance to the Crimean Commissioners that such a fact should be accurately stated, while it was of equal importance to the other parties in the trial or "*enquiry*" to have it left in doubt! Again, the fact known to the most casual traveller, that Constantinople is a city of wood buildings, and therefore must have a number of carpenters among its population, is deliberately ignored under the same circumstances by one who, from his position, must have had peculiar opportunities of being aware of the fact. It was, however, a *troublesome fact* for the inculpated land-officers; and the same high naval authority, in an outburst of professional zeal, boasts of a small party of his seamen, (*without carpenters among them*) having erected shelter for five or six times their number of soldiers in a very brief space of time, forgetting in his haste that he had before said, (when it was convenient to do so,) that without carpenters shelter could not have been constructed for men or horses—that he had no carpenters to spare,—and that sailors sent on shore for the purpose would be useless.

We have been betrayed into some length on this subject, for it is one on which it is but natural to feel strongly and therefore to speak freely. We do not regret the delay, if it operate,

as we hoped it might, to draw the attention of our earnest Reform-agitators to the grievous defects and evils of the Military Administration of the Empire, and, as before remarked, to the large and wide field for their exertions which it exhibits. He who runs may read in the appointments to high position at home of the officers inculcated by the Crimean Commission, and in the manner in which it is sought to throw discredit upon the honest and truth-telling Report of that Commission, that whatever might be the progress of Reform in the Civil Service, however great or limited may be the concessions regarding it that have been and are being made to public opinion—(and those concessions so far as they have gone, *are* real and valuable)—it seems to be determined not merely to resist its progress in military matters with the vis inertie of that less responsible and most arbitrary of Government Departments the Horse Guards, but as it were to put into active practice the military tactics of “carrying the war into the enemy’s country” by boldly and in the face of day rivalling the most flagrant and unblushing deeds of the old corruption-times. Surely our ardent Reformers will not be daunted by this plain defiance, daring though it be, but will accept the gauntlet thrown down, and proceed to teach Lord Hardinge, and whoever were his accessaries, in this outrage upon public opinion that the day is gone by for ever when such practices could be allowed to escape with impunity.

A significant though rude and coarse phrase, which is said to have been frequently heard in the lines of our Allies during the long siege of Russia’s southern stronghold, should help to call the attention of our Reformers to Military matters:—“The English are an army of lions, led by asses”! was the pithy sentence pronounced upon our forces by the French. Whether our epigrammatic neighbours meant to include the regimental officers or not, under the not very complimentary designation just given, we cannot say, but there is of course no doubt that they meant it to apply in its full force to the leaders of our army; and as these have in their time been regimental officers, it is not easy to see that any line is drawn at all between the grades. And certainly whenever and wherever any separate responsibility has chanced to fall upon a mere regimental officer—one of those opportunities which the Frenchman, soldier-born and soldier-bred, is ever sure to turn to advantage and to personal distinction—our officers of the subordinate, as of the higher grade, have won the praise of

most chivalrous gallantry and most unhesitating self-devotion, but not one iota more. Military science has been shown to be to them as it were a sealed book, owing to the grievous defects of their military education. It is true matters have in some slight degree been improved *theoretically* in this respect, as a certain examination formidable *on paper* to men of imperfect teaching, has been established now some years, but in practice and reality there has been little value in it, as a few months' assiduous cramming has helped scores of incompetent men over it, and enabled them to attain the desired object of promotion, when they as quickly forgot the ill-assorted and undigested lesson they had to get up in such haste.

To examine into the causes of the inefficiency of so many of our brave officers—inefficiency not only as to the higher branches of military knowledge, but often as to matters of the commonest necessity in the field—(it being always understood that we do not speak of mere fighting at close quarters)—is then an object of vital interest and importance. Incapacity and blundering in military affairs has assuredly cost us the loss of at least one half of the gallant little army we sent to the Crimea—the very flower of our army as then existing. No man can with any confidence predict, in the present lowering state of the political firmament of Europe, that peace will be enduring. No statesman will deny that there are elements of confusion and disruption abroad, that may ere many months set roaring war once more between powerful states, and once again task all our resources to bear our inevitable part well and effectively in the strife. It therefore instantly imports us to look to the administration and management of our military affairs, to see if the defects and evils therein proven by the bitter experience of the war just concluded are being remedied. Perhaps, fortunately for us, the Horse Guards have given a very startling proof that such is not the case. We might have gone to sleep in over confidence, we are suddenly awakened to increased distrust and more energetic action. Here then is the field, and a good and wide field for our Administrative Reformers, where all their energies will find employment, and where, by well directed and well sustained agitation, they must accomplish most important and most beneficial alterations and reforms. To aid them in the task, by exposing so far as our ability permits, the evils most crying for immediate remedy, will be our task and a labour of love, in the succeeding number of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

## ART. VI.—IRISH FISHERIES.

*The Fisheries, considered as a National Resource, with Comments upon the Laws relating to them; being a collection of Articles on the state of the Irish Fisheries. Published at different periods.* By Robert Worthington, Esq. Barrister-at-Law. Dublin: Edward J. Milliken, 15 College Green, 1856.

IN the last Number of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, we commented at some length upon the able pamphlet of Captain Symonds, respecting the objects of "The London and West of Ireland Fishing and Fish Manure Company." We now turn with much pleasure to a little volume which has very lately made its appearance, and which is a compilation of articles, written from time to time by Mr. Worthington, an Irish Barrister. Unlike the work of Captain Symonds, Mr. Worthington's treatise relates principally to River Fisheries, though we must not omit to state, that he devotes no inconsiderable space to the discussion of those of the coasts and deep seas, and to the insertion of excellent suggestions for their full development, and of well-grounded beliefs in the highly remunerative results which would be likely to follow the adoption of such a course. Those who are even moderately acquainted with the valuable nature of our Salmon Fisheries, must see at once the usefulness of any undertaking set on foot for the purpose of reforming the abuses which have almost threatened their speedy extinction, and there are few Irishmen with any pretence to patriotism and just feelings, who would not gladly behold such an important element of the wealth of the country preserved from this fate. If any analogy could be instituted between the right of the commonalty to fish our rivers "ad libitum," and the right of the tenant to receive adequate remuneration for the permanent improvements which he has

made upon his holding, under such circumstances, many grave doubts might be entertained as to whether any restrictions which interfered with this natural and just right should be suffered to exist. But such a comparison would be ridiculous in the extreme, and could not last a moment; properties of this nature are as sacred, and as well founded as any others can be; as they are not parcelled out here and there in small divisions, the public can have no claim whatever upon them, and a demand upon the proprietor to relinquish his right to reap the benefit of his fisheries, would be as reasonable as to ask him to deliver up his mansion, and his landed estates. A fitting proof of the wise intention of Providence that this source of wealth should be regulated and developed by individual, or commercial enterprise, is afforded in these plain facts, first, that it would forfeit its existence by the establishment of any other system; and secondly, that the effective carrying out of either of these legitimate plans, would be necessarily attended by advantages to the country at large, a thousand fold greater in the increased abundance and cheapness of the Fish Markets, than those to be obtained under the auspices of communistic principles. Mr. Worthington, it will be easily observed in the passages which we will subsequently cite, brings to his work much practical knowledge, talent, energy, and skill, added to which he evinces no ordinary amount of information regarding the ancient Irish Fishery Enactments. Occasionally we receive unmistakeable evidences of his patriotic nature, and behold vivid signs of an ardent longing for the appearance of what in many instances he justly supposes would confer solid benefits upon his country: and it is with the most unaffected sincerity, we offer him our humble sympathy, at the same time entertaining a reasonable hope that his excellent suggestions may be acted upon at no distant day.

In his opening chapter Mr. Worthington, having descanted upon the almost total decay of the English Salmon Fisheries, and the great falling off of those in Ireland and Scotland, showing how, owing to its scarcity, Salmon is a dish almost unknown to the poor, and dwelling upon the fact that England is completely dependant upon Ireland and Scotland for this fish, while by the aid of steam we are enabled to lay the produce of every river in the country, on the London tables, in such a state of freshness as to satisfy the most fastidious appetites, then favours us with some interesting historical matter, relative to the ancient charter and patent weirs of Ireland.

This leads us into a short digression, and a few observations, concerning the history of the ancient charter and patent weirs of this kingdom. No doubt, at a remote period, a necessity arose for a fixed mode of capturing salmon in our rivers, for the supply of markets in chief cities or towns: the imagination must be vivid, which can conjecture a time when the rude angling tackle of our ancestors was alone regarded as a means adequate to the supply of the public wants. We learn from undoubted records, that at a very early period of our history, purprestures, or weirs, were used in this country for the capture of salmon, and were, for many centuries, subjected to legislative control; hence the origin and the title of the Salmon-weirs, or great Salmon-fisheries of this kingdom; they existed certainly when the Danes held sway in Ireland, and were subsequently confirmed, or granted by the Crown, by charter, or patent, to corporations and others, who had acquired territorial rights. In this manner rights of several fishery were founded; a large proportion of these fisheries falling into hands of monastic institutions—being annexed to abbeys, and other religious houses. The weirs of Lismore, of Gill Abbey, and many others, were amongst the ancient possessions of the Church. The Abbots of Mellifont possessed three weirs upon the Boyne, and upon a writ of *Monstrans de droit*, in the reign of Edward III., their title was held good. St. Mary's Abbey at Dublin, enjoyed a special grant of fishery in the waters of the Avon Liffey; and in the year 1220, the lordly Prior of Kilmainham had to submit to an inquiry, respecting his title to the structure, which forms the present Island-bridge weir. At Limerick, in the recent trials respecting the title to the great lax-weir and Fishery, now the property of the Limerick Corporation, the title was deduced from a charter granted by King John, in the year 1202, to William de Bradosa. These, not to mention numerous other instances, will be quite sufficient to carry back the title of those obnoxious purprestures, at all events, into a pretty remote antiquity.

An act passed in 1842 interfered materially with acknowledged rights, and declared that those ancient weirs and fisheries founded by our ancestors, and handed down to us by corporations, were monopolies. According to Mr. Worthington, a bill introduced by Mr. Connolly, the member for Donegal, is calculated to remove the injurious effects of that act, and to substitute others in their place, by means of which these fisheries may be placed in a position from which unexampled prosperity can be derived.

The Bill proposes to prohibit the use of fixed engines within the mouth, or within two miles of the mouth, of any river or harbour, in all cases in which a prescriptive title to use such engines cannot be shown; and the length of possession which should constitute a prescriptive right, is proposed in this (and in all other cases relating to fisheries) to be a period of forty years. For this proposed period

of limitation, there is a precedent in the English Act, 2 & 3 Wil. IV. c. 71, which shortens the period of prescription in certain commonable cases, and enacts that it shall not be necessary, in proving a prescription, or that a right has been exercised from "time immemorial," to include the whole period of time from the commencement of the reign of Richard I. The Act we refer to, substitutes shorter and more reasonable periods for proof. It cannot be argued that those engines which have sprung up, mushroom-like, since 1842, are recognized by the law, or were lawfully erected according to a sound construction of the provisions, even of the statute which introduced them. The 21st section of the Act of 1842, prohibits their erection, in any manner, so as to be *injurious to navigation*; and we have abundant evidence before us, that those recent fixtures in the tide-way have interfered with navigation,\* and that more explicit legislation respecting them is demanded. Again; to interfere injuriously with the *public fishery*, is contrary to the common law; and, that these novel engines of destruction do so interfere, requires little argument or elucidation: they have had a most pernicious effect upon the fisheries at large; they have reduced the gross produce to an alarming extent; and being placed near, or inside the mouths of rivers, they take precedence of all ancient modes of capture, and deprive not only the charter weir of its existing rights, but swallow up those public rights of fishery in the estuary, which belonged to the cotman, and which are derived to him by a prescription more ancient than the parchment which secures the landed proprietor, on the shore, in his possessions.

A description of the bag-net will give us a tolerable idea of its destructive nature.

This machine—invented by some cannie Highlandman—was first introduced into Ireland about fifteen or eighteen years back. It is a most ingenious contrivance; but fated, we fear, unless timely restrictions be interposed, to annihilate the *genus salmo*. It is a trap made of netting, extended upon poles in such a manner, that when immersed in the sea, it sinks to its upper surface, and then floats, so as to form beneath the water, a cage, or compartment like a chamber, some ten or twelve feet square: this chamber is entered by a narrow door, which is so adapted to the instincts of the salmon, that though he enters freely, there is a slight labyrinth which bewilders him, and prevents his egress. A "leader," or curtain of net-work, one or two hundred yards in length, extends from the shore to this chamber, and as the salmon is known to keep close to the shore, and in proceeding towards his native river, to traverse the indentations of the coast, and the innermost recesses of bays, it follows that in his progress along the coast, he strikes against the leader of the fixed net, and being thus turned off into deep water, he goes along the leader in the same way that he was before traversing the shore, and in this way enters the chamber, where he remains until captured. This engine is so certain and destructive in its operations, that the capture

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\* See Captain Frazer's Report to the Admiralty, Jan. 1851.



of 50, or 100 salmon, was by no means an unusual performance a bag-net during a single tide : but salmon lately have become scarce. The number of these engines now in use, and their efficiency will give some idea of the drain thus put upon the fisheries : a drain so effectual, that it has almost overthrown all property in Salmon fisheries ; and the engine now becomes almost suicidal, and threatens its own existence—at least, many of them have ceased operation merely from the dearth and paucity of salmon which they have themselves occasioned.

The author goes on to show the extensive depredations committed by seals and porpoises, owing to the bag-net system, the former lurking about the net, and often succeeding in getting in and out with safety, carrying off the imprisoned salmon, and the latter who frequent the deep water, being afforded an opportunity, by means of the leader of the net, following their prey, whose instinct it is to hug the shore, but who are compelled by this curtain to travel seawards in the prosecution of their journey. He dismisses with a few pertinent observations the specious pretext in favor of the bag-net, which insinuates that by its instrumentality, the fish can be captured in better condition than it could otherwise ; showing how many cases the salmon reach the river charter weir in less than more than an hour after they leave the sea, as may be proved by the animalcule or parasite, which adheres to the scales of the fish, and which can live only a few hours after its arrival in fresh water. He then proceeds with fresh arguments against the bag-net.

“ A practical observation or two, may here be made respecting some peculiar localities on the sea-coast, in which those fixed engines are sometimes erected, and in which the use of them has a most prejudicial effect upon the fisheries, and for which a remedy is provided in the Bill. The enabling words of the Statute are, that such engines may be erected “ *attached to the shore* ” adjoining the land, right of which the engine is erected ; but under this power fixed-nets have been erected from the ends of piers, and artificial breakwaters projecting perhaps a mile or more, into the sea. A provision made in the present Bill, to prevent this practice, which is an abuse of the enabling power ; and we proceed to show why this may be considered to be a judicious and proper restriction. When a fixed-net is erected from the extremity of a pier, the pier acts as leader of the net, and it is to all intents and purposes the same with respect to it, as if the curtain, or leader of the net itself, was of similar length with the pier, which may, perhaps, be a mile or more. This gives the fixed-net so circumstanced an overwhelming advantage ; its capture is most destructive, and it engrosses, monopolizes, or, so to speak, takes the wind out of the sails, of all fixed-nets in the same

locality, properly and legally erected. We omit to take any notice of the injury to navigation, which may be feared, from encouraging the erection of fixtures in the sea, in the immediate vicinity of piers and artificial harbours; the present observations are confined merely to the monopolizing effect of such an engine, as a fishing engine; and to the equity and policy of not extending the enabling power beyond its strict letter, by providing, that the net shall be "attached to the shore" adjoining the land, in right of which the party uses it, and not otherwise. This provision will supply an evident omission, and prevent a destructive monopoly, and will secure equal rights to all entitled to use those engines on the shore."

The question as to what time the close season should commence is discussed with much ability, the period mentioned in Mr. Connolly's Bill, namely the first of August, meeting the approval of the author. Some admirable suggestions for the preservation of salmon ensue; such as protecting from capture all fish under a certain weight, and making such alterations in weirs as would enable the fish to pass through them. The matter of outlay is important, and receives due attention.

But the expense of these structures will, after all, be a material consideration. The funds for these purposes at the disposal of Boards of Conservators are very limited; and as mill-weirs in some rivers are numerous, many years might elapse before anything effectual could be done, if estimates should range so high as £50, £100, and even considerably higher. We think economy, therefore, indispensable in the allocation of the funds applicable to this purpose. In any of the plans we have proposed, we should say £40 will be the outside of all expenses, but in the most effectual plan suggested, namely, that in the sluice itself, one-half the above amount will amply suffice; while in numerous old, ill-constructed, and uneven weirs, by slight aids or very simple adaptations, passes effectual for every purpose intended, and permanent as the rough old structure itself, can be completed at an expense not exceeding ten pounds.

This calculation is followed by hints as to the restriction of anglers, and by reflections on the jurisdiction in Fishery cases to be given to Assistant Barristers. Much important information is contained in the calculation which we now lay before the reader.

"In concluding our remarks upon the subject of the Salmon-fisheries, we shall submit a few observations as to the aggregate deficit of the Irish Salmon-fisheries since 1842, which is the matter the public has to deal with. Upon this point we are really afraid to make an estimate, as any calculation of ours might appear incredible, but the reader may form some estimate himself from the following data:—The average take of salmon annually at the chief Salmon-fisheries, at that period, may be taken at about 200 tons each; the

Foyle fishery, in 1842, produced nearly 300 tons, and it is a remarkable fact that in the reign of Charles I., (according to a return made by Lord Strafford), the produce of the Foyle is stated at 240 tons for the year 1638; the Bann, at Coleraine, previously also, had been equally fruitful; and the Shannon superior to all. Shortly anterior to 1842, in one town on the Shannon (the town of Glin), £3,000 worth of salmon was sold in one season. The great fishery of the Moy at Ballina; the Blackwater, at Lismore; and last, not least, the Erne, at Ballyshannon—produced also their hundreds of tons. Perhaps those now mentioned might be placed in one category, and be styled first-class rivers: in another may be placed the Slaney, Lee, Suir, Nore, Barrow, and some others, which may be termed second class rivers; the average here also will range high, though accurate returns cannot be given, as public rights of fishery prevail so largely in those rivers. Then we have in great abundance third-class rivers such as the Laune, the Maine, the Boyne, the Liffey, and a host of others; in all, we believe, about 120 salmon rivers. Most of the third-class rivers will average from ten to twenty tons each; and even the most inconsiderable mountain streams of Kerry, and other districts, will yield, or rather, we should say, did yield, their five or six tons annually, of salmon and sea trout; and all this exclusive of the capture of salmon in the sea, and at the mouths. Here, then, is a vast aggregate, the annual produce of our Salmon-fisheries down to 1842. But how stands the matter now? Let the proprietors of the large Salmon-fisheries above mentioned state what amount of rent they now receive from fisheries, which previously had paid each an annual rent of one, two, or three thousand pounds. The Irish Society, or London Company, can inform us what rent they got for the Foyle fisheries previous to that year. We believe we are right in saying the rent was £3,200 per annum; but what is the rent now? The Foyle fishery was set up to be let last February, in the Guildhall, London, and no bidder could be found rash enough to take it. In every district of the country ruin has stalked among the fisheries: from the records of the Court of Chancery, in a case where a receiver was appointed, we could show an instance in which a fishery, in the hands of the receiver, has not produced any profit whatsoever, which down to 1842, produced, beyond wages and expenses, a clear profit of £600 per annum. In the late movement connected with the fisheries, the Committee appointed at a General meeting, sent printed queries to the owners of all Salmon-fisheries in Ireland, both in rivers and upon the sea-coast; and one of the queries was, as to whether there had been an increase or decrease of produce since 1842; the answer from all was “decrease.” In some cases, the decrease was stated at one-half, in others, two-thirds, and in some the produce was stated at literally nothing. We have all the documents before us, and with impartiality and accuracy we can declare the result of our examination to be, that the produce from all the Irish Salmon fisheries has dwindled to one-third, within the last ten years.

The second chapter is devoted to a dissertation on, “The Sea and Coast Fisheries.” The writer having referred to Holland, Norway, Newfoundland, England, and Scotland, as in-

stances of countries which have prospered by the cultivation of their Fisheries, draws this sad picture of our unhappy Island.

Let us now take a view of our Irish sea-coast. Behold the roofless cottage—the boat stranded on the beach—the coast almost depopulated—the poor house full. How is this? Do the herrings turn tail upon us, or shun our shores? or have the turbot, the sole, and all the finny tribes, forsaken us? No such thing. Is our coast population indolent or cowardly? believe it not: they want instruction and culture; they want encouragement and aid; but they are not deficient either in courage or in energy. Our fishermen will go to sea in “cots,” or face the Atlantic surge in “currags” made of canvass, in which the well-equipped mariner of other countries would not venture to set a foot. Neither have the fish deserted us; they abound upon our shores or visit our bays in never-failing profusion; even while we are penning these lines, a fleet of Cornish fishing boats is leaving our shores, laden with the fit reward of their well-requited toils. Two hundred sail of these vessels dropped anchor in Howth Harbour this season, and fished under the friendly ray of the Poolbeg and Baily lights, almost within sight of our metropolis; and each summer they carry off a golden harvest in the presence of our starving fishermen. Our fishermen attend upon them, land their fish, or carry it to distant markets, and the utmost harmony prevails between them. We have seen and conversed with these intelligent Cornishmen; we admire their skill, their energy, their superior equipments, and fishing-gear—but, above all, their mild and orderly demeanour. Their fleet, as we have said, consisted of about two hundred sail, and frequently in some seasons consists of much more: these boats, with their equipments, are worth about £200 each, so that the whole fleet will represent, in round numbers, a capital of about £40,000. They arrived at Howth this season on the 23rd of June, and were all off on the 1st of September. Having fished our Dublin coast, they leave the herrings still abundant behind them, and hurry back to Cornwall to be in time for the great pilchard fishery on that coast, which only lasts a brief period, when they reap another abundant harvest; and some of them this season again returned to our coast, and again met the herrings. But confining our inquiries solely to their catch of herrings on our own coasts during the months of July and August of the present year, we find from careful inquiries that most of those boats captured and sold about £200 worth each; thus clearing almost the whole floating capital of their fleet within a period little exceeding two months, and carrying off from our shores, in hard cash, an amount little short of £30,000.

Mr. Worthington proposes a grant in aid of a loan-fund to encourage our poor fishermen, bringing forward the town of Howth as an instance, to prove what results would follow a successful carrying out of some simple measure of this description.

We shall begin our exposition with Howth, as we are partial to its blue cliffs. We take upon us to say there is not in the British

empire, a town to surpass Howth in all the concomitants of a first-class fishing-station. Its harbour cost half a million; a few miles in the offing a "ball" of herrings, eight or ten miles in length, and one or two miles in thickness, moves annually along in its huge and mysterious migration. The Cornishmen take a handful or two out of them (some £20,000 or £30,000 worth) each season, and then leave them unmolested to wend their way in slow and successive shoals along our coast. A railroad has its terminus close to the harbour; we have stepped the distance, and it is just forty paces from the turn-table of the terminus, to the gunwale of the fishing-boat. Our Dublin Billingsgate, the wholesale fish-market, is reached in forty-five minutes, and, as a market, is not perhaps equalled in advantages by any in Great Britain; the fish are sold by auction at an early hour to the trade, and if a glut of herrings, salmon, turbot, or other fish is poured in, the bulk of it is on board a steamer in three hours afterwards on its way to Liverpool. Not to waste time in details, those fish next day are exposed for sale in Manchester, Birmingham, and other inland towns, "bleeding fresh," to use a market phrase, in which state the commercial value is greatest, and thus the most remunerating price is obtained. Such is Howth, and such are its natural advantages. No town in Great Britain, neither Yarmouth, nor Wick, nor Stornoway, nor Helmsdale, nor any other fishing locality, in situation or natural advantages will be found to surpass Howth in all the requirements of a great fishing-station.

There are about 150 resident fishermen in the town—a hardy and stalwart race of industrious men; they occupy their time in the long line fishery, and when not fishing, prepare their hooks and lines. There is not a net in the town, nor has there been a net made in it these forty years.

With these facts before us, what must be our astonishment when we reflect that out of a population of 300,000, living in a city within a few minutes journey by railway of such a place as Howth, not half a dozen individuals of sufficient energy can be found, to exert themselves in favor of the proper development by native hands of this splendid fishery! Mr. Connolly's, bill proposes that the lords of the Treasury be empowered to advance money on loans in aid of the Coast-Fishing population; a measure which we think would be attended with every success. Thus argues the author—

A grant in aid of the industry of the coast population, will be a humane and long demanded remedial measure, and a safer investment than advances for labour-rates or poor-law unions. We would suggest, then, a limited grant, in aid of a loan-fund, in localities selected for the experiment; the sums advanced to bear a small rate of interest, and to be repayable in four years, by annual instalments of 25 per cent., each instalment to become due on the 1st of September in each year. If it be asked, what security can the impoverished

coast fisherman give—we answer, he can give a mortgage upon the ocean, and draw almost at sight upon the treasures of the deep. A loan-fund office, with savings'-bank annexed, will, therefore, be the only machinery we shall suggest, and a bottomry bond, with sureties, the security. We have little doubt as to the results, or of the validity and efficiency of the security; nor do we fear that our fishing population, temperate as they now are, and industrious and persevering, will have any difficulty in meeting these instalments—nay, we are convinced, many of them would anticipate their obligations, and place themselves, in a shorter time than the period we have above mentioned, in the position of independent boat-owners, thus becoming useful and serviceable members of the community, no longer a burden upon the poor-rates, and a reproach to the industry of the country.

The punctuality of the working classes in Ireland, in similar cases, with their gratitude for kindness shown to them, is proverbial. In the City of Cork Loan-fund Society, the loss in six years, upon loans to the amount of £38,520, only amounted to £8 17s.

We are satisfied the Government would not lose a shilling by this grant, so prolific and unfailing is the field, so ample are the means for repayment, and so keen would be the self-reliant struggle for independence. With a surplus treasury, an exchequer overflowing, and with large indirect taxation from Ireland swelling the resources of the State, we do not think any Chancellor of the Exchequer can remain imperturbable, or obdurate, in the face of the facts which can be marshalled against him.

Should the plan here proposed be adopted, and prove successful—to enumerate the proper measures for a full development of the fisheries will be a work of few words. Small piers, in localities which at present have no harbours, will be a necessary requirement; and for this purpose there is at present, we believe, in operation an Act of Parliament together with a grant. In many localities a short spur will be sufficient to form a safe low-water harbour for yauls and small craft used in such species of fishing as is suited to the locality. We would suggest that these piers should be constructed wholly by the Government, without any aid or application from local proprietors. This will ensure a proper selection of the site by competent hydrographists. Small harbours appear to have been constructed with much advantage on the east coast of Scotland, under the provisions of the 5th Geo. IV. c. 64; and everything connected with them, or relating to their extent or requirements, is well understood. A capstan, boat-slip, and mooring-gear, and small light, or lantern, will be the necessary appendances to complete the boat harbour. Curing-houses and salt stores, in remote localities, will also be required for fishing purposes; and provision is made in one of the clauses of the Bill to encourage their erection by private parties, and we have little doubt that in suitable localities they will form, not merely self-supporting, but highly profitable private speculations.

“The Artificial Propagation of Fish,” is the title of Mr. Worthington's next chapter. Alluding to the fact of the French Government having recently issued a commission to

examine and report upon this matter, he enters into an elaborate account of the manner in which Mr. Shaw, the first to direct the discovery of the German naturalist Jacobi, to practical purposes, succeeded perfectly, not only in producing salmon-fry, but also in retaining them in his enclosures during a period of two years, until they had reached that stage, when the sea becomes necessary to their existence. The author informs us that Mr. Shaw has the merit of the discovery which established the identity of the salmon-fry, with the gravel. In a clever elucidation of the manner in which the artificial method of propagating salmon can be carried on, recounting the benefits thereby accruing, the writer comes to consider how the fry so produced are to be protected, when they reach the sea?

To explain our views on this subject as concisely as possible. We do not think, as already said, that any extremely important practical results will follow from breeding salmon-fry artificially in rivers, unless we can go a step further, and protect them, at least for some period, in the sea; and the following are our reasons:—In spite of all opposing circumstances, the number of salmon-fry annually produced by the salmon themselves, by the natural process in the river, is at all times so prodigious, and the fry, which actually descend to the sea from every river, and in every season, are so numerous, that we cannot escape from the conclusion, that some enormous waste, goes on in the sea, from natural causes; and that until this waste can be controlled, it will answer no paramount practical purpose, to multiply further the abundant production, which the salmon (if allowed to go up to spawn in sufficient numbers) can without any adventitious aid, effect for themselves. The leaves of the trees are not more abundant than the prodigious swarms of salmon-fry which we have seen in some seasons descending rivers, and yet, in ensuing seasons, no observable increase, either of grilse or matured salmon, has taken place.

We have often, also—indeed, continuously, for a period of some thirty years—been puzzled with a fact, which we have constantly and invariably observed; namely, that when a flood occurs—opportune, as is often thought, at the very period (say the beginning of May) when the fry are on their passage to the sea—the very result that would naturally be expected from the safe transit of the whole body of the fry, from the river to the sea—does not actually take place, but the very opposite; and the ensuing and corresponding salmon season often shows, not an increase beyond the average of other years, but very frequently a diminution. Many years back we were so much struck with this circumstance, that we resolved to keep, and did keep, a registry of floods; and we have found the result invariable—viz., that when the whole brood has been carried off to the sea, on a flood, in the month of May, realizing the piscatory proverb—

"The first flood in May,  
Takes all the fry away,"

the produce, in salmon, of ensuing and corresponding years, has been frequently less, and not, as might have been expected, immeasurably more, than in seasons when the fry were detained in the river, in comparatively dry seasons, making their descent gradually, detained and obstructed by mill-dams, and subjected, during their tedious passage downwards, to all the ills that fry are heir to. The same observation may be made, with reference to winters, when unusually large numbers of salmon have been known to spawn in rivers, and unusually large numbers of fry have been produced, and yet the produce in grilse or salmon of succeeding years has been very deficient. It will be said, in answer to these perplexing facts, that we perhaps miscalculate the age and periods of migration, respectively, both of the fry going down, and of the grilse coming up; and, consequently, miscalculate the periods that would correspond with the descent of the one, and the ascent of the other. We are aware of the arguments that can be founded on that objection, but have taken a large margin, and several rivers, for our observation; and our conviction remains clear, that when countless myriads of mature salmon-fry have passed off to the sea in safety, by means of floods, ensuing seasons do not at all show those results which might naturally be expected to follow.

Our conclusion from the above premises is, that an immense waste or destruction of fry takes place in the sea, or at the mouth of the estuary.

After many just observations, and the enunciation of many important facts, amongst which latter may be mentioned that which informs us that the fisheries of Scotland receive material encouragement in the shape of large Government grants, and facilities for bank accommodation, the author winds up his third chapter. In the Appendix we find the following useful and interesting information relative to the improvement of salmon fisheries.

Having, with little effect, tried various methods to improve this Fishery (which formerly was of considerable value), I adopted a proceeding, which, as I shall be examined on oath during the pending inquiry, I shall now detail, as minutely as I shall, if necessary, depose to on my examination. In July, 1839, I directed my men to "open the weir," as it is technically called, which I was not bound to do until the 1st of October, under the 32nd Geo. III., cap. 40. Very reluctantly, my orders were obeyed by my men, and on the mid-summer flood, which occurred on the 19th July, 1839, the gates on this weir were opened; by this operation I sacrificed 50 or 60, which, as salmon were then sold at a low rate, represented a very large number of salmon; I looked for a great increase of fry, and of salmon pael, on the following year, not being then aware of the recent discovery in Scotland made by Mr. Shaw, relative to the slow growth, and long duration in the river, of the salmon fry. Mr.



Shaw's discovery did not become generally known until published in *Blackwood*, in April, 1841; however, having let up the fish, I looked for produce (according to the old opinion) in 1840, but was disappointed: 1840 was a very bad year, so was 1841; but in June, 1841, I was greeted with a run of salmon peal, unlike anything I had ever before seen. The new Act had not then passed, and the small-mesh net was in use, consequently these salmon, which averaged about five pounds each, were almost all captured; in number, with me, they exceeded four-fold that of any other year; and taking into account the sea fishing at Poolbeg, which is carried on by a great number of persons, the increase was altogether, to the best of my belief, ten-fold upon any previous year, for the last twenty years, as various adverse parties can testify as well as myself; but the number was not by any means, in my judgment, so remarkable, as the extraordinary difference in the size and quality of the fish. These peal were all what salmon-fishers call "well fed" fish, which term has a particular signification, well known to sportsmen and salmon fishers; suffice it to say they were in appearance, colour, and size as unlike the peal of former years as can well be conceived. This I account for by the peal fish, (those of 1839,) having reached the spawning beds in good time and in full vigour; and I conceive that the complaint made in the rivers in Ireland, that the fish have degenerated in size and quality, is solely attributable to late fishing. The August fish are all killed, and in September and October good spawners become scarce, and they reach the spawning beds, which are at the upper part of rivers, (many obstacles intervening,) in a jaded and weakly state and too late for early spawning. From this experiment, broadly defined as it is, I am entitled to say that the Fisheries of Ireland would rapidly increase in value, and the fish in size and quality, if salmon fishing be stopped upon the 1st of August or thereabouts. The close season should then consist of five full months; and I should say, (if a general close time, the same for all rivers and all localities be decided upon by the Commissioners,) that a close season commencing 10th or 12th August, and ending the 10th or 12th January, would best amalgamate conflicting interests, best suit various localities, and, above all, would best tend to the improvement of the fisheries, and to the public advantage.

The curious narration which we proceed to quote, evidencing the rapacity of the seal tribe, will be read with interest.

In a letter recently published by me, which has been observed upon, I mentioned the capture of a large seal which was taken in the chamber of a bag-net set in the Bay of Dublin. The seal in question was the larger seal, and was captured in a very unusual way, having become entangled in the net, in forcing his way through the small door, or entrance of the chamber; and had he not been captured just at the time he became so entangled, he would, I have little doubt, have escaped by forcing his passage through, as it is a very common occurrence to find a fixed net much torn and damaged without being able satisfactorily to assign the cause. For various

reasons it is very difficult to capture these animals; but the depredations they commit upon the salmon, when enclosed in the fixed net, are truly distressing, in an economic point of view: distinct statistics on this head can never be supplied; but it has been calculated, that seals and porpoises devour more than ten times the number captured by nets. It has always been my opinion that the smaller seal (the *Phoca vitulina*) is by far, of the seal tribe, the most destructive of the salmon. This seal is not larger than a spaniel. The door of the bag-net is eight inches wide, but about seven feet in height, and with but very slight effort, this seal can go in at the door, and come out with a salmon in his paws; nor can it be doubted that this animal resorts regularly to the fixed net for his supply of food. That he is not frequently captured is no more remarkable than that a rat should not be caught in a trap, if the door remained open; but I have seen on numerous occasions, too many salmon in the chamber of the net, having fresh wounds upon them, to leave any doubt on my mind that a seal had been a recent visitor there. I need scarcely mention, that the salmon is prevented coming out of the bag-net, or fixed net, by a peculiar instinct, although the door remains open.

The necessity for Parliamentary interference to protect our salmon fisheries receives sufficient illustration in the statements which we now insert.

In a former letter I mentioned incidentally the insufficiency of the present Act of Parliament for the protection of the gravelin; that little fish is now ascertained to be the young of the salmon; it is not protected by the Act, by reason of a technical error in the words used, which I formerly detailed, and the injurious effect of the omission must be self-evident. It is now proved not merely that the gravelin is the young of the salmon, but circumstances also of the most curious nature relative to that little fish are asserted, which it would not be suitable to advert to more particularly here, but which are stated at length in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. 14. The destruction of gravelin in the interior of the country is carried on I may say without any restraint; in the great mills near large towns, improper practices are not often permitted, but in the petty mills in remote districts the destruction of gravelin is enormous. It has occurred to me to prosecute under the following circumstances:—In a petty mill, a trap was found, constructed at the waste gate of the mill, and capable of taking a barrel of gravelins in a single night; I came upon the engine myself, and on the trial at the ensuing Petty Sessions, the first witness was a contumacious miller, who for some cause had been discharged from the mill, where, with five others, he had been dieted, (a custom in country mills.) He stated on his oath, that a large boiler of gravelins was put down each day, and that he was discharged from his employment because he complained of getting nothing but fish; or, in the miller's own words—"it was gravelins for dinner, and gravelins for supper, and I could stand it no longer."

It is with pain that we feel the propriety of selecting a closing extract, which cannot but create melancholy reflections; however, it may also call into existence worthy resolves and energetic actions, and if so, adversity will not be without its benefit. If sad facts like the following, literally staring us in the face, do not bring us to our senses, then nothing will :—

In conclusion, it may be observed that the answers received, afford ample evidence of the depressed state of the Salmon-fisheries throughout the country. During the present year some of the largest fisheries have been surrendered, and in districts where public rights of fishery were largely exercised, great destitution has been caused. Both public and private rights have fallen before the Act of 1842, and both are now in a state of complete prostration. In the Waterford district alone, 1,120 families have been deprived of their livelihood—the number of cotmen in that district in 1842 being 1,200, and the registered number during the season just terminated being 80. Similar results have taken place in other districts, and the aggregate presents a sad spectacle of destitution, caused by the mismanagement of the fisheries, combined with effects resulting from an improvident and inequitable law, passed without due consideration or notice, and without the aid or information of practical persons.

It is quite evident that all that is wanting to restore our fisheries to their former prosperous condition is a good law properly administered, and there can be little doubt that, if the matter were worked with befitting energy, such an accomplishment could be obtained. It is an enigma quite beyond our comprehension how, while the path lies plainly marked out before us, we refuse to tread it, though we know that by following it the most desirable object will be accomplished; and it seems as though that necromantic power which the peasantry of Donegal believe has spell-bound a band of warriors and their steeds in a cave on the side of one of their grey mountains, also extended its dire influence over the energies and practical attributes of the whole people of the country. Mr. Worthington has shewn us with much ability and judgment, both what is required for the improvement of our fisheries, and how we are to obtain the means to accomplish it, and if we will neither profit by his advice, or take the trouble of thinking for ourselves upon a subject fraught with so much interest to Ireland, we do not deserve the sympathy and support of others. If we prefer the “*dolce far niente*” to an energetic course, an unworthy determination to let others do our business for us, instead of a proper confidence in our own exertions, we will

assuredly reap the bitter fruit of our supineness and neglect, in this case as well as in every other ; verifying the words of a young and gifted Irishman, that they who leave everything to chance, " are incompetent to act, irresolute to decide, and powerless to achieve." Union and energy are our wants, and though the expression is a trite one it is not on that account less worthy of our consideration ; if there is any one thing which ought to make us ashamed of its utterance, it is this, that having heard it until its sound is " familiar in our ears as Household Words," we have profited so little by the lesson which it inculcates. Would to Heaven that even now we would take advantage of the precept, its adoption would certainly result in the prosperity of Ireland and in the happiness of its people.

ART. VII.—THE CIVIL SERVICE—ORDNANCE  
VALUATION OF IRELAND.

*The Petition of the several Valuers, Superintendents, Surveyors, Draftsmen, and Clerks, in the service of the General Valuation and Survey of Rateable Property in Ireland, to His Excellency the Right Honorable the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, &c., &c.*

Never have we taken up our pen with greater pleasure to further a cause, claiming as it does, the support and advocacy of every right-minded and impartial contemporary, than we now do while devoting our pages to that important social question of the Administrative Reform Department, the General Valuation of Ireland.

In a former number of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, was published a paper on this branch of the Civil Service, and though we do not agree with the writer on many points therein expressed, yet we fully concur with him in that part of the article setting forth the grievances of the employés of this establishment, grievances most painful in their nature, and proved to be so beyond all matter of doubt, by facts narrated in the petition to the Lord Lieutenant early in the present year. Considering that we can best serve the cause of these officers by reprinting the petition, we do so, and at the same time we earnestly hope that the prayers of the petitioners may meet that attention from the Legislature to which they are justly entitled.

*To His Excellency the Right Honorable the Earl of Carlisle  
Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland  
&c., &c.*

THE PETITION of the several VALUERS, SUPERINTENDENTS  
SURVEYORS, DRAFTSMEN, and CLERKS, in the service of the  
General Valuation and Survey of Rateable Property in  
Ireland,

MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That the General Valuation of Rateable Property in Ireland  
commonly known as the Townland Valuation, was commenced

under the authority of an Act of Parliament (Act 7 Geo. IV. cap. 62,) in the year 1828, and that your Petitioners were appointed to carry out the provisions of that Act, which had for its object the more equal apportionment and levy of Grand Jury Assessments in the several Counties of Ireland.

That subsequently, on the introduction of the Poor Law into this country, the Legislature deemed it necessary to extend the operations of the Valuation service, and to cause an uniform Valuation to be made in Tenements for the levy of all Public, Local, and Government Taxes whatsoever; and for this purpose Statutes (9 & 10 Vic. cap. 110, and 15 & 16 Vic. cap. 63,) were enacted, known as the Tenement Valuation Acts, which provide that in addition to a General Valuation in Tenements, an annual revision of the Valuation be made, and that a new Valuation be commenced in each County at the end of every fourteen years.

That the Tenement Valuation of three provinces has already been completed and comprises an unprecedented amount of information, which by the labours of your Petitioners has been rendered of the utmost financial and statistical importance, embracing as it does a separate and distinct Survey and Valuation of every House, Farm, Railway, Canal, Mine, Fishery, and other rateable Hereditament, the result forming a basis for the equitable levy of all Poores' Rate and Grand Jury Cess, and establishing a correct standard whereby the property qualification for the Elective Franchise is regulated. It moreover affords facilities to the Commissioners for the sale of Incumbered Estates, Commissioners of Inland Revenue, Commissioners of Income Tax, and other public bodies, so that the magnitude and importance of the Valuation of Ireland and its adaptation to the circumstances of the Country and the exigencies of the Imperial Government, are manifest.

That while the operations of the Valuation Service have thus from a temporary form become permanent, under the Act which provides for annual revision, and so extended as to demand an unforeseen amount of diligence, labour, and accuracy, no modification or proportionate extension of the Section of the Act of 1828, providing for the remuneration of your Petitioners, has been enacted, as might have been expected from the principle of adequate remuneration for the present and suitable provision for the future which is recognized by the Government as sound policy and justice in all its other branches of the Civil Service.

That though the expenses of the General Valuation are in the first instance advanced by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, yet, being ultimately defrayed by present-

ments levied off the several Counties, and consequently watched with jealous care by the different presenting bodies, the Commissioner of Valuation has been obliged to maintain a standard of payments far below that of an adequate remuneration for so important a work, so that very few of your Petitioners have reached the maximum prescribed by the Act, and many of them not even the rates of pay upon which junior Clerks usually enter other departments of the Civil Service, as may be seen by the present average daily pay to which the several Clerks, Draftsmen, Surveyors, &c., have attained by a progressive system of increase after a lapse of eight-and-twenty years; thus, four Valuers whose term of service averages  $22\frac{1}{2}$  years have reached the maximum prescribed by enactment, viz., £1 per day, the remaining Valuers average 11s. 5d.

Superintendents	-	-	-	8s. 8d.
Surveyors,	-	-	-	5s. 9d.
Draftsmen,	-	-	-	4s. 10d.
Clerks.	-	-	-	3s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

That the General Survey and Valuation of Ireland is a systematic work which can only be carried on by the aid of persons possessing scientific knowledge and in accordance with a uniform code of instruction.

That for Gentlemen possessed of the talents and education indispensable to the execution of such duties, the rates of pay above stated are quite inadequate to maintain them in the position which the respectability of the service demands, and at the same time afford the means of making provision for a state of incapacity or retirement.

That Petitioners, from the nature of their duties, are peculiarly subject to disease, not only by reason of accidents and hardship in the field, but also from the insidious influence of unremitting application to office duties of a peculiarly laborious character.

That, owing to the fact of no provision having been made for the continuance of the salaries of your Petitioners during illness, they are deprived of their only means of subsistence when afflicted with such visitations, at a time especially when their expenses are necessarily largely increased, and from this cause has ensued the result that several persons, by endeavouring to discharge their duty while suffering from indisposition, have rendered fatal an illness which in its early stages might have been arrested by a short period of relaxation.

That since, in accordance with the designs of the Legislature, the General Valuation and Survey of Ireland has approached the form of annual revisions of the Valuations already completed, the services of some of those who have devoted the prime of

their lives to its duties must necessarily be dispensed with, and it will be seen that from the nature of the work which they have been instrumental in completing, superseding as it does the necessity for private Surveys and Valuations in this Country, further prospects of professional employments are destroyed, they are precluded also from the resources of Commerce or Agriculture by their previous pursuits and want of means, and being at an age beyond that contemplated by the present regulations for other Civil employments, the consideration is respectfully submitted as to the fate awaiting your Petitioners, for whom the Law secures no provision—no retiring pension.

That your Petitioners have already addressed the Commissioner of Valuation on the subject of this Petition, from whom they have learned by letter that, owing to the present state of the Law in regard to the Valuation Service, Legislative interference is indispensable to improve their anomalous condition.

That your Petitioners in approaching your Excellency do so with profound respect for the high office which has been intrusted to you, and also with feelings of the greatest admiration for the patronage and encouragement which your Excellency has exhibited towards science and the useful arts, and trust they have just grounds for confidence that their claims will receive at your hands the attention to which they humbly submit the justice of their case would seem to demand.

Therefore your Petitioners respectfully and earnestly pray that your Excellency may take the foregoing circumstances into favorable consideration, with a view to introduce such Legislative measures as may appear necessary to remove the peculiar and pressing grievances of their present position, and to place them on a similar footing with other Departments of the Civil Service, thereby securing to them permanency of employment, and consequent pension in declining years, or for discontinued service.

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of Petitioners,	{	JOHN BOYAN, ROBERT M'MICKEN, WILLIAM JONES, H. HUTCHINGS, <i>Hon. Sec.</i>
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We entertain no apprehension that the petition will not receive the due consideration of our present right-minded and statesmanlike Viceroy, who has never yet, during his long intercourse with Ireland, been found wanting in aiding and supporting any measure calculated to relieve the wants and



miseries of the aggrieved. The justice of the claims urged by the petition must strike every well-thinking man—to redress the grievances set forth is the duty of any government anxious for the public good. Scarcely a department, Civil or Military, under the British Government, but has been improved or is being improved at the present moment, and why, let us ask, is the Valuation Department excluded? The officers of this department are the most hard-worked, ill-paid, and badly-treated body of men to be found in any kindred establishment in the kingdom. In making the assertion we feel fully justified, if not by experience, at least by facts brought under our notice from time to time. The valuation clerk is, without doubt, the hardest-worked man of his class to be found. In his Progress sheet he must insert the amount and description of the work done each day, and earnestly solicitous that the quantity and quality may be such as to entitle him to an additional sixpence per day at the end of twelve months, he commences his brain-wearing task at nine o'clock in the morning, and leaves at four o'clock, fagged, wearied, and fatigued. An official letter may be preparing for him during this time, which will convey to him the distressing tidings that his services are dispensed with for the present. Thus his days are spent 'twixt fear and hope, and in a few years he becomes pale, emaciated, and dejected; ill, but he cannot rest his wearied, racked frame, knowing that the motto of the office is—no Work no Pay. If married, while he decays day after day, he has the heart-sinking reflection that his wife and little ones are approaching the work-house as he nears the grave. Scarcely has his soul winged its way to eternity, than the news of his decease reaches the Valuation Office; the Death Sheet goes round, a subscription is set on foot by those who want assistance themselves; the burial fund is raised, and the mortal remains of the Valuation Office clerk are interred, and he bequeaths to the country a heart-broken widow and helpless offspring. This is no exaggeration, no flight of fancy, no ideal word-painting to excite the sympathies of either rich or poor; it is the sadly real state of things; it is the plain and unsophisticated truth, setting at defiance all contradiction. It is useless to proceed with, or enlarge upon, the grievances to which the officers of the Valuation service are subjected, they are already known throughout the British Kingdom, and they are as well known in the House of Commons, and to the Lords of the Treasury, as by the Commissioner of Valuation himself.

To whom may those officers attribute their wrongs? Is it to the Commissioner of Valuation, who, it is generally supposed, has absolute power in the management and arrangement of all matters pertaining to the Valuation Department of Ireland? No, Dr. Griffith deplores the present state of affairs himself, as much as the humblest of his assistants; and it is but justice to him to say that, espousing the cause of the petitioners and pledging himself to give their cause every support consistent with the duties that devolve upon him as a Government officer, repudiates at once, and for ever, the accusations alleged against him from time to time, and no doubt by men of little generosity of mind or justice, and we fear of no small share of malice. What Dr. Griffith says, we feel most confident he will do. His assistants therefore, may safely calculate upon his warm and straightforward support of their petition. The Commissioner thus pledged on the one hand, and the philanthropic conduct of the members who took up the case on the other, the officers of the Valuation Office may soon congratulate themselves on the speedy and successful issue of their movement; for never was there a petition presented to the House more worthy, in our opinion, of the prompt attention of the legislature.

The disadvantages accruing to the country by the system adopted in conducting the affairs of this all-important branch of the public service, must strike every reflecting and impartial man. To us it seems all but incredible, how competent persons can be had to discharge the duties of such an office as that held by a field or office assistant under Dr. Griffith, for the pay mentioned in the petition now before us. It is want alone that could cause an educated man to devote seven hours each day to the arduous duties of a field or office assistant in the Valuation Service of Ireland. If we combine with the miserable pay, anxiety, and fear of illness or dismissal, and also the certainty of want in either case, we can form a pretty fair idea of the state of mind of these gentlemen.

Up to the appointment of the present General Superintendent, the Valuation officers had to pay one penny for each error they committed in the calculation of acres, roods, and perches, and pounds, shillings, and pence; and this was deducted from their pay at the end of every month. We are also informed by a gentleman whose authority we cannot question, that the assistants of the Valuation Office were not

exempted from labor on Good Fridays even, and the pay deducted for Christmas Day ! So those who were religiously inclined enough to abstain from work on those days were made to pay for their "*Pater Noster*."

So sure as they went to pray,  
As sure did they lose their pay.

If this did not savour of slavery we are really at a loss to know what does, nor can we agree with the moral poet who says—

"We have no slaves at home."

While the influence exercised by the Grand Jurors of Ireland is calculated to manacle the hands of the Commissioner of Valuation, and prevent him from giving to the labourer his hire, to which, in every sense of equity and justice, he is entitled, we cannot hope for much improvement. We say the Grand Jurors, for after examining carefully, leisurely, and impartially, the present obnoxious, and slave-like organization of the office now occupying our attention, we must attribute the present unfair, unjust, and lamentable position of the employés to the niggard disposition of the great majority of the Irish Grand Jurors.

Doubtless, before now, the complaints of the gentlemen employed on the Valuation of Ireland, have been considered in the proper quarters ; for Lord Carlisle must have long since gathered from the Under Secretary for Ireland the amount, and the truth, of the grievances stated in the petition. Few gentlemen are better acquainted with the affairs of the Valuation Department than Colonel Larcom.

Every humane man knows and feels the truth of the remarks made by us on the present administration of affairs in this public office. The office would have been long since reorganized for the benefit of all parties, had the Commissioner the power to do so. This power was not vested in him, and while he had to contend with cheese-paring and dissatisfied Grand Jurors on the one side, who would grumble at an additional sum of sixpence per day, he had to listen to the well-founded complaints of his over-worked assistants on the other, and could not afford redress. Such has been, and is, the unenviable position of Dr. Griffith. He feels the unpleasantness of his position, and he is conscious that the claims of his assistants are the claims of justice, and is, therefore, determined, we are informed, to urge those claims, and have his assistants eligible to the privileges granted to other Government officers of their

class. Let us hope that this may be the case, if so, it will be a pleasing episode in the official career of this well-tried and able public officer, and prove, even to his slanderers, how undeserving he has been, of the many wanton attacks made upon his character.

Should the petition of the Valuation assistants succeed in having the office reorganized and placed on the same footing as the Government offices of the country, the advantages accruing to the country would be commensurate with those conferred on the employed. In the first place, when the latter would feel that permanency was insured to him, and that his promotion depended upon his conduct and attention to business, he would take that interest in his business which at present he does not, nor cannot. He will feel that he has a situation worth attending to—his fears of illness will be mitigated when he knows that his day's pay will not be withheld from him—his suspense relative to the certainty or uncertainty of his being employed will be removed—he will look forward with pleasure to a vacation, however short, to recruit his health and relieve him from the monotonous and arduous duties of his office. These are privileges that cannot fail to be appreciated by every assistant in the Valuation Service, and unquestionably stimulate them to apply themselves with greater earnestness, greater assiduity, and infuse into them a degree of conscientiousness as to the discharge of their duties, without which the public can never be served with fidelity,

In fact, the administration of the office at present is unwise and impolitic; a reorganization is necessary, both for the benefit of the individual, and the advantage of the country. Let our readers compare the scale of salaries with that in any public office under the crown, or even under any public company, and he will see at once that the employés of the Valuation Service are the worst paid public servants in the United Kingdom, although it must be allowed that the scale of salaries in this office has been considerably increased since the appointment of John Ball Greene, Esq., the present able and energetic General Superintendent, who, since his appointment, has ever been foremost in promoting the welfare of those under him, and in so doing, he has best served the Department also.

We find that we are not alone in our advocacy of this cause; perhaps there was never an instance in which an oppressed condition met with more universal sympathy; all sections of

creeds and politics, with the Press of England and Ireland having supported, with powerful arguments, the objects of the memorial. Our space would not admit of the introduction of one-tenth of the comments favorable to the cause that appeared in the leading newspapers, we must therefore content ourselves by selecting a few, and presenting them as a specimen of the whole. Such of our readers as are political enough to know the tendency of the different journals from which we have chosen these extracts, will at once perceive that journalists who oppose each other in sentiment on all other questions are unanimous in their opinion of the subject under consideration. We present our readers with the following extracts:—

\* \* \* “the General Valuation Offices, where for years, large classes of good and tried servants, can be ranked amongst the hardest mentally worked, and the least proportionably rewarded in the Service.”—*Civil Service Gazette* September 1st, 1855.

“Men are here found crowded into apartments, on starvation pay, deprived of the stimulus of reward, and condemned to hopeless task work. Unwilling labour is thus obtained, whose defective results are beyond revision.”—Again—“We cannot close these remarks without the expression of unqualified condemnation of such a system of payments.” Again—“The work is most important and national, and demands the undivided attention of a clear headed and skilful officer, capable of understanding merit and fairly rewarding it.”—*Ibid*, September 29th 1855.

“We are unmoved in our opinion that the quality of the work performed is most inadequately paid for. The scale of pay in practice is preposterous—not a jot above bearable.”—*Ibid* October 27th, 1855.

“We believe the justice and strength of their claims are so apparent, that they need but to be stated to secure their immediate recognition.” “The scale of remuneration is considerably lower than in any other department of the Civil Service, a manifest injustice towards gentlemen of education and respectability, who have most important duties to discharge, and have hitherto discharged them with ability and zeal.” Again,—“Nominally the service is not permanent, but, *practically*, it is so, as the Tenement Valuation Act provides for an annual revision of the several Tenements, and a complete Re-Valuation every Fourteen years, thus necessitating the employment of a permanent staff.”

Further—“A request so reasonable and fair ought to be acceded

to, and we are sure that the Lord Lieutenant will give the subject his most favourable consideration, and do all in his power to advance the just claims of this very deserving body of men."—*Freeman's Journal*, 29th January, 1856.—(Quoted by *Tipperary Free Press*, February 1st, 1856.)

"The very just and reasonable Memorial of the General Valuation Employees was yesterday presented to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, by the Under Secretary for Ireland, Colonel Larcom. There is every reason to believe that its prayer will have the cordial support of the Chief Governor, in order to have the labours of this most useful class of Civil Servants properly remunerated."—*Saunders' News Letter*, January 30th, 1856.

"In our judgment this prayer is most reasonable, and the considerations by which it is enforced so cogent, that we feel assured if the granting of it depended on His Excellency, his own sense of justice would at once induce him to comply. The financial and statistical importance of the work, the diligence, skill, and accuracy which it requires, the admirable manner in which it is done, and the responsibility which it involves, as furnishing a basis for the general taxation of the country, all tend to establish the conclusion, that the highly deserving body of men engaged in it should be placed upon the same footing as the rest of the Civil Service,

"We are advocates for economy, but it is a miserable economy to require Gentlemen of talent and education, obliged to occupy a respectable position in society, to do the kind of work which this Valuation imposes, for rates of pay that must keep them in a constant struggle for existence, in wearing and harassing anxiety about their families, and in most painful and depressing uncertainty as to the future, for which there is no provision in case of sickness, old age, or death. We are aware that the head of this department has been constrained to pare down its expenses as much as possible, but the rigid sense of justice for which he is distinguished, and which led him to save all he could for the public, will also induce him to exert his influence to remove any difficulties, technical or otherwise, which may be in the way of this service in obtaining redress. While this is the only department in which no allowance is made for length of service, sickness, or death, and the rate of pay is so low that no provision can be made for the future; so that when any of its members are disabled or removed by death, his family are reduced to destitution, and there is no refuge for them but the Workhouse. Surely this ought not to be the condition of any body of public servants,

educated as these gentlemen are, and performing duties onerous and responsible.

"We trust, therefore, that His Excellency will give a favourable consideration to this Memorial, supported, as we have no doubt its prayer will be, by Colonel Larcom. We are sure that the Government never did an act that would be more acceptable to the public of all parties and classes who like to see the useful and hardworking servants of the state properly remunerated for their services."—*Daily Express, Thursday, January 31st, 1856*

"Pressure upon our space prevents us from laying the Memorial before our readers, but they may take our word for it that it establishes a case of peculiar hardship, to which a large number of hardworking, educated, and deserving persons, have been long and most unfairly subjected. In language calm, respectful, and reasonable, it rather understates than exaggerates the severe and numerous grievances under which the Memorialists labour, and we have little doubt that the keen sense of justice and the kindly feeling of Lord Carlisle, will incline him to promote the object of his Petitioners.

"The employment of the Valuation, though nominally temporary, is in reality permanent. We believe there are men in the service of the Commission since its commencement, some twenty-five years since, or more." "By some ingenious application of the virtue of economy, he may respectably support a family upon this daily pay; but though he may reckon upon a continuance or even an improvement upon this refinement of ingenuity, he cannot reckon upon a continuance of health; and the instability of life is beyond his control. He may fall sick and his means of existence are at once cut off; or he may die and he leaves his family a burden upon the ratepayer.

"Surely the subscribers to the Memorial which has called for these remarks, are not unreasonable in seeking to remedy the anomaly which the Valuation presents as contrasted with other departments of the public service. They do not seek the establishment of a hot-bed for the growth of respectable sinecurists. They do not ask for relief from laborious duties. These duties they are willing to fulfil with their accustomed zeal and ability; but they, very naturally, ask for equitable remuneration. They ask, for the performance of a great deal of important work, what others obtain for doing little, or nothing whatever.

"We feel confident that the improvement they seek would be conducive to the public interest as well as their own. It will, we are persuaded, be found on enquiry, that more new hands have been employed on the General Valuation than upon any other department of the public service of the same extent, and within

a given period. Young men of acquirements and good abilities have been often induced, from necessity, to accept temporary employment under Mr. Griffith; but they have done so as a mere stepping-stone to some place where their merits would be more equitably recognised. They have left when they learned by experience to be most useful, and their places had to be supplied by fresh, inexperienced hands, who in their turn have also resigned; thus subjecting the business to the danger arising from the almost daily recurring operations of unavoidable ignorance—for new hands, no matter how able, could not at once fall into the routine of an extensive public office.”—*Evening Post*, January 31st, 1856.

“The just and reasonable Memorial of the Valuation Employees was on Tuesday presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, by the Under Secretary for Ireland, Colonel Larcom. There is every reason to believe that its prayer will have the cordial support of the Chief Governor, in order to have the labours of this most useful class of Civil Servants properly remunerated.

“The document is clear in its statement of the peculiar hardships of that Service, the inadequate remuneration given to a most useful and intelligent body of public servants, and the *injustice*, for it is nothing else, of making no provision for a retiring allowance to them. The Petition is extremely forcible in its simple explanation of facts, and we earnestly hope that the Lord Lieutenant will use his influence to further its prayer.”—*Evening Packet*, January 31st, 1856.

“We believe the justice and strength of their claims are so apparent, that they need but to be stated to secure their immediate recognition.

“*Nominally*, the service is not permanent, but *practically*, it is so—as the Tenement Valuation Act provides for an annual revision of the several Tenements, and a complete Re-valuation every fourteen years, thus necessitating the employment of a permanent Staff.”—*Tipperary Free Press*, February 1st, 1856

“The following just and reasonable Memorial was on Tuesday presented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant by the Under Secretary for Ireland, Colonel Larcom. There is every reason to believe that its prayer will have the cordial support of the Chief Governor, in order to have the labours of this most useful class of civil servants properly remunerated.”—*Warder*, February 2nd, 1856.



"In our last impression we published one of the justest remonstrances which ever proceeded from a hardly treated body of public servants.

"The Petitioners place their position before the representative of the Crown in this country, fully relying on his sense of justice, and with the same confidence may they trust the spirit of fairness the Public always manifest in regard to reasonable claims.

"We are certainly advocates for a careful economy in dealing with the public money, more especially when the cost of a department falls directly on a locality or particular part of the kingdom; but we do not understand the economy which refuses a proper recompense for onerous duties. We would pay public servants well, and require their duties to be performed in the most efficient manner. In the case before it is not to be questioned that the Officers engaged in making the General Valuation of Ireland, have discharged their task with great credit to themselves, and have thus rendered important service to the country, and yet the remuneration received by them is really too low, when the professional status required from many of them, and the intelligence demanded of all, are remembered.

"We are confident that the just request of the Memorialists to whose case we refer, will be brought before Parliament soon, in such a manner as to secure their better treatment.

"But the bitterest part of their grievances is, that theirs is a Department in which no allowance is made for length of service, sickness, or to the sorrowing family of the Officer after his death. Were the scale of payment *high*, the absence of such provision for the future old age or debility of the public servant might be excused on the ground of that liberality; but the salary is in this case as low as it could be—so low as to render it impossible for the recipient to make provision in this way. In the event of sickness he is, therefore, left wholly destitute, and at death his family have no claim to acknowledgement of his services, no matter how long and honorably he may have filled his position. They have taken the proper course in bringing their grievances under the attention of His Excellency, and we would have them prosecute the matter still further by seeking the intervention of an active Member of Parliament in bringing their claims formally before the House at a convenient opportunity after the opening business of the Session has been disposed of."—*Evening Packet*, Feb., 2nd, 1856.

"A memorial, or petition, laid at the feet of a great State Officer, representing the Sovereign authority, by a suffering

class, with the hope of attracting attention to their wrongs, and with the design of soliciting a redress of their grievances, must necessarily be couched in submissive language, and be offered in humble guise. Rough facts must be smoothed down; disagreeable truths must be glossed over; bitter, heart-burning thoughts must be suppressed; feelings of indignation must be concealed; personalities must be eschewed; allusion to unworthy motives must be avoided; and the suppliants must approach the fountain of grace with a cautiously worded tale of their distress, and in the lowly attitude of humble petitioners for mercy. The Memorial presented to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by the Valuers, Superintendents, Surveyors, Draftsmen, and Clerks in the service of the Government Valuation and Survey of Rateable Property in Ireland—which will be found printed in another column—is no exception to the rule. A more modest, guardedly-phrased, and eloquently-simple appeal to the Queen's representative could not be made. No word of invective escapes, no syllable of imputation is breathed against any one; the whole supplication is calculated to disarm hostility, to throw a veil of oblivion over past injustice, and to rely upon reason, good feeling, and common sense for future redress. The facts set forth in that Memorial have been studiously understated, and the grievances endured by the Valuation Staff have been carefully, perhaps judiciously, undercoloured; yet what fair and unbiassed person can read that document and not come to the conclusion, that the gentlemen who have been employed in this service have been scandalously treated, and that it was full time some justice, however late, be done them? A scale of present pay, contemptible and disgraceful beyond all conception in this country; an inhuman system of stopping salaries during periods of illness caught in discharging the trying duties of the service; a barbarous custom of leaving them unprovided for when age or infirmity overtakes them;—surely these are grievances that ought not to be permitted to exist a day longer. When we think of the valuable nature of the work performed—the basis for the levy of poor-rates and grand jury rates, for the regulation of the property qualification, for the elective franchise, for the sale of incumbered estates, for the assessment of inland revenue and income tax, and for numberless other local and national purposes; and when we reflect on the superior intelligence, practical skill, and scientific knowledge requisite in those employed in working out the details; and when we look at the miserly and beggarly sums doled out under the name of remuneration—3s. 10½d. per day to Clerks, 4s. 10d. to Draftsmen, 5s. 9d. to Surveyors, 8s. 5½d.

to Superintendents, and the comparatively munificent amount of 11s. 7½d. to Valuators—we are amazed beyond all expression at Irish inhumanity and Irish endurance. That Lord Carlisle will take the humble and heart-touching petition presented to him into favourable consideration we have not the remotest doubt. His Excellency's kind and generous nature will revolt against the facts thus brought before him, and we feel convinced that no efforts will be wanting on his part in impressing on His Majesty's Government the necessity of placing the petitioners on a footing similar to that of other civil servants, securing them permanency of employment, and a provision for sickness and old age."—*Civil Service Gazette*, February 9th, 1856.

"The petitioners are treated like common day-labourers. If they are able to attend to their daily task, mental or bodily, they are paid; if lassitude or sickness intervene, and they are 'knocked up' for a day, a week, or a fortnight, they are recompensed for the actual time spent at business, and no more. Educated men—scientifically educated—men of good parts, and worked up, and worse treated than beasts of burthen. Domestic animals, when overtaken by sickness, and unable to perform the usual amount of labour, are supplied with all things necessary for the support of life and the restoration of health, until once more able to resume their routine duties; but the Valuation Clerk will get his 3s. 10d. a-day, while he works, the Draftsman has 4s. 10d., the Surveyor has 5s. 9d., the Superintendent has 8s. 5d., and the Valuator has 11s. 7d., only while he works. But let him cease for a day, and the day's wages is withheld. These subordinates, also, are liable to be discharged at a very short notice; and no matter what energy, talent, or science they may bring to bear in the execution of their duties, no provision is made for old age or sickness. The value of the labours of this staff of men is known over the whole of Ireland. On the different Valuations of each County the Poor Law taxation and the Elective Franchise is founded. The more respectable the men are, the greater their probity, and the more efficient their labours; the more the country is indebted to them for returns agreeable to truth and justice. We hope, therefore, that His Excellency will aid the petitioners to attain a status commensurate with the responsibilities of their employment, and that a Bill will be brought before Parliament constituting the Valuation a Governmental Department, when we may fairly expect that a high scale of salaries, and retiring pension for assiduous services, will reward the meritorious."—*Drogheda Conservative*, February 16th, 1856.

"There is no worse remunerated body of individuals in the country than those employed in the Irish Valuation Office. At the same time the work on which they are engaged is of paramount importance to the public interests, and it is but proper and just that they should be adequately paid for their valuable and well executed labours. There are, we believe, nearly two hundred persons employed at the present time in this office, under the superintendence and direction of the eminent engineer, Mr. Griffith, who has been for many years so well known in this country, and neither the building in which the work is executed nor the scale of remuneration awarded them, is worthy of the country or the important service in which they are engaged. It is a well established fact that the health of many of those employed in the Irish Valuation Office, has seriously suffered from over-crowding and ill-ventilation, while, no doubt, in many of the large public buildings of Dublin, such, for example, as the Custom House, suitable accommodation could be easily procured. We rejoice to know that at length a strenuous effort is being made on behalf of this hard-worked and ill-paid class of public servants; and, if principles of justice and equity at all influence the Government of the country, we may expect soon to learn that the appeal has not been made in vain. We do not hesitate to express our conviction, that Lord Carlisle, to whose consideration, in the first instance the application has been submitted, will exert his influence with the Executive in having tardy justice done to a most useful and meritorious class of public officers. Though we differ in many political views with his Excellency, we believe he possesses a feeling and considerate nature, and we have no doubt that the fair and well merited claim on behalf of the employés of the Valuation Office will command his Excellency's sympathy and influential co-operation. Of one thing there can exist no manner of doubt, that justice cannot be much longer delayed in such a case, when public opinion has been once brought to express itself on behalf of so meritorious and so ill-used a body of men as the Officials of the Irish Valuation Office."—*Ulster Gazette, February 23rd, 1856.*

"When the office was created in 1828, it was intended as a temporary establishment; but in carrying out its aims, the necessity of its being a permanent one has been fully demonstrated. As yet no Act of Parliament has given it in theory that position which it has in practice and in fact; and so, though it is, to all intents and purposes, a Government Office, its inmates have none of the privileges or advantages of other Government Departments, where, for efficient discharge of the duties, considerably less

educational qualifications and professional attainments required.

"But why go through the catalogue of those who throng the dreary block of buildings? They are the most hard-worked all who, in public offices, do the public work. Within those walls will be found more talent, skill, and capacity, than in most of the Government Departments higher in the public estimation. Within those walls a useful and important public work is efficiently discharged, and surely, in the present temper of public opinion, men of attainments such as are required in the Valuation Office will not be left with such hardships unredressed.

"Such is the state of things which it is now sought to reform—such the anomalies and grievances which, if nought but an Act of Parliament can remedy, no Legislature ought to allow exist a day longer. If the Irish Valuation Office must be a permanent, not a temporary establishment, as we believe it must necessarily be, we believe that if its constitution be remodelled, and permanency secured, as is sought by the petition which has been presented to Lord Carlisle, a better state of things will arise in the country, and for the staff."—*Nation, February 9th, 1856.*

"The case made out by the memorialists is irrefragable; and from all we know of Lord Carlisle's antecedents—the kind and justice-loving Lord Morpeth—the patron of art, science, and literature—we confidently anticipate a favourable issue. The Empire should not withhold such reward from its public servants, more particularly, when a high standard of education and practical knowledge is indispensable to render them capable to perform their duties—than the same class would receive in any of the walks of private enterprise. We are anxious to see right men in their right places; but this can never be effected, unless they be fairly remunerated for their mental and physical labours."—*Wexford Independent, February 13th, 1856.*

"This respectable and intelligent body, whose services have been, and will ever continue to be, of such vast public interest and benefit, have addressed a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant setting forth and praying for the redress of what is most decidedly a great grievance. Whilst their rate of remuneration is anything but large or commensurate with the importance of their duties, as compared with the standard of pay allowed to other employees in Government Offices, there is, under the existing law, no provision made for temporary illness, nor for retiring allowance to those who wear out their lives in the public service, and who may at any time be flung upon the world when advanced in life and by previous habits and training rendered unfitted to procure a livelihood by other means of employment. The Memorialists

of his Excellency show ample cause for the introduction of some legislative provision to meet their case, and it is impossible to peruse the document without admitting the justice of the prayer, and sympathising in its object."—*Kilkenny Moderator*, Feb. 13th, 1856.

"The importance of the Government Valuation, as the measure of poor-rate, grand jury, municipal, and of general as well as local taxation, is universally recognised, while it is admitted that none but men possessing a considerable amount of education, are qualified for the duties required.

"It is not however commonly known, that the gentlemen employed by Government in this arduous and highly responsible service, are dealt with in a style of beggarly parsimony which respectable merchants would blush to exhibit in relation to the humblest attendants about their places of business.

"If one of the Valuation officers in the employment of Her Majesty's Government, and doing what is really the National business, chance to be sick even for a single day, his day's pay is deducted, and if his illness be of longer duration, every moment's absence is carefully reckoned up, and subtracted from his quarter's allowance! This is disgraceful, to give it a gentle name, and then, though a man may have spent his life in the Public Service, with a salary so miserably constituted as that now described, he has no prospect of a superannuation allowance, other than that which he may be able to provide out of his own savings. A Memorial on this subject has been presented to the Lord Lieutenant by the parties immediately interested, and public opinion, we feel confident, will concur with them in pressing it upon His Excellency's attention. For our own parts, we have no hesitation in frankly declaring it a disgrace to our administrative economy, that any necessity should exist for His Excellency's interference in a matter of so self-evident equity."—*Londonderry Standard*, February 14th, 1856.

Why then, we may ask, should the prayer of the memorial not be granted? Were it one of those "vexed questions," about which so much difference of opinion is felt and expressed, we might find a motive for delay, or even for refusal: but the case is far otherwise. We believe there would not be found one opposing voice throughout the three kingdoms, to any measure adopted for the relief of this useful body of public servants; and we are convinced that no Government ever possessed an opportunity of doing a more just and graceful act than is now in the power of Her Majesty's present advisers, by placing these gentlemen in an advantageous position on the Civil Service List.

The petition is now before the public, and under the consideration of Parliament, and whatever may be its ultimate destiny, or however short it may come in its results of the expectations of the many, whose hopes and prospects are dependent on the terms in which it is treated as a whole, there is one clause which demands summary and immediate redress, the existence of which is a disgrace to humanity and to the country which tolerates it. We allude to the stoppage of the miserable pittance doled out to the officers of the service under the name of salary, during visitations of sickness. Referring to this pressing hardship, the petitioners say—

“That, owing to the fact of no provision having been made for the continuance of the salaries of your Petitioners during illness, they are deprived of their only means of subsistence when afflicted with such visitations, at a time especially when their expenses are necessarily largely increased, and from this cause has ensued the result that several persons, by endeavouring to discharge their duty while suffering from indisposition, have rendered fatal illness which in its early stages might have been arrested by a short period of relaxation.”

This is, indeed, a monster grievance, the existence of which we would, from its very absurdity, be inclined to disbelieve were it not put forth in a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant and circulated extensively throughout the country. We cannot think that the petitioners would have the hardihood to put forth a case that did not exist, consequently we are obliged to believe, that now, in the nineteenth century, this period of Administrative Reform, there are from one hundred to one hundred and fifty, intelligent, well-born, and well educated gentlemen, most of them professional, employed in carrying out a work of vast national importance, and with admitted ability, who in the discharge of their duties “are peculiarly subject to disease,” and frequently its ready victims, deprived of all means of existence the moment they are *refracted* enough, to neglect the calls of official routine, and yield themselves up to the more authoritative demand of the Almighty, who has seen fit to leave them on a bed of sickness.

That such a system should be tolerated under such circumstances, is, as we before remarked, a disgrace to humanity, and more so, as we are unable to find out any tangible cause for its existence. It may, of course, be a means of preventing pretended ailments, but why should these unhappy officers be the only

ones in Europe who are considered so degraded, as to require such a test. A convict-felon will be exonerated from labour, and have dainties added to his ordinary fare on a medical certificate of sickness, but a valuation officer possessing more than ordinary ability and education, must forsooth be fined in the whole amount of his wretched "Salary" for such time as he has the temerity to obey the mandate of God, and give up his office duties for the less congenial element of a bed of sickness. Surely the medical profession has not so degenerated in the opinion of the administrators of this Department, that a certificate of temporary incapacity for laborious duties would not be sufficient, without adding the "thumb-screw" fine.

We know no greater hardship in public oppression than this, and we can well conceive the horror produced in the minds of all these people, when the sound goes forth, that "the plague is abroad in the land," or the nervous twitching produced by the slightest cold or headache, fearing that it is the premonitor of a visitation, which not only deprives them of the blessings of health for a time, but leaves their families in *starving* expectation of the day, when half restored, and ready for relapse, the poor sufferer again returns to resume his duties and his pay.

The petition draws no exaggerated picture of the consequences of this system; men already crushed by poverty, and and beggarly pay, but with that inseparable addition to a poor Irishman's responsibilities, a large family, are obliged from absolute necessity, to continue at work unceasing, during periods when shattered health suggests a little rest and relaxation. The result is obvious, and inevitable—the body already acted upon and debilitated by constant application, now becomes the victim of the anxious mind. "What is to become of my family?" asks the doomed sufferer, "if I yield to this visitation; where shall I find food or other necessities, now that my credit is ruined by the knowledge that, while I must see doctors and procure medicines, my pay will cease from the moment I am laid up?" Thus harassed, thus desponding, overpowering sickness obtains an easy mastery over that victim, and in the language of the petition, "persons by endeavouring to discharge their duty while suffering from indisposition, have rendered *fatal* an illness, which, in its early stages might have been arrested by a short period of relaxation." To this monstrous system we desire to see an immediate end; there



can be no necessity for its continuance, and we question whether it is not a matter coming within the province of ordinary humanity to exterminate.

We have simply represented the position of each and every officer in the Valuation Service ; and, from what we have said, our readers may judge whether the great majority of them might not at present say, in the language of poor deep-hearted Hood's undying song—

“ Work—Work—Work,  
Till the brain begins to swim ;  
Work—Work—Work,  
Till the eyes are heavy and dim !”

Yea, perhaps, until brain and eyes fail altogether; and then—sad reflection,

“ ——— poverty, hunger,” and—DEATH.

But, when we remember that Dr. Griffith, with his vast experience, and his long, unblemished official career, gives his generous and hearty approval to the movement, we cannot allow those gentlemen to despond. The most respectable portion of the Press too, bringing a clear, noonday-light to bear on the present state of this important branch of the public service, makes us feel most confident that their just demands will ere long be conceded.

Dr. Griffith's name is identified with a great work.—He is a man of history, as “ Griffith's Valuation” is now a “ household word,” and will be referred to hereafter, for ages to come as a standard authority. Let us indulge in the hope that he will crown this great work by ensuring for his office the permanency to which it is eminently entitled.

The following extract from the *Civil Service Gazette* of June 7th, has just met our eye—“ We have much gratification in announcing, that an influential member of the Superannuation Committee, who has taken the case of the supernumerary clerk in hand, has resolved to press upon the Committee the adoption of a recommendation that all supernumeraries who have served a certain number of years shall be established as permanent officers. The justice of such a proposition is self-evident, and we have well-grounded confidence that it will be agreed to without opposition.”

Perhaps the Civil Service Superannuation Committee would take the case of the Valuation officers into consideration, and

it is for Dr. Griffith to consider whether the time has now arrived to give with effect the weight of his influence to bring their cause to a successful issue.

One word in conclusion—Before we lay down our pen, we would venture, with all true and earnest feeling of regret for those gentlemen's present state, to recommend to them the suppression of all clamour just now, as it seems to us at present indiscreet. Ill-timed agitation embarrasses and retards, nay, often mars altogether, the kind exertions of those anxious to redress.



## IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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 No. XXIII. SEPTEMBER, 1856.  
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## ART. I.—ODD PHASES IN LITERATURE.

## FIRST PAPER.

1. *Catalogue of the Library of the late Samuel Rogers, Esq.* ; which will be Sold by Auction, by Messrs. Christie and Manson, at their Great Room, 8, King-street, St. James's Square, on Monday, May 12th, 1856, and Six following Days, at One o'clock Precisely.
2. *Historiette de la Marquise de Rambouillet.* Par Tallemant des Réaux. Paris, 1834.

We have two vagabond tastes, both derived from that literary man-about-Rome, Horace. He loved to listen to the Fortune Tellers, we love to hear the Ballad Singers : he delighted to linger about the columns ; we are happy in tumbling the volumes of the book stall, and of the book auction-room. We know every ballad, sung from the Coombe to Donnybrook, from the dirge which tells us of O'Connell, that

"He is gone, he is dead,  
 He is raised to high Heaven;  
 His soul is at rest,  
 An' his bones is in Glasnevin ;"

to that which teaches the wise truth, that a young lady should not meet her lover

"Along the dark arches  
 Down by the Railway."

We know all the books of our obliging friend Connolly, of Ormond Quay ; and we have had many a flirtation with the ever changing stock of our learned, and zealous to please friend, Jones, of D'Olier-street. Then we have had old friendships amongst the quaint, rare stock of George Bumstead on Holborn Hill ; and we have known pleasant days amongst the fine old books of Russell Smith, of Quaritch, and of Waller, in Fleet-street. But, for the bright days of wandering amongst the stalls, give us, as those marked with stone peculiarly white,

the sweet summer's times when, commencing at the Institute we have continued along the quays to the Tuileries, and then have returned to the Institute, by the river wall amongst the *very* cheap book stalls. At one side are the wonderfully tight, bright-eyed little women who ask you to look at all the books and pictures at once. At the other side you have those dream books, and song books, and letter writers with every dream, and song, and letter, except the very dream or song, or letter you want. The old pictures out of the Fontaine, which make you blush, but are expatiated on by the seller. The astoundingly cheap old odd books, the books we look at and pounce on, that are forced upon you; the bright sun, the bright faces, the fragrant segars you may smoke and no body is offended; the *riant* air of all about you make this line of quays the most agreeable of all, in all the world, to the literary flâneur. That old, ever reviving Tuileries beside your Notre Dame before you; records of romance, of crime, of suffering, and of glory—the wisdom of literature living on forever, and never changing its kings of thought, all around you.

But the GREAT Libraries *are* great, for references particularly. We never enter the Imperial or the British without recalling our old friend Burton's words, and exclaiming, "What treasures are extant in law, physic, and divinity, for profit, pleasure, practice, speculation, in verse or prose, &c. ! Their names alone are the subject of whole volumes, we have thousands of authors of all sorts, many great libraries full well furnished, like so many dishes of meat, served out for several palates; and he is a very block that is affected with none of them."

We think thus with the old Anatomist, and a recent visit to the Museum Library, and a stroll amongst Rogers's books, have suggested to us the possibility of making a few interesting papers out of the materials of our odd books, collected in the vagrant wanderings amongst old books to which we have confessed ourselves most addicted.

To the literary student the term ACADEMY is one of frequent occurrence. What is the history of Academies as we now understand the term? Our history is as follows.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, a poet, a friend of Ronsard, J. Antoine Baïf, founded, in a house in the Rue des Fosses-Saint-Victor, a reunion of wits and musicians, whose chief object it was to study grammatically the language

sound. They gave concerts which attracted a great number of young noblemen. In 1570, Charles IX granted letters patent, in which he declares, "that the Academy, though yet low, was deserving of the highest honors," "he accepted the surname of protector and auditor of it." Parliament, supported by the bishop of Paris and the university, after offering great opposition to the registering of those letters, were at length obliged to yield. The successor of Charles IX, Henry III., took the Academy under his protection; but the death of Baïf, and the troubles of the League, speedily caused the downfall of this establishment, which had already gained importance, as we learn from the following passage in a manuscript of G. Collete: "Philosophical lectures, by Amadis Jamyn, were delivered in presence of Henry III, in the Academy of Jean Antoine Baïf, established in the neighbourhood of the Faubourg Saint Marcel. For I know by tradition, that Amadis Jamyn was of this celebrated company, to whom also belonged Gui de Pibrac, Pierre de Ronsard, Philippe Desportes, Jaques Davy Duperron, and many other great wits of that time. Apropos of what I mentioned, that I had formerly seen some leaves of a book of manuscript of the institution of this noble and famous Academy, in the hand of William Baïf, son of Anthony Baïf, who had rescued them from a pastry cook's shop, where the natural son of Phillippe Desportes, who did not walk in the glorious footsteps of his father, had sold them, with several other curious and learned manuscripts; irreparable loss! What was more painful still, in the book of this institution, which was a beautiful book in vellum, we saw that the good King Henry III, the Duke de Guise and the greater number of the nobles and ladies of the court, had all promised to aid in the establishment and support of the Academy, which took part with Henry III, in the troubles and confusion of the civil war that agitated the kingdom. The King, the Princes, the Nobles, the savants who formed this celebrated body, had all subscribed to this book, and affixed their names to it. This was not, after all, the first design of this noble institution, which was to have effected wonders in the development of science and language." \*

In the early part of the reign of Louis XIII. some wits

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\* *Lives of French Poets*, Manuscript of the Bibliothèque du Louvre, quoted by M. Sainte Beuve, in the first volume of *The State of French Poetry in the Seventeenth Century*.

renewed the project designed by Baïf, and a scholar, David Rivault, published, in 1612, a little pamphlet from eight to sixteen pages, which is very rare. It was named, *The Design of an Academy and its Introduction into Court*. The Author proposed to establish an academy which should embrace all sciences, theology excepted.

Towards 1630, a counsellor, secretary to the King, Valentine Conrart, established at his own house a re-union of learned men more or less esteemed. There were Godeau, Gombauld, Chapelain, Giry, Habert, the abbé de Cerisy, Serisay, and Malleville. Introduced into this society by Malleville, Farey in his turn, brought Desmarets and the abbé de Bois Robert who mentioned it to his patron, Cardinal Richelieu, who in 1634, offered to take the members of the society under his patronage, and proposed to constitute it a public society. Notwithstanding the resistance of Serisay, de Malleville and several others, who wished respectfully to refuse the Minister it was decided, "that the abbé de Bois Robert be requested to thank very humbly M. le Cardinal for the honor he had done them, and to assure him, that their aspirations had never reached so high; that his Eminence's intention had taken them by surprise, but that they were determined to obey his wish."

In accordance with Richelieu's orders the society wrote out themselves their statutes, and took the title of *The French Academy*: before they were called indiscriminately by the names of *The Academy of Beaux Esprits*, *Academy of Eloquence*, *Eminent Academy*. They announced distinctly the object they had in view in a discourse, where several remarkable passages have been found on the arrangement of the French language. It was there said: "That it seemed to want nothing to perfect the happiness of the kingdom but to extricate the language which we now speak from a number of barbarous tongues—that our language, more perfect already than any other of the living languages, could as easily succeed to the Latin, as the Latin to the Greek, if they were only more careful with regard to elocution; that the duty of the academicians would be to purify the language from the corruption which it had contracted in the mouths of the people, or in the throng of the palace, and in the impurity of wranglers, or the incorrect use of it by ignorant courtiers, or by the abuse of those who corrupted it in writing, and by those who spoke well in the pulpit what was necessary to say, but did not otherwise," &c.

The letters patent for the foundation of the French Academy were signed the 2nd of Jan., 1635. Pierre Seguier took charge of the seals, to which was attached the great seal, on which was inscribed a list of the academicians. His example was followed by Montmort, Master of Requests, by du Chastelet and Bantin, Counsellors of State, and by Servian, Secretary of State. Some time after, Richelieu, to whom the King had granted full power, signed the statutes, effacing only the article signifying that each of the academicians promised "to revere the virtue and memory of Monsignor their protector."

The registering of letters patent for the new Academy met the same opposition in Parliament as in the time of Charles IX, and it was not finally admitted for two years and a-half, after three letters of command and the strongest menaces of the Cardinal. The Parliament adding the following clause, "That the company or assembly should take no cognizance of anything but of ornamenting, embellishing, and augmenting the French language, and of the books useful for that purpose." The Academy deemed it advisable to accept this clause, because some lawyers were figuring in it, and henceforward all these who broke through this rule by any fault of tongue could be instantly fined.

The Academy was hardly constituted definitively\* when it became the butt of all sorts of satirical epigrams, and witticisms. They said that Richelieu had endowed each member with a yearly income of 2,000 livres, out of the 80,000 livres destined for cleansing the city.

The Academy was not slow in becoming an instrument in the hands of Richelieu, who had committed to him the judgment of Corneille's *Cid*. This chef d'œuvre was condemned, and the Cardinals, who had appointed Chapelain as compiler of the decision, corrected it himself and confirmed the sentence.

The Academy was constituted more regularly under Louis XIV. who took it under his protection, and assigned forty desks for the forty members. He also presented to it 600 volumes, which were the real commencement of the library of the Institute.

In consequence of the royal favor, the title of academician

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\* The Academy had three officers, a director, and a chancellor, whose functions were temporary, and a secretary, Valentine Conrart for life. The formal proceeding of the assemblies commenced the 13th of March, 1634.



was again sought by the great nobles. "The Academy came then," said the abbé de la Chambre, "a glorious and triumphant Academy.....clothed in the purple of the Cardinals and Chancellors, protected by the greatest monarch the world.....filled with the princes of the church and senators, ministers, dukes and peers, counsellors of State, who stripped themselves of all their other honors, were but too happy to be mixed up pell-mell amidst a crowd of innumerable authors, historians, poets, philosophers, orators.....without distinction and without precedence."

But what the Academy gained in éclat, it lost in independence and consideration; a place in the Academy became not a reward to merit,\* but to favor and considerations together foreign to the object of the institution. Here are some examples:—

Lavaur kept the books of the Louvre; having happily negotiated the marriage of one of Colbert's daughters with the duke de Mortemart, he asked him what he would demand as a reward. He requested, without ceremony, a place in the Academy, and was not long before he obtained one, though he had no other claim or title to it.

Pierre Corneille being dead in 1684, the Duke de Maine, who was at the time but fourteen years old, had the strange whim of replacing the great tragedian. He mentioned it to Racine, who, being then director, assembled his colleagues from whom he demanded fifteen days adjournment, this was voted with acclamation. They authorised him to reply in the name of his colleagues, that had they not even a vacant place there was not an academician who would not be delighted to die for him, in order to create one. "Our predecessors," said D'Alembert, "were, as we have seen, as ready as Décius to immolate themselves for the honor of the country." Happily Louis XIV. spared the company this new proof of submission. He refused to ratify the election of the young prince. Therefore Corneille replaced his brother.

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\* A great but illiterate lord, as were almost all the great nobles of the period, placed himself in turn to succeed Conrart; Patru said of his confreres, "an ancient Greek had a lyre, in which he broke a string; instead of joining it with a gut, he would have a silver string, and the lyre lost its harmony." This apologue had as much success as that of Agrippa. But the Academy forgot very soon to take the wise lesson.

It was at the solicitation of Pontchartrain that Simon de la Loubère, a scholar above mediocrity, was received into the Academy. This it was that gave rise to an epigram attributed to la Fontaine:—

Il en sera, quoi qu'on en dise,  
C'est un impôt que Pontchartrain  
Veut Mettre sur l'Académie.

There was more than one member of the Academy, who, like Loubère, could be really considered as a tax levied by the Court on this illustrious company.

Some academicians came one day to offer Turreil's chair to the Comptroller General Desmarets, who replied, "I have in my office a head clerk to whom that offer would be more suitable." Thus was a man named J. Roland Malet, who never in his life composed more than one paltry ode, crowned by the Academy. Nevertheless, they were anxious he should be admitted. But he remained so unknown, that we can neither learn the date nor place of his birth.

The Academy was nothing better till the time of Mézeray, who always put in a black-ball when they wished to select any one for admission. They were a long time without discovering whence proceeded those everlasting protestations. In the end they discovered it, and having asked Mézeray the reason of his conduct, he replied, that it was in order to leave to posterity a monument of the independence of election in the Academy.

The Academy sought eagerly to admit members altogether strangers to literature. They offered a place to Marshal Saxe, who refused. They had from him a letter on this subject where, we read the following passage; "*Ils veulent me fero de la Cadémie, cela m'irait come une bage a un chas.*"

Voltaire was right in thus defining the Academy, "a body where they received titled persons, men in office, prelates, lawyers, physicians, geometricians, and *even scholars.*"

This submission of the Academy to power was manifested not only by admissions, but also by exclusions. Thus the abbé de Saint-Pierre, having delivered a discourse on the *Polysinodie*, where, whilst passing a eulogium on the councils established by the Regent, he criticised severely several acts of the government of Louis XIV. Cardinal Polignac indignant at such boldness, denounced the discourse to the Academy, and demanded that the author should be severely punished.

The unfortunate abbé de Saint-Pierre was not even permitted to justify himself, and on the 5th of May 1718, his exclusion was pronounced by twenty-three of his fellows. His place remained vacant.

Condorcet having refused to pass an eulogium on the Duke de la Vrillière was not summoned to the Academy till after the death of Maurepas, whom the academicians feared to displease.

Thanks to this spirit of servility, the Academy was fallen low in public opinion at the end of the last century, that was generally said that Voltaire in dying had borne away the literary talent, and Foncevigne all the honesty; which as Delille forcibly remarked, was saying very little for those who survived them.

Oliver Patru, admitted in 1640 to the Academy, delivered a discourse of thanks, though only to his confreres, yet this vote of thanks was an obligation imposed afterwards on all candidates. Some great noblemen were alone admitted without this formality, amongst others Colbert. At a later period other motives obliged admission without this formality, of persons of our age, as Châteaubriand, Maret, and Regnault St-Jean d'Angely.

This obligation of a public harangue hindered the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, author of *The Maxims*, from presenting himself to the Academy. He could not endure exposure before such an auditory, and did not feel capable of pronouncing a harangue of several lines, without fainting.

Marshal Richelieu was bolder than Rochefoucauld. The discourse pronounced by him, and which is still in existence, written in his own hand, may be found the grossest orthographical errors. He has written *reigne*, for *regne*; *seint*, for *seign*; *flambau*, for *flambeau*; *dérangassent*, for *dérangeassent*; *court*, for *cour*; *rendus*, for *rendu*; *pris*, for *priz*; *créteil*, for *chretien*; *antier*, for *entier*, &c., though he had himself composed the address.

In 1748, this same Duke de Richelieu, finding himself director of the Academy, begged Voltaire to compose for him the congratulatory address to the king. A copy of it was circulated, as soon as Richelieu had given it expression.

The custom of reciting these discourses was not, we think, a happy innovation, and, from the beginning, the public ridiculed it severely; the president De Mesme compared the

to those solemn masses where the celebrant, after having incensed all the assistants, concluded by being incensed in turn. Piron, having been once on the point of election, was warned by the secretary to be ready, his own duty being to reply to the candidate's discourse. "My discourse is quite ready," said Piron, "and yours also"—"How is that?"—"I will rise, I will take off my hat, I will say: Gentlemen, I thank you for the honor you have done me in admitting me. You'll then rise, you'll take off your hat and you'll reply: 'Sir, that is to me a pleasure.'" Let us add that these addresses were never the composition of those who recited them. We know, for example, what were the discourses of Duois and Thomas.

Those nobles whom the Academy admitted so easily into their body, made them often rudely feel the distance between a great lord and a plebeian. The Bishop of Noyon, Clermont Tonnerre, having replaced Barbier d'Ancourt, did not condescend in his opening address to eulogise his predecessor. The Academy expressing their surprise, he replied that he made a rule never to praise plebeians. This reply aroused the indignation of the assembly, and Clermont Tonnerre was obliged, in order to repair the unbecomingness of his conduct, to insert in the printed copy of his discourse a panegyric that he was ashamed to utter.

The writers of those reception discourses, or of eulogies, seemed to have easily forgotten that the object of the institution was the ornament, embellishment, and the augmentation of the French language. Thus, it is known by a letter of Marshal de Beauvau, that on the reception of M. de Marian by the French Academy there was a sentence of the abbé Hardion spoken, containing one hundred and eighty words. It is told of Sedain, who wrote as bad verse as prose, and who took but little trouble about the matter, that having heard the reception address of one of his new colleagues, he cast himself on the candidate's neck, and exclaimed with emotion: "Ah! sir, during the twenty years I have been writing Bombast, I have heard nothing like that."

"The academicians of this time," said Longuerue, "turned their backs on eloquence, and the alteration was at the king's expense, who was made to pay for this want." It was the same Longuerue who, solicited by several academicians to present himself to the French Academy, replied: "I will think of it when you will have given up your nonsense."

The Perpetual Secretary Villar, in giving an account of 2  
*Essay on the Intonation of the French Language*, by Morel, contrives the following sentence—"Morel has retarded the ends of science, and it is almost beyond a doubt that he made a step towards it." Made a step towards a thing which he had retarded.

Things were equally bad in the Academy of Inscriptions. Talleyrand de Boze, wishing to eulogise five notices of the abbé Tallemant which formed altogether twelve pages, made use of the following strange expressions: "the ingenious manner," says he, "in which M. L'abbé describes our losses, has often made me wish they were more frequent." We must confess such language was but little flattering to the other academicians.

"One day a wit from England asked me," writes Voltaire, "for the notes (or Journal) of the Academy. They have written no journal, I replied, but they have printed sixty or eighty volumes of compliments. He ran over one or two, but could not comprehend the style though he understood all the good authors very well. All that I could glean, said he to me, from all those fine discourses, is, that the candidate having assumed that his predecessor was a great man, Cardinal Richelieu a very great man, Chancellor Séguier a still greater man—the director replied to him in the same strain, and added that the candidate would be allowed also to be a great man, and as for him, the director, he would not desist without doing his part. It is easy to see by what fatality almost all the academical discourses were rendered so discreditable to the body: *vitium est temporis potius quam hominis*. The custom was insensibly established, that the academicians should repeat these eulogies on their entrance, which imposed on them a species of command to weary the public. The necessity of speaking, the embarrassment of having nothing to say, and the emulation of genius, are three things capable of rendering even the greatest man ridiculous. Not being able to find new thoughts, they only sought to discover subterfuges, and spoke without reflection as some persons will, who think vaguely, or like those who though seeming to eat, yet perish from inanition. Instead of having a law, as was enforced in the French Academy, for the publication of those discourses, by which alone the

were transmitted, there should have been a law to prevent their being printed."\*

The Academy distributed, and continue to distribute annual prizes on subjects sent in for competition, and it is but right to state that their choice is but rarely ratified by the public.

"I composed, at eighteen," relates Voltaire, "an ode for the prize of the French Academy; which was borne away by the abbé du Jarri. I do not consider that my ode was very good; but the public were not quite content with the decision of the Academy. I remember among the many rare faults with which this little prize poem abounded, this verse—

‘Et des pôles brûlants jusqu’aux pôles glacés.’

M. de la Mothe, a very amiable man and a great genius, and who piqued himself on his scientific knowledge, had by his interest awarded this prize to the abbé du Jarri; and when reproached with his decision, and above all the verse of the freezing pole and the burning pole, he replied that it was a philosophical affair, which was under the jurisdiction of the Academy of Science and not of the French Academy. Besides he was not quite sure that they had not burning poles there, and in fact, the abbé du Jarri was his friend."†

The Academy having crowned, in 1717, a detestable ode of Gacon's, were afterwards so much ashamed of their award, that they sent the prize secretly to the author, to avoid the disgrace of the public being aware of it.

The Academy, often abused by the public, was sometimes ridiculed even by its own members. According to one of its rules, no academician could put in for a prize which he had proposed. In 1779, Laharpe dared to infringe this rule, and sent a dithyrambe in honor of Voltaire, which he read himself to

\* Voltaire, XXX. Lettre Philosophique.

† The abbé du Jarri was sixty-five years of age. The subject was an ode on the vow of Louis XIII. The subjects were generally ill chosen. One day the Academy, in order to compliment Louis XIV, thought it necessary to propose the following question:—"Which of the king's virtues merit a preference?" Louis XIV, notwithstanding his love of adulation, was disgusted by such flattery, and expressly prohibited that what was proposed should appear in the address.

the assembly. Thanks to the eloquence of his delivery, carried nearly all the votes. However, he was afterwards severely censured for his conduct.

Speaking one day to Suard of the mediocrity of the piece crowned by the Academy: "what we demand from our contributors," said he, "is not poetry itself, but poetical flowers and embellishments." Still it would be necessary for them to have the flowers.

The sittings of the Academy, which should have been highly profitable, and of great utility, became most tiresome\* if one were to judge them by those of the present day. They had debates there on the most trifling and even silly subjects. For instance, Gombauld delivered there a lecture in 1635 on *Je ne sais quoi*.

Furetière has described, in a very piquant manner, the manner in which those places were attained, and probably with much truth. According to him, the man who clamoured the loudest was the person selected by his confreres as the most competent. They had the art of making long discourses on nothing, the second repeated like an echo what the first had said, the third usually three or four spoke at a time. When they had an assembly of five or six members, one of them read, another resolved or decided on the matter, two chatted together, the fifth slept, and the last amused himself by reading whatever work he found near him; if a second member wished to advance an opinion, they were obliged to read over again the article forming the subject of discussion, in consequence of not having paid attention to the first reading of it, they were so occupied. It was impossible that they could write ten lines in succession without entering into long digressions, without one of them relating a pleasant story, or the news of the day.

To give a just estimate of the interior of the Academy, we will relate an account of a visit made to the Institution of Christina of Sweden, May 11th, 1658. We have it from the memoirs of Valentine Conrart, perpetual secretary.

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\* La Condamine, at a supper given by him on the day of his reception to the French Academy, made the following impromptu:—

La Condamine est aujourd'hui,  
Reçu dans la troupe immortelle:  
Il est bien sourd tant mieux pour lui,  
Mais non muet, tant pis pour elle.

"M. l'abbé de Bois-Robert had intimated on the morning of this day the intention of Christina of Sweden to honor the company by being present at a meeting which was to be held after dinner ; M. le directeur (de la Chambre) thought it necessary to inform the academicians of the visit that they might not be absent. About three hours after noon, Her Majesty arrived at the residence of the Chancellor who received her in his coach with all the academicians in a body around it, and having conducted her to his ante-chamber at the end of the hall of council, where there was a long table covered with green velvet fringed with gold, where the council of finance was held, the Queen of Sweden being placed in an arm chair at the end of this table on the side near the windows—the Chancellor at her left near the fire-place, on a chair farther back but without arms, leaving rather a wide space between her Majesty and him. M. le directeur was at the other side of the table opposite the Chancellor; a little lower down, and much farther from the table, were all the academicians standing. The Chancellor paid the Queen a compliment, merely comprising an excuse that the Academy, not being aware before that morning of the honor her Majesty intended conferring on them by this visit, were not prepared to testify their joy and gratitude for so glorious a favor, at least as becomed the duty of the company, when considering the importance of the honor, but if they had had time they would no doubt have entrusted this commission to some person more capable than he was of executing it; but finding himself empowered, owing to the privilege which kind fortune had bestowed on him of being president of the company on so happy an occasion, he was bound to tell her Majesty that the Academy had never received so high an honor as she had been graciously pleased to confer on them. To which the queen replied, that she thought they would pardon the curiosity of one who desired earnestly to find herself in the company of so many men of worth and genius, for whom she had always entertained the very highest esteem and regard.

"They then made a motion to enquire whether the academicians should be sitting or standing; this appeared to surprise the queen. But the Chancellor having asked the opinion of some persons on this difficulty, they informed him that King Henry III when holding assemblies of men of letters at the wood of Vincennes, where he frequently held them, made the



assistants be seated, which was a precedent for all future occasions, and that the queen of Sweden, even when at Rome had been at the Academy of Humorists which was never before standing: it was therefore resolved that the academicians should be seated; accordingly they all took their places on the back chairs but the Chancellor, and all remained uncovered. They apologized to her Majesty that the assembly was more numerous, in consequence of not having had time to apprise all the academicians; that the secretary was absent from indisposition, and M.M. Gombauld and Chapelain along with several others. She asked who was secretary; and being informed that it was M. Conrart, had the kindness to speak of him in the most flattering terms, as she knew him by reputation; she also bestowed great encomiums on the two other gentlemen who were absent. After that, M. le directeur told her that had they been aware of her Majesty's intention to honor them by a visit, they would have prepared a lecture which would have afforded an agreeable entertainment, but owing to the embarrassment in which she had found them, they could only present before her what circumstances would admit of; and that as they had prepared not long since a *Treatise on Grief*, which they had found in the third volume of *Characters of the Passions* which was ready to be given in public, he would, if permitted by her Majesty, read it, being a very good subject to portray the grief of the company, not being able to acquit themselves better before so great a queen, and of the privation they would have to undergo at her Majesty's early departure. This lecture being finished to which the queen gave much attention, the Chancellor asked if any one had verses to recite for her Majesty's entertainment on which M. Cotin recited several portions of the poems of Lucretius, which he had translated into French, which seemed to afford the queen great pleasure. M. l'abbé de Bois-Robert recited also several madrigals, which he had composed not long since on the illness of Madame d'Olonne; and M. l'abbé Tallemant, a sonnet on the death of a lady. After that, M. de la Chambre demanded something else. M. Pellisson recited a little ode on love which he had made, an imitation of Catullus, and other verses on a sapphire which he had lost afterwards found, with which her Majesty was also exceedingly pleased; after this they read a portion of the Dictionary full containing an explanation of the word *jeu*, in order

let her know something of the occupation of the Academy at the time.

"It was the intention of the Chancellor to have held the meeting in the chamber of M. de Priézac, as usual, but in consequence of the height of the stairs, and the entrance to it being dark and inconvenient, he thought it would be more suitable to assemble in his own apartment, as being more easy to her Majesty, and more honorable to the Academy.

"When they commenced reading the copy of the Dictionary, the Chancellor said to the queen, on coming to the word *play*, that he hoped it would not be displeasing to her Majesty, and that doubtless the word *Melancholy* would be even less agreeable, to which she made no reply.

"Having heard, in the course of this lecture, the following observation, *Ce sont des jeux de prince, qui ne plaisent qu'à ceux qui les font*, the queen of Sweden reddened, and appeared much moved on hearing it, but seeing that all were observing her, she forced a smile which was evidently more of sorrow than of joy."\*

We must confess that the Chancellor was unfortunate in selecting the copy in which a proverb so mal apropos was to be found, and we can easily conceive Christina's embarrassment, who, the year previous, had caused Monaldeschi to be assassinated in one of the galleries of Fontainebleau.

It was only in 1638 that the Academy commenced to occupy themselves seriously with the *Dictionary*. Vaugelas and Chapelain had each presented a design. They halted at that of the author of *La Pucelle* and arranged, in the following order, the list of authors from whose works they would take the examples. Thus, for prose, they selected Amyot, Montaigne, du Vair, Desportes, Charron, Bertaud, Marion, de la Guesle, Pibrac, d'Espeisses, Arnaud, le Catholicon d'Espagne, Les Mémoires de la Reine Marguerite, Coeffeteau, Du Perron, F. de Sales évêque de Genève, d'Urfé, de Molières, Malherbe, Duplessis-Mornay d'Ossat, de la Noue, de Dammartin, de Refuge, d'Aubignier, and two academicians, Bardin and du Chastlet, who died recently, becoming, according to M. Villemain, supreme authorities for language, as the Roman Emperors had become gods. Many names have been omitted

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\* Manuscripts of Conrart, vol. X. p. 129—See, the *New Collection of Memoirs that form the History of France*, by M. M. Michaud and Poujoulat.

in this list, amongst others those of Bodin and of Etienne Pasquier.

For poetry, they chose Marot, Saint Gelais, Ronsard, Belloy, du Bartas, Desportes, Bertrand, Cardinal Duperron, Garnier, Regnier, Malherbe, Des Lingendes, Motin, Trouvart, Montfuron, Théophile, Passerat, Rapin and Sainte-Marthe.

Vaugelas having been appointed compiler of the Dictionary, Richelieu assigned to him a pension of 2000 livres; but the work not being performed very quickly, the dilatoriness of the Academy called forth innumerable epigrams, amongst others the following from Bois-Robert :

Depuis six mois sur l'F on travaille,  
Et le destin m'aurait fort obligé,  
S'il m'avait dit tu vivras jusqu'an G. \*

This Dictionary, it must be admitted, was conceived on a bad plan; Furetière, an academician of much genius, undertook the compilation of one on his own responsibility. The enterprise excited the jealousy of the Academy, who obtained its suppression, and in 1685, expelled the author from the corps, though he had been admitted twenty-three years before they did not fill up his place during his life time. Furetière did not withdraw from the contest. He pleaded against the Academy, drew up memorials, composed lampoons in prose and poetry,† which having been collected in the year 1685, filled two vols. in duodecimo. He did not cease to labour at his Dictionary, a most precious work, which was published two years after his death, in 1690,‡ and which the compilers of the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* re-printed entire, without once citing the author.

The first edition of the Dictionary of the Academy appeared in 1694. They at once commenced a second edition, which was published in 1718. The third appeared in 1740, the fourth, in 1762; the fifth, in 1818; and the sixth and last in 1835.

The Academy, in this work, conceived the unhappy design of submitting the words to a rigorous classification, by devo-

\* Andrieux, member of the Committee on the Dictionary, in 1819, said, "Je mourrai du Dictionnaire."

† The *Fureteriana* contains *The plan and design of an allegorical tragic burlesque entitled, The beds of the Academy*, in six cantos, some have attributed, perhaps without reason, to Furetière or Richelet, "The Apotheosis of the Dictionary of the French Academy, its expulsion from the celestial regions," La Haye, 1696, in 12mo.

‡ The last edition is of Amsterdam, 1725, 4 vols. in fol.

one to the sublime style, others to the burlesque style and the familiar, strangely impoverishing the language by proscribing a host of words employed by old authors. Thus, Furetière relates that la Fontaine, who was very constant in attending the sittings, would never permit the adoption of a single word which he had known to be used by Marot or Rabelais. To give an idea of the ridiculous circumspection which presided over the choice of words, it suffices to say that, for what motive we cannot pretend to imagine, they suppressed the conjunction *car*. It was this strictness which gave rise to a very lively satire by Menage, entitled, *Requête des Dictionnaires à Messieurs de l'Académie Française*. We give the first verse :—

A nos seigneurs académiques,  
Nos seigneurs les hypercritiques,  
Souverains arbitres des mots,  
Doctes faiseurs d'avant-propos,  
Cardinal-historiographes,  
Surintendants des orthographes,  
Raffineurs de locutions,  
Entrepreneurs de versions,  
Fumeurs de brèves et de longues,  
De voyelles et de dipthongues ;  
Supplie humblement calepin,  
Avec Nicot, Estienne, Oudin :

Disant que, depuis trente années,  
On a, par diverses menées  
Banni de Romans, des poulets,  
Des lettres douces, des billet  
Des Madrigaux, des élégies,  
Des sonnets et des comédies,  
Ces nobles mots, *moult*, *ains*, *jaçott*,  
*Orez*, *adonc*, *maint*, *ainsi soit*,  
*A-tant*, *si-que*, *piteux*, *icelle*,  
*Trop-plus*, *trop-mieux*, *blandice*, *isnelle*,  
*Préça*, *tollir*, *illec* *ainçois*,  
Comme étant de mauvais François.

The Academy, instead of employing so much rigor in arranging the admission of certain words, should have exhibited a little more research as to the meaning or definition of words ; the following is an example which we have taken from the last edition :

**ECLIPSE.** The visible disappearance of a star, caused by the interposition of another celestial body between this star and the beholder.

"During three thousand years," says M. Arago, "eclipses of the moon have been apparent without any celestial body interposing between the moon and the observer."

**Tirer de but en Blanc.** To draw a straight line without the projectile travelling over a curved line, or making a rebound.

"After this definition," says M. Arago, once more, "the Academy has found the means of preventing a bullet ever falling to the ground.

**Vaisselle Plate.** That, where there has been no soldering. This definition is absurd, notwithstanding the corrective which is joined to it : *that*, does not inform us whether the plate is gold or silver. The Academy would have us to

suppose that the word plate in this instance was derived from the Spanish plata, silver.\*

A dictionary filled with such errors, and we cannot say many volumes of compliments and discourses which have been read by any one—in this summary we have all that the French Academy has produced during the two centuries it has been established. This state of things has at all times been evident to the men of genius. Fenelon, in his *Memoir on the Occupations of the French Academy*,† had less than less issued the wisest opinions on the works to which the Academy should have devoted themselves, and the manner in which they should have arranged the Dictionary, searching curately through all the good authors. Being aware of the necessity of a preliminary reform, he writes, “I told them above all things they should seek to establish in the Academy a strict discipline which they would find particularly necessary, which had never perhaps been introduced into the establishment; without this fundamental principle, all their fine projects and their most powerful resolutions were but as fumes and smoke, and would have no other effect than to draw on the public raillery.

“It was necessary, therefore, to remedy this evil which would cause the inevitable ruin of the Academy; but to ensure success, and to be enabled, in making our laws, to preserve that independence and liberty which had given for us the glorious patronage by which we were honored, he advised that the Academy should begin by sending a petition to the king, requesting permission from his majesty to effect a reformation in their body, by abrogating the an-

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\* If the Academy permitted such blunders to be published, we can easily imagine what numbers could be found in the subjects which have been proposed, but which it had not been considered expedient to put forward. The following anecdote may be relied on as very probable; nevertheless it may not be true. They say that an academicien suggested the following definition of the word *crab*: *a little red fish which walks backward*; he had already carried away the greater portion of the assembly, when one of his confreres rose and said, “Sir, your definition is very good, only I request permission to offer a few trifling objections on the matter: first—the animal in question is not a fish; second—it is not red till it is boiled; and thirdly—it does not walk backward. The Academy had then the good sense, which it did not at all possess, to re-place the proposed definition by that which figures present in the dictionary.

† Works of Fenelon, 1787, in quarto, vol. III, p. 449.

statutes, and forming new ones according to the mode they would deem advisable; that they should also demand permission to name for this work a certain number of delegates, as many as they would think necessary to propose, and that they should request his majesty to honor them by pointing out one or two of those whom he might consider most worthy to fill the office."

"What service," said Voltaire, "would not the French Academy have rendered to literature, to language, and to the nation, if, instead of publishing annual compliments, they had printed the good works of the age of Louis XIV., refined from all the mistakes of language which had crept into them? Those which they could not correct being at least specified. Europe, who read those authors, would have thus learned our language securely. Its purity would have been solidly established. Thus good French books, printed with care at the king's expense, would have been glorious monuments of the nation. I have been told that M. Despréaux had heretofore made this proposition, and that it had been renewed by a man in whose mind wisdom and sound criticism were combined; but this idea met the same fate as other useful projects, it was approved of only to be neglected."\*

In consequence of these abuses in the organization, and the little value of its works, the Academy had become, as we have already remarked, an object of raillery to the public.† Twenty years after its foundation, in 1654, there appeared a brochure in duodecimo, by Sorel: *De l'Académie Française établie pour la correction, et l'embellissement du langage, et si elle est de quelque utilité au public*, 1654. The author there pronounces for the negative.

We also have the *Comédie des Académistes pour la reforma-*

\* Voltaire XXX° *Lettre Philosophique*.

† The public did not permit any opportunity to pass by. Thus, in 1773, the Count d'Angiviller, director general of the king's buildings, having sown some grass in the court of the Louvre, the mansion where Louis XIV had established the Academy, there appeared immediately the following epigram:

Des favoris de la muse française  
D'Angiviller tient le sort assuré,  
Devant leur porte il a fait mettre un pré  
Où désormais ils pourront pâtre à l'aïe.

*tion de la Langue Française*.\* This piece after having a long run in manuscript, was not printed till the year 1650, it was the first production of Saint Evremond. "Though without shape or without rule," said Pellison in his *Histoire de l'Académie*, "and more deserving of the name of farce than comedy, it is not devoid of genius, and possesses some very pleasing passages." This was not the opinion of Voltaire, who discovered in it but simple dialogue without plot or humor.

Margon published, in 1724, in quarto, under the title *Première Séance des États Calotins*, a parody on the rules of the Academy.

The illustrious Society yielded, at the end of the last century, to the fate of all the institutions of the old monarchy. The convention, by a law of the 8th of August, 1793, pronounced the suppression of all the Academies and literary societies patented or endowed by the nation; but they were not satisfied in re-organizing it on a much more extensive scale, and placing it by a National Institution of science and of arts, destined: "First, to cultivate the Arts and Sciences by uninterrupted investigation, by the publication of discoveries by correspondence with other learned societies. Second, to carry out conformably to the laws and resolutions of the executive Directory, the scientific and literary works, which had for their object general utility, and the glory of the public." The French Academy, under the Republic and Empire, formed the second-class of the Institute, and did not renew its ancient name till 1816.

We will conclude our narration of the French Academy by an explanation of the term *fautueil*. The following is the origin of the word, as it has been reported in the *Pièces intéressantes pour servir à l'Histoire de la Littérature*, of Laplace.

"Cardinal d'Estrées, becoming very infirm, and desiring to obtain some ease during the performance of his duties to the Academy, asked permission to bring a seat more comfortable than those then in use; for they had only one arm chair

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\* Formerly the title of Academy was bestowed most prodigally in France; for several years they gave it to houses which they first called *gaming houses*. They designated them *Academies of play*: they called the young men who learned fencing and equestrianism, in the schools, devoted to those arts, *Academistes*, and not *Academicians*.

the director. They appealed to Louis XIV, who, foreseeing the consequences of such a distinction, ordered the comptroller of the household to have forty arm chairs brought to the Academy, and thus confirmed Academic equality."

These arm chairs, which Fontenelle called "Couches of repose where men of genius slept," were the object of several epigrams. One of the best is this of Piron:—

En France on fait, par un plaisant moyen  
Faire un auteur quand d'écrits il assomme ;  
Dans un fauteuil d'académicien,  
Lui quarantième, on fait asséoir notre homme :  
Lors il s'endort et ne fait plus qu'un somme ;  
Plus n'en ayez prose ni Madrigal  
Au bel-esprit le fauteuil est, en somme,  
Ce qu'a l'amour est le lit conjugal.

To the list of academicians, it would be curious to contrast those men of talent who had not been admitted to the Academy; we will limit ourselves to the mention of a few. Molière figures in the first rank; then comes the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, author of the *Livre des Maximes*; Regnard, Lesage, Piron, who by his biting and satirical epigrams, made the Academy deeply atone for his non-admission to its bosom; the two Rousseaus, Saint-Réal, Ginguené, Dusault, and finally the illustrious poet, Béranger, who certainly could never have become the confrère of M. Pasquier. The most singular part of the matter was, that the Academy seemed to have totally forgotten the design of its institution, and forbore to admit the best lexicographers and grammarians of each period, as Ménage, Durnarsais, Boinvilliers, and others.

Colbert, being a member of the French Academy, employed some of his confrères in composing devices and inscriptions for public buildings. This small assembly, amongst whom were subsequently Boileau and Racine, were not tardy in forming a separate Academy, and the year 1663 may be considered the year in which the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres was founded. In 1701, this company, composed of nine persons, were about to limit the records to medals of Louis XIV. and then to dissolve, when their president, the Abbé Bignon, obtained letters patent by which it was reorganized on a totally new plan, and introduced there a clique that had never known the French Academy "Let us imagine," said Voltaire, "honorary places which required no abilities, and were without remuneration, places for pensioners who desired work disagreeably contrasted to those of the honor-



aries, places for fellows without pension, and places for pupils a title most unacceptable and since suppressed."

This new Academy had apartments at the Louvre, but it was only in 1712 that letters patent were given confirming its establishment. It received under the Regency by decree of the Council of State, the title of Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, which they hold to the present day, but they formed under the empire, the class of History, and of Ancient Literature.

The history of this Academy differs very little from that of the French Academy. We encounter there the same flatteries, and the same cringing to power. Among the list of its members we find innumerable personages who had not the slightest pretensions to learning, and we are astonished at not beholding the names of men well worthy of admission from their patent and acknowledged abilities.

The Academy of Inscriptions, *per se*, was not equally deserving of censure. They compiled, amongst other things, a collection of memoirs which acquired for them a just and well-merited celebrity; this recueil contained the historians of France, the record of French literature, the publication of notices and extracts of manuscripts of works in the different languages of the East, with other valuable matter.

The public, at all times so happy to find defects in learned men, could, however, enjoy this pleasure at the expense of the Academy of inscriptions who, unfortunately for themselves, committed more than one mistake. "You know," wrote Voltaire to M. de Formont, "a-propos of the scientific expedition which had for its object the measurement of an ark of the meridian. Are you aware that the Academy of Belles-Lettres has undertaken to make a beautiful inscription for our argonauts? All the Academy, after mature deliberation, came to the conclusion that these gentlemen measured an ark of the meridian under an ark of the equator. You will remark that the meridian go from north to south, and, consequently that the Academy of Belles-Lettres had, in a body, made the most egregious blunder in the world."

When peace was concluded with England, in 1783, the minister, Maurepas, demanded from the Academy of Inscriptions a device for the medal destined to celebrate this important event. The Academy, after having passed six months in

laborious research, sent a deputation to the Minister bringing this inscription of rare simplicity, but which they had not had, as M. de Jourdain expressed in his note to the beautiful Marchioness, the good fortune to discover at once—" *Pax cum Anglis*"—" *Et cum spiritu tuo*," replied Maurepas.

The Academy of Science, founded, in 1666, by Colbert, formed, in 1795, the first class of the National Institute, and re-took its ancient title in 1816.

The Academy of Sculpture and Painting, founded by Mazarin, in 1648, established in 1655, formed in 1795, by its reunion with the Academy of Architecture, the fourth class of the Institute, and took, in 1816, the title of the Academy of Fine Arts.

The Academy of Architecture, founded, in 1671, by Colbert, was suppressed in 1767, for having courageously protested against the illegal nomination of M. de Wailly. It was not slow in re-establishing itself. However, it was again suppressed in 1793, and was comprised, in the organisation of the Institute, in the fourth class, that of the Fine Arts.

The most modern of all these Academies created in 1795, under the name of the class of *Moral and Political Sciences*, was suppressed in 1803, and its members were distributed among the different classes of which the Institute was then composed. It was re-established in 1832, but the section on *Geography* continued to make a part of the *Academy of Science*, to which the decree of 1803 had transferred it.

Long before the foundation of the French Academy, some experiments of this kind had been made in France. Thus there had been established at Lyons, towards the end of the fifteenth century, an Academy known under the title of the *Académie de Fourvière*, because they held their sittings in a house in a quarter of that name. At Annecy the president, Favre, had in 1606, established by the aid of Francis de Sales, and under the protection of the duke de Nemours, an *Académie Florimontane*, which had taken for its device, *Flores Fructusque Pereuntes*. It applied itself to theology, philosophy, mathematics, the fine arts, and was a species Athenæum. The *Académie Florimontane* was soon as flourishing as any other of the Italian Academies, but it did not continue long, and, towards 1618, its members ceased to meet.

The greater number of the large towns in France have present scientific and literary Academies, whose foundations trace back to very different and remote periods. The most celebrated are those of Amiens, Besançon, Bordeaux, Clermont, Dijon, Lyons, Marseilles, Nancy, Nîmes, Rouen, Toulouse, &c. This latter city contained two; one *l'Académie des Lanterniers* and the other *l'Académie des Jeux Floraux*, of which we shall in a future paper, give some details.

"There were in times gone by," states a writer of the middle age, "in the royal and noble city of Toulouse, seven persons of worth and knowledge, shrewd and cautious, who had a great fancy and an ardent desire to discover this noble, excellent, virtuous, and most wonderful lady, Science, in order that she might bestow on them the joyous gift of poetry. They desired also the power of good composition in inditing romances, in order to propagate sound doctrines and useful instructions, in honor and praise of God, our Saviour, of his glorious Mother, and of all the saints of paradise. Their aim being also to destroy ignorance and error, to make the study of the poets innocuous and without art, finally to live in joy and gladness, and to fly from melancholy and ennui, those mortal enemies to cheerful knowledge."

These seven personages called themselves Bernard Panassac; Guillaume de Lobra, citizen; Béranger de Saint Plancat; Pierre de Meranaserra, citizen; Guillaume Gontaut; Pierre Canon, merchant; and Bernard Otlet, Notary of the court of Viguiers de Toulouse. They formed amongst them a little literary coterie, and assembled generally on Sunday, in a garden belonging to one of the faubourgs of Toulouse. "No possible benefit could be derived," said M. Guessard, "either to science or literature, by those reunions without forming an Academy or something analogous. It is not reasonable to suppose that an assembly of this kind, once established, would not require to be placed under authorities capable of pronouncing judgments, dictating laws, distributing prizes, and framing some code or treaty to which they should be held amenable. It was to this particularly that the very gay company of the Seven Troubadours of Toulouse devoted themselves."

They commenced to establish themselves, and shortly forth in 1323, their first public act being to announce a poetical competition for the following year. At this period

the noble age of Provençal poetry had passed away ; nothing remained but remembrance and regrets for its departed glory. Our seven Toulousains, who knew and admired the ancient troubadours, and who felt with pain the decline of southern civilisation and literature, formed the project of re-kindling this almost extinguished fire, and with this idea, made an appeal to all the poets of Languedoc to unite with those of Toulouse, and open between them a competition. What means for such an end ! These academicians extemporised in evident ignorance and did not discover until too late that it is not in the power of an Academy to resuscitate that which is dead, and that the awarding of poetical prizes never yet made a poet.

Be that as it may, they addressed, the Thursday after All Saints Day, in the year of our Lord 1323, a circular in verse which they sent into all parts of Languedoc, by which they invited to a competition those of the troubadours who were best qualified to offer themselves. We translate some fragments of this letter :—

“ The very gay company of the Seven Poets of Toulouse, to the honorable lords, friends, and companions, who possess the talent or knowledge from whence springs joy, pleasure, good sense, merit and politeness, health and happy life. Our most ardent desires are that you should solace us by the recital of poetic carols.....Seeing that you have a portion of that knowledge by which you are masters of the art of the gay science, come that we may behold your talents.....We seven who have succeeded the corps of poets now passed away, have at our command a fine and beautiful garden, to which we repair every Sunday, read the new works, mutually communicate our knowledge, and correct our faults. To accelerate the progress of science, we proclaim that, the first of next May, we will assemble in this charming orchard. Nothing can exceed our joy if you will be present also. Those who entrust us with their works will be honorably taken care of, and the author of the best poem will receive, as a token of merit, a golden violet at the conclusion.

Dizem que, per dreyt jutjamen,  
Acel que la fara plus netta,  
Donarem una violetta  
De fin aur, en senhal d'honor.

“ We will on our side read pieces of poetry which we will submit to your criticism, for our pride and glory is, to do all

things rationally. We request and implore of you to co on the appointed day, so that in contributing harmoni verses, the age may become more gay. These letters h been issued from the faubourg des Augustines, in our orch at the foot of a laurel, the Thursday after the feast of Saints, the year of our Lord 1323.

Donadas coron al vergier  
Del dit loc, al pe d'un laurier,  
Al barry de las Augustinas  
De Tolosa, nostras vezinas,  
Dímars \* \* \* \* \*  
Aprop la festa de Tots Sans,  
En l'an de l'encarnacio  
Me cce e xx e tres.

"And, in order that you may place entire faith in our promi we have put our seal to those deeds in testimony of the tr

E per que no dubteasetz ges  
Que nous tenguessen covenens,  
En aquestas lettras presens  
Havem nostre sagel pausat,  
En testiment de vertad."

The day of competition was fixed for the first of May, 13 A great number of poets responded to the appeal, and w received with much pomp by the seven troubadours in prese of an immense concourse of people, and of the sheriffs capitouls, who decided that thenceforward the Golden Vi should be provided at the expense of the city.

The next day the seven judges met in secret conclave examine the compositions of the competitors, and, the follow day, the festival of the Holy-Cross, their decision was made p lic, and they accorded *The honor of the Violet* to Arn Vidal de Castelnadary.

The following year a Chancellor was placed at the head the *College de la Gaie Science*, of which the seven first memb received the name of *Mainteneurs*. Instantly the competit became so numerous, that they were obliged to institute t other prizes, the *Eglantine*, and the *Silver Marigold*. Th often added a little silver *Carnation* in order to encoura young poets.

According to the statutes, the first prize, that of the viol was given by right to the *baccalauréat*. The competitor w bore away the prize of three flowers, received the title of *doct or master*, and thus acquired the privilege of voting in t college. The degrees of *bachelor* and of *doctor* were conferr by letters written in verse. It was also in verse that the

honors were demanded by the aspirants. The formula of these diplomas, of the demands, the replies and the installations, have been preserved in one of the registers of the *Académie des Jeux Floraux*. "I leave you to imagine," said M. Guessard, "if all these buffooneries were calculated to revive the glorious days of Romantic poetry." Translated in French, we have some verses in the following style :—

En présence du chancelier,  
Nous l'avons créé bachelier.

Or better still :—

Audit bodeau sont octroyées  
Les présentes lettres, scellées.  
La date vous mettez ici,  
Du jour et de l'endroit aussi.

Under Charles the Sixth, the Faubourg des Augustines, where the palace and garden of the seven *mainteneurs* were situated, was destroyed, they then withdrew to the capital, where they re-assembled annually the three first days of May. This fête, which they called the *Fête de Fleurs*, having been suppressed in 1484, the institution was on the point of perishing, when a woman, of whose existence some authors appear to doubt, Clémence Isaure re-established the meetings, distributed, herself, and at her own expense, flowers, no more in silver as formerly, but gilt and placed on a pedestal of the same metal with the city coat of arms! Thanks to her gift, these fêtes which were still called by the name of *Jeux Floraux*, continued after her death.

In the mean time, owing to the grave abuses which had been introduced into the celebrations, the greater part of Clémence Isaure's legacy was frittered away in festivities. A member of the French Academy, La Loubère, visiting Toulouse, his native city, in 1693, was so scandalized by the orgies which had replaced the *Fête des Fleurs*, that he addressed to Louis XIV. a petition requesting him to put an end to these disorders. The King at once by letters patent, given at Fontainebleau in the month of September, 1694, and registered in the parliament of Toulouse, the 8th of January, 1695, raised the *Jeux Floraux* into an *Academy*.

They then distributed four prizes instead of three, "which according to the letters patent should be flowers, an *Amaranth* of Gold constituted the first prize; a *Violet*, an *Eglantine* and a *Silver Marigold*, were the ordinary prizes."



Les Jeux Floraux were suppressed in 1790, and re-established by Napoleon in 1806, they continue up to the present. The Academy published, every year without intermission, save in 1700, 1703, 1790 and 1806, the piece crowned since 1696.

Other countries, besides France, have had numerous Academies, one of the most celebrated of those established in Italy was that of the *Arcades*, founded at Rome in 1690 by several men of letters, amongst others by Crescimbeni and Zappi. The Government of this Academy was altogether democratic. The members adopted the names of the shepherds of antiquity. Crescimbeni took the name Alphesiboeus, and Zappi, that of Leucasio.

Crescimbeni was the first chief or *custode* of this assembly which he named *Arcadia*, and thus its members were called *Arcadians* or *Arcades*. They assembled at first in the gardens of the Convent of Saint Pierre, but their number being considerably increased, they fixed themselves afterwards in the gardens of the Farnèse Palace. In 1725, King John gave the Academy sufficient funds to purchase ground where they might for the future hold their meetings. The Academy fixed itself definitively on Mount Janiculum, where they held their first reunions. One of the members being an architect, built there an edifice for general assemblies, in the form of an amphitheatre.

The arms of the Academy were composed of the arms of Crescimbeni and of the pastoral flute or the flute of Pan.

The Arcadia soon subdivided itself into as many colonies as there are towns in Italy. Its aim being in the beginning to disentangle Italian literature from the extravagance and bad taste which during that period were disgracing it, but unfortunately the members should have commenced by reforming themselves; they gave way to all the excesses which they undertook to restrain, and by that means served to perpetuate the taste for frivolity.

These Academies, like the French, exposed themselves on more than one occasion to public raillery. Thus in the eighteenth century an Italian scholar, the abbé Ferdinand Galiani, having had to complain of a Neapolitan Academy which had the habit of publishing a recueil of panegyrics in prose and verse on the death of any great Neapolitan, profited by an occasion which presented itself of being revenged, the death of a hangman

being the important event. With the assistance of one of his friends he composed a recueil of very serious pieces on the death of this man, and, in every part he imitated so truthfully the style of each academician, that one of the body acknowledged he would be deceived, if he had not been perfectly certain he had not written the lines signed with his name. The volume appeared in 1749, under the title of *Componimenti varj per la morte di Dominico Jannacone, carnefice della gran corte della vicaria, raccolti e dati in luce da Gian. Anton. Sergio avvocato napoletano.*

This Sergio was president of the Academy. The jest caused a tumult and a scandal which the authors had not foreseen. After having kept it for some time anonymous, they decided on acknowledging the fact to the minister of Charles III., Tanucci, and, on explaining to him the cause, they found that he was not only well disposed towards them, but that the king and queen had both read the recueil, and were much amused by it. The young authors were then pardoned by performing some *spiritual exercises*, to which they submitted for eight days.

It was attempted on one occasion, in England, to establish an Academy analogous to the French Academy, but without success.

"In the latter years of the reign of Queen Anne," said Voltaire, "Doctor Swift formed the design of establishing in the Royal Society of London, founded in 1660, an Academy for language, in imitation of the French Academy. The Earl of Oxford and Bolingbroke countenanced this project. The members who were to compose this Academy were all men of note: they were Swift, Prior, Pope, Congreve, &c.; but the queen dying suddenly the whigs took it into their heads to rail at the protectors of the Academy, which gave a mortal blow to belles-lettres."

We could not, perhaps, after all that has preceded, determine this question which so many have tried to solve:—In what were the Academies useful? They did not fail in men of genius, who esteemed study and science for their own intrinsic merits, and not for the honors or benefits they might derive from them. How is it that we see, in effect, intrigues of all kinds, the jealousies and hatreds which divided all the Academies into coteries ever ready to slander each other? These scandalous proceedings, and shame-



ful transactions which, for the greater part of the time, accompanied the elections, the distribution of prizes, the quarrels where the interests of science altogether appeared before the question of persons, inspiring every honest man with profound disgust? And, as for their utility, we will take the opinion of Voltaire, who wrote:—

“I remark that the Academies uniformly suppress the efforts of genius, instead of exciting them. We have not had a great painter since we had the Academy of Painting, nor a great philosopher formed by the Academy of Science. I say not of French. The reason of this sterility in ground so cultivated is, as appears to me, that each academician, in regarding his confrères, finds them very small, which in truth they are, thinks himself comparatively great, thus, flattered by his own self love, rests content with mediocrity. Danjou found himself superior to Mallet, and that was sufficient for him; he considered himself at the height of perfection. Le petit Coypel found he was worth more than de Troyes, younger, and was thought to be a Raphael. Homer or Virgil were not, I believe, of the Academy, neither was Cicero or Virgil.”

Thus far we have written of Academies, we now descend to Literary and Burlesque Societies and Orders.

The most ancient literary society we know of in the history of ages, was the society called the *Sixty*, which existed in the fourth century before Christ, and of which Athenæus alone has transmitted us any intelligence. “They had at Athens,” writes he, “some citizens who had the talent of drollery, there mustered to the number of sixty, in the temple of Hercules, and were called in the city the *Sixty*, and any one coming from their meetings, said, ‘I come from the *Sixty*.’ Their reputation for wit was such, that Philip of Macedon, having heard it spoken of, sent them a talent, in order that they might write some of their pleasantry for him.”

Under the emperors, the poets of Rome had formed among themselves a species of Academy who met in a particular place called *Schola Poetarum*. Martial, in his epigrams, alludes to them on several occasions. Lipsius asserts that they read reciprocally from their works, and that they met annually at a repast, to strengthen the ties by which they were united.

But these readings made to their companions were not, as we may easily conceive, those which best pleased the authors.

they preferred recitations made in public, which usually preceded the publication of works among the Romans. We will now enter into some details on the subject.

In early times authors were in the habit of reading, or having their works read for them during meals, either at their own houses, or at the house of a mutual friend; a rich man never failed in his auditory. The public recitations commenced at Rome, under Augustus; the custom soon became very general. The author who had not a convenient habitation, found at all times some Mæcenas disposed to lend him his house. Others preferred reciting them altogether in public under the porticoes, in the theatres, in the temples, in the gardens, at the Forum, in the baths. "I had hardly trimmed my beard more than once or twice," declares Ovid, in his *Tristia*, "before I had read to the people the poems of my youth."

The authors who were about to deliver public lectures, sent their friends special letters of invitation (*codicilli*,) strangers were admitted by announcements (*libelli*,) which were caused to be distributed in the city, or by placards posted on the columns of the porticos. The crowd never failed to rush to the readings delivered by a fashionable author. The relatives and friends of an author were considered bound to assist at the readings. Pliny, the younger, reckoned, amongst the virtues of his wife, the love she entertained for her husband's works. "If I happen," said he, "to read some piece in public she manages to secure a place behind a curtain, where she eagerly listens to the praises bestowed on me." The readings were often disturbed by incidents which, whilst they amused the audience, were a great annoyance to the author.

"There occurred," wrote Pliny to a friend, "a very amusing incident. A Roman Knight of great consideration, and very proud, composed some elegiac verses; he read in public a work which commenced with these words: *Priscus, you ordain*. .....At that, Priscus, an intimate friend of him who read, and who was present, thought himself called on to reply; *Oh! I ordain nothing*. You may imagine the bursts of laughter and merriment that followed. Moreover, the knight had not a very sound mind." A similar mischance happened to the emperor Claudius, for many of the emperors mingled in the public recitations. "Claudius in his youth," writes

Suetonius, "undertook, in accordance with the advice Livy, and assisted by Sulpicius Flavus, to write a history, and having commenced reading a portion of it, before a numerous auditory, he had, through his own fault, much trouble in finishing it. For, at the beginning of the lecture the obesity of one of his auditors having broken several steps of the seat under him, a general laugh was raised, and the tumult having ceased, Claudius himself, at the recollection of this disaster, could not resist bursting into fits of laughter at intervals."

A witty French writer has sketched a piquant tableau of the public recitations. "Rome," writes he, "was full of personages who spared no cost to bring themselves before the public. A house was hired at great expense, with seats and benches, or a hall in an amphitheatre: auditors were to be solicited, announcements to be distributed, and in fine, they bore to be exhausted with annoyance and expense of every kind; such were the conditions to which they submitted for a momentary triumph. We cannot read, without a lively sentiment of interest and curiosity, the satirical poets of that period, shewing the pretensions of the authors, and their affectations in public, and the precautions taken beforehand to ensure success.

Rome was not better under Augustus; some say that Martial, Persius, and Juvenal, had foreseen our vanities of the salon, and our intrigues of the coulisses. Let us enter the Roman Athenæum, a vast amphitheatre, the seats ascending to the roof. Before a numerous audience is seated the reciter on an elevated chair; his hair is dressed with much care, he is clothed in a new white robe; on his left hand glitters a precious stone; his neck is encircled by a cravat of wool or fur, shewing, as Martial has said, that it was as difficult for him to speak as to be silent. To sustain the clearness of his voice he rinses his mouth or throat with an emollient. He draws at length from his breast an enormous volume, and commences to recite at the tip of his tongue, with languishing eyes, drooping head, an effeminate voice, and a manner full of affectation. In most of the auditories, those who exhibited the most lively enthusiasm were those who heard least. Their eyes, instead of being on the lecturer, were fixed on the audience, from whom they took their tone. These were the *mesochoros*, or chief applauders: a gesture of the hand com-

and the bravos or slaves, the enfranchised or the unfree who, for a dinner, or a new robe, were, before-hand engaged to applaud, and were distributed in all the seats of the amphitheatre.

there was a more piquant manner of ensuring a brilliant success. An ignorant financier, who set up for learning, wished suddenly to recite his work in public, and above all, to create a great sensation in his auditory. When he lent himself he of course stipulated for a fair interest in the performance, but always added another condition, namely, the borrower should, as a *sine qua non*, come to his reading to listen and applaud; if he failed in this, he prosecuted him for a breach of the most essential clause in his contract.

The literary reunions were held principally at the tables of the Romans, and Aulus-Gellius relates, in several passages of his *Attica*, the manner of those who prided themselves on the cultivation of letters during their repasts. "We celebrate," said he, "the saturnalia at Athens with gaiety and festivity, I do not say to repose our mind, for, according to the ancients, the tranquillizing of the mind is the abnegation of itself, but we give to it a pleasing diversion by amusements as long as they are agreeable. The same table reunites a certain number of Romans, who have come to Greece to hear the lessons, and follow the same masters. He who gives the repast, in turn, places on the table a Greek or Latin book, chooses one of the old authors, and a crown of laurel, to be given to the victor; he arranges as many questions as there are guests, distributes, by chance, their places and questions to each. The matter being decided, the book and wreath are presented to the victor. If not solved, it is passed all round to the next guests. And if no one can unravel the point, the prize is dedicated to the god whose fête they are that day commemorating. The questions submitted for discussion were sometimes the conceptions of an old poet, quite unintelligible, and shrouded in mystical obscurity; on a point of ancient history, a philosophical opinion oddly expressed, on a sophistical question wholly to be determined, on the elucidation of a rare or ambiguous word, and even on the peculiarity of a well-known word."

The practice of these reunions was continued until the fall of the Roman Empire.

Charlemagne, whose admiration of antiquity, sacred and profane, manifested itself in all points, had formed round a reunion of illustrious savants, to whom they gave among themselves the titles of Greeks and Latins: Alcuin called himself *Albinus Flaccus*; Théodulfe, *Pindar*; Riculf, Archbishop of Mayence, one of the personages in the *Eclésiastes* of Virgil; Adalhard, abbé de Corbie, had adopted the name of *Augustin* (Saint Augustin); Anghilbert, duke of Marais in France, that of *Homer*; Eginhard, *Callimachus* the prince of the poets; Gisèle and Gondrade had become *Lucretia* and *Eulæus*, while Charlemagne himself was king *David*. The name selected by the French monarch marked his evident preference for sacred literature. He said frequently to Riculf, a passionate admirer of Virgil, that he would infinitely prefer to possess the mind or spirit of the four Evangelists, than to have written a dozen books like the *Æneid*.

In the middle age, numberless poetical societies were established in different parts of France, which, extending to all the provinces, bore the name of *Cours d'Amour, de Puy, de Jeux sous l'Orme, de Cours de Rhétorique*, &c. These societies met generally once a year, and crowned the best compositions in verse presented to them. The most celebrated assemblies were those of Caen, Dieppe, Rouen, Beauvais, Amiens, Arras, and Valenciennes.

The Assembly of Caen called itself the *Puy de la Conception*, because they held on the eighth of December, the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, an assembly, at which all the pieces composed were dedicated to her honor. This dated back to the eleventh century.

The society of *Puy*, at Amiens, had its origin only in the fourteenth century. They formed a species of Academy regularly organised, which twice a year distributed prizes to the best ballad composed in honor of the Blessed Virgin to a popular air. The duchess d'Angoulême, mother of Francis the First, passing through this city in 1517, copied a collection of crowned pieces. This copy is preserved in the King's library.

To decide the question of Love which the poets proposed in their *jeux partis* and their *sençons*, there was established a species of tribunal which took the name of the *Cour d'Amour*. The judges were chosen from amongst gentlemen, ladies of quality, and poets, all persons whom knowledge of the world and long experience rendered au fait in such matters. The women so

authority to these tribunals, where all the honors were to themselves, consequently they increased rapidly, particularly in the southern provinces, where nothing but songs were sung, and where these serious contests were of course very honorable. The romances of Pierrefeu, amongst others, were celebrated.

The *Cours d'Amour* rapidly extended their jurisdiction. They revealed all the stratagems of lovers, and everything concerning gallantry. They summoned the guilty to appear, imposed on them a proportionable penalty, commanded a solution, and prescribed the form of reconciliation; and their sentences were called *arrêt d'amour*, and for a long time formed a code of laws in France, revered by all, and against which no one dared to appeal. Princes and sovereigns, (Philip, king of Arragon, and Richard Cœur-de-Lion) did not fail to preside at them, and the famous Emperor, Frederic barossa, established one in his State, in imitation of those in France.

The sojourn of the popes at Avignon rendered *Les Cours d'Amour* flourishing in the south of France. In the latter part of the fourteenth century, the counts de Vintimille and de Grasse, having come to visit Innocent VI., found the pope presiding at the Cour d'Amour, a spectacle which excited them much astonishment.

One of the most celebrated of the Cours d'Amour was that which existed at the court of Charles VI., and on which a manuscript (No. 626) at the King's Library\* contains some curious details.

The women held no places in this court, of which the King was sovereign, and members of which were divided into several classes. The first were those of *Measures*, a very vague title, which they only gave to knights or to princes of the blood.

The second class were those of *grands veneurs de la cour*.

The third, those of *trésoriers des chartres et registres*.

The fourth, those of *auditeurs*.

The fifth, those of *chevaliers d'honneur conseillers de leur amoureux*.

The sixth, those of *chevaliers trésoriers*.

The seventh, those of *maîtres des requêtes*.

The eighth, those of *trois présidents de l'ordre*.

The ninth, those of *secrétaires*.

The tenth, those of *concoierges des jardins et vergers amoureux*.

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\* Now the Imperial, but we like the old word.



The eleventh and last, those of *veneurs*.

Another Cour d'Amour, *founded on humility and fidelity and instituted in honor of ladies*, was established in 1400 at Paris, in the hotel d'Artois, on Saint Valentine's day. It was composed, first, of a chief called prince of the Cours d'Amour; secondly, of three *noble protectors*, who were then elected, namely, Charles VI, Philip, duke of Burgundy, and Louis, duke of Bourbon; thirdly, of several *protectors*; fourthly, of twenty-four *ministers of the Court*, knights, squires and others, conversant with rhetoric and poetry. They had the charge of presenting, to the assemblies of the Court, ballads and other pieces of poetry; fifthly, several treasurers of the charters, secretaries, door-keepers, tipstiffs, &c. &c.

At the period of the revival of literature in France, literary re-unions became very numerous.

It was at one of those reunions that Ronsard, Baïf, Belleau, du Bellay, Dorat, Denisot, and their friends, fifty in number, fêted in a singular manner, their friend, Etienne Jodelle, whom they considered as one of the originators of the theatre in France. In the middle of the banquet with which they were entertaining him at Arcueil, during the carnival of 1552, reviving an ancient custom, they brought to Jodelle a goat crowned with flowers, the beard painted, around which they danced and sung in chorus, dithyrambs of their own composition.

Ronsard apprised his friend that he came to offer him the reward of his tragic poem, and sacrifice in his honor this goat to Bacchus. We do not know if the victim was really immolated, but the enemies of Jodelle and of Ronsard, made a crime of this amusement of the carnival, and brought against them the accusation of idolatry and atheism. To exculpate himself, Ronsard composed a poem in which he related all that occurred at Arcueil.

In the seventeenth century, the literary re-unions became very brilliant, and exercised a vast influence over literature. The most celebrated were held at the hôtel de Rambouillet, at the residence of Mademoiselle de Scudéri, and at that of Ninon.

L'hôtel de Rambouillet belonged to the family of Pisani, whose name it bore. In 1600, it took that of Rambouillet, when the daughter of the marquis of Pisani having espoused at twelve years of age, the marquis Charles d'Angennes de Rambouillet, went to reside there. The marchioness withdrew from court in good time, and, at the age of twenty, would go

more to the assemblies at the Louvre; "Very strange circumstance," said Tallement des Réaux, "for a young and beautiful woman, who was of high lineage. It was not that she disliked amusement, but the pleasures of the Louvre were particularly distasteful to her."

The same writer has left us some details equally curious on the interior organisation of the hotel:

"Madame de Rambouillet," said he, "is a person clever in all things. She was herself the architect of her hotel. Dissatisfied with all the designs they made, (it was during the reign of Marshal d'Ancre, for, at that period, they only knew how to make a parlor on one side, a bedchamber at the other, and a stairs in the centre) one evening after indulging in a reverie, she cried out, 'Quick, some paper! I have discovered a new means of constructing it as I desire.' And at once drew up her design—They followed it to the letter; it was from her plan they acquired the knowledge of placing the stairs at the side, in order that they might have grand suites of apartments, to raise the ceiling, and make the doors and windows lofty and spacious, and place them opposite each other; she was the first who advised the painting of a room any color that they pleased, as heretofore the only colors were red and tan, and it was she who gave to her grand chamber the designation of the *Blue Chamber*."

The hôtel de Rambouillet was not slow in becoming the rendezvous of all that was gallant at court and most polished amongst the beaux esprits of the age.

The first writers who frequented it were Ogier de Gombauld, Malherbe, Vaugelas, Racan. Then came Voiture, Balzac, Boisgrais, Chapelain, Costar, Sarrazin, Conrart, Mairet, Patru, Molière, Rotrou, Scarron, Benserade, Saint-Evremond, Charval, Ménage, le duc de la Rochefoucauld, le marquis de la Roche, afterwards duc de la Montausier, Malleville, Desmarets, La Bruyère, Collin, Colletet, Georges de Scudéry, Corneille, La Rochefoucauld, the Prince de Condé, and even Bossuet, who delivered his first sermon there at sixteen years of age.

Among the women, we remark Madame de Longueville, Mademoiselle de Scudéry, Madame de la Suze, Mademoiselle de Launay, Mademoiselle Julie d'Angennes, daughter of the Marquis de Rambouillet, Madame de Lafayette, Madame de Sévigné, and others.

The hôtel de Rambouillet exercised a very happy influence in



bringing to their level the writings of great noblemen, and teaching them the proper manner of acting in the great world. Tallement relates that M. de Chaudebonne having met a Voiture in a house, said to him : " Sir, you are too clever a man to live amongst the bourgeois ; it is necessary I should draw you forth from it." He consequently mentioned him to Madame de Rambouillet, and introduced him to her residence some time after.

Thanks to the amiability, goodness and wit of Madame de Rambouillet, the splendor of her re-unions continued undiminished during very nearly half a century. It is true that the mistress of the house contrived in every way to procure something agreeable to surprise her friends. On one occasion she had added to her hotel a large closet, with three great windows, having different aspects, which overlooked the gardens of the hôtel de Chevreuse, des Quinze-Vingts, and of the hôtel de Rambouillet. She had it built, painted, and furnished, without any one being aware of it. " One evening," says Tallement, " there was a great party at the hôtel de Rambouillet, suddenly a noise was heard behind the tapestry, a door opens, and Mademoiselle de Rambouillet, now Madame de Montausier, dressed superbly, appeared in a large closet, quite magnificent, and splendidly illuminated. I leave you to imagine the surprise of all present. They knew that behind this tapestry there was only the garden of Quinze-Vingts, and, without having the slightest suspicion of the matter, they behold a closet so beautiful, so well painted, and so extensive, as to appear like a grand chamber, brought there as if by enchantment. M. Chapelain, some days after, caused a roll of vellum to be attached privately on which was written an ode to Zyrphée, queen of Argennes, who said she had caused this room to be erected for Arthénice (Madame de Rambouillet) to conceal her age."

The once brilliant society of the hôtel de Rambouillet was dispersed, towards 1650, and out of its ruins were formed several re-unions which scarcely merited the name of coteries.

Very near this period, the wife of an ordinary gentleman of the King's Chamber, Madame Desloges, had formed at her house a re-union of the elite. " She has," said Conrart " her residence at Paris and at Court during twenty-three or twenty-four years, during which time she has been honored, visited and regaled by the highest and most distinguished persons, without excepting the most illustrious princes and princesses.....all the

poets appeared to abide under her protection and to render her homage, and her house was like an academy. There were none of the best authors of the day, nor the most refined habitués of the court, with whom she was not on terms of the most friendly intercourse and from whom she had not received innumerable polite letters; even princes and princesses, and other high folk, honored her thus. There had been also an infinite number of verses and other pieces composed in her praise."

Madame Desloges having been discovered mixed up in some political intrigues, and fearing the anger of Richelieu, quitted Paris in 1629, and did not return till 1636.

The re-unions which took place every Saturday at the residence of Mademoiselle de Scudéry, gained also great celebrity, at a period when good taste purified every day the false genius and manner which fashion had been enabled to exercise by its influence over literature. Each of the frequenters of the house had taken a surname, very often selected from the romances of the day. Mademoiselle de Scudéry was known under the name of *Sapho*; Madame Arragonais called herself *la Princesse Philoxène*; Madame d'Aligre, *Télamire*; Sarrasin, *Polyandre*; Conrart, *Théodamas*; Pellison, *Acanthe* or the *Chroniquer*, because he had the care of editing the annals of the Society; M. de Guénégaud, *Alexandre*, and his wife, *Amalthée*; the duke de Saint Aignan, called himself *Artaban*, Ysarn, author of *Louis d'Or*, took the name of *Zénocrate*; M. de Raincy, that of *Prince Agathyrse*; the abbess de Malnoue, *Octavie*; Godeau, *le Nain de Julie*, was there styled *le Mage de Sidon*, and sometimes also *le Mage de Tendre*. In the little Saturday re-unions, the ladies dressed with extreme care and taste two dolls, which were called *la grande et la petite Pandore*, and served for models of the fashion of the day.

The story *Du Pays de Tendre*, which we purpose giving in a future number, along with some other interesting allegorical works, will enable the reader to form an idea of the metaphorical and distorted style which was enforced at these re-unions. There were some Saturdays when the beaux-esprits appeared to surpass themselves. Like that day when Mademoiselle de Scudéry addressed these lines to Pellisson:

Enfin Acanthe, il faut se rendre;  
 Votre esprit a charmé le mien :  
 Je vous fais citoyen de *Tendre*  
 Mais de grâce, n'en dites rien.

Such also was the Saturday, 20th of December, 1653, when Conrart, having given a crystal seal, accompanied by a madrigal to the mistress of the house, she replied to him by the following verses :—

Pour mériter un cachet si joli,  
 Si bien gravé, si brillant, si poli,  
 Il faudrait avoir, ce me semble,  
 Quelque joli secret ensemble ;  
 Car enfin, les jolis cachets,  
 Demandent de jolis secrets,  
 Ou du moins de jolis billets ;  
 Mais comme je n'en sais point faire,  
 Que je n'ai rien qu'il faille taire,  
 Ou qui mérite aucun mystère,  
 Il faut vous dire seulement  
 Que vous donnez si galamment,  
 Qu' on ne peut se défendre  
 De vous donner son cœur ou de le laisser prendre.

This piece so transported the assembly that they seemed to be completely electrified, and could not refrain from improvising madrigal after madrigal. The account of this *Journée des Madrigaux*, as it has been designated, is preserved in manuscript at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

Much about the same period the abbé d'Aubignac, author of the *Royaume de Coquetterie*, which we also mean to give in our future paper on allegorical works, assembled at his house a certain number of wits. He solicited the title of Royal Academy for these re-unions, and published *A discourse to the King, on the establishment of a second Academy in the city of Paris*, 1664, in quarto ; notwithstanding the patronage of the dauphin, it was not conceded ; and very fortunately for the French Academy and for the public, no attention was paid to the demand.

A Sicilian F. Procope, having, towards the year 1687, opened in the Rue Fosses-Saint-Germain, opposite la Comédie Française, one of the first cafés that had been known in Paris, soon after its establishment this neighbourhood became the rendezvous of dramatic authors and of men of letters, particularly in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Lamotte, Piron, and Voltaire frequented it. They discoursed of literature, philosophy and religion, and in order to be enabled to express their opinions freely without any danger of the surveillance of the agents of police they invented a pass-word. Thus Boindin agreed with Marmontel to designate *l'âme* under the title of

ot, religion under that of *Javotte*, and *God* under that of *P'Être*.

The society *Du Caveau*, which was established towards the end of the last century, numbered among its members, Collé, Panard, Gallet, &c. They formed a species of literary tribunal. The *Caveau*, said the *Correspondance*, "is the name we have given to a café very much the same, situated in a little cavern arranged with much taste, in the garden of the Palais-Royal. It is known by the name of *l'Agreeable*. Agreeable loungers, habitués of the opera, and especially lovers of good ices, of which they make here a prodigious sale, drop in at different hours of the day. Several of the letters frequented it, in order to lighten the burden of their labors. It was a tribunal to which we could not appeal, the most sound, as its decisions made but a temporary session."

Our days it was proposed, at different periods, to revive these literary and literary re-unions under the soubriquets of *Diners d'Andeville*, *Ré-union du Caveau Moderne*, *Soupers de la Saison*, but the season for those bacchanalian festivities has passed away, and all temptations were ineffectual.

In the latter part of the last century, the widow of a Comptroller of Commerce, Madame Doublet de Persan, who dwelt in an apartment in the exterior of the convent of the Filles-du-Calvaire, whence she never went out even once during the term of forty years, assembled every day around her a very great number of distinguished men, the principal of whom were the abbé Legendre, brother to the mistress of the house, and on whom Piron composed the following song:—

Vive Notre vénérable,  
Qui siège à table  
Mieux qu'au jubé.

For himself, the two brothers la Curne de Sainte-Palaye, the abbés Chauvelin and Xaupi, Mairan, Mirabaud, d'Argental, de la Motte, and Voisenon, &c. Each of these *paroissiens*, for the parishioner had taken the name of *Paroisse*, arrived at the same hour and occupied each an arm chair, placed in the salon with his own portrait. There, on a grand bureau, were two registers, in which were to be inscribed the news of the day, after an ample discussion amongst all the members. The object of these registers was for doubtful intelligence, and the means for well authenticated facts. The soirée ended with a supper, generally very jovial.

At the end of every week, they compiled, from the registers, a summary which formed a species of journal known under the title of *Nouvelles à la main*, and which was an object of speculation for the valet-de-chambre Madame Doublet. As he busied himself a little in the political quarrels which were taking place between the court and parliament, the police, to frighten the *paroissiens*, caused the arrest of the valet-de-chambre, who underwent an imprisonment of some days. Madame Doublet died in 1772, having outlived the greater number of the frequenters of her house. The *Secret Memoirs*, published under the name of Bachmont, have been extracted, in the greater part, from materials collected by *la Paroisse*.

It was about this epoch that la marquise de Turpin found the order of the *Table Ronde*, where Favart, Voisenon, and Boufflers figured. It resulted in a little collection entitled *la Journée de l'Amour*, which was printed gorgeously; copies extant of this work are very rare.

Among the literary reunions of the eighteenth century, must not omit to mention the dinners of the actress mademoiselle Quinault, called *Dinere du bout du banc*, and soirées of madame du Deffant, and of madame Geoffrin.

Beside these so-called literary reunions, there were formed at different periods literary, bacchanalian, and grotesque orders. We shall now arrange alphabetically a few, of which we have acquired some information; some of those were evidently calculated to accomplish worthy ends.

The social chivalry of *l'Amable commerce*, established in 1724 at Verdun-sur-Meuse.

The Knights *de l'Ancre*, derived from the order *de la Felicité*.

The order *de la Boisson*. This order instituted at Avignon, in 1700, by de Pesquières, enjoyed a certain celebrity. They published a register, compiled in part by Morand, and the abbé de Charnes, and which bore the title *les Nouvelles de l'ordre de la Boisson, chez Museau-Croquis, au Papier Raisin*. The members assumed names analogous to those of their prototypes. They were *frère vignes, frère Mortadelle, natif de Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Poudre, dom Barriquez Caraffa y Fuentes Vinosus, M. de Flaconville, le sieur Villebrequin, &c. &c.* The books announced by the gazette were relative to the objects of the society. T

find there *l'Introduction à la cuisine, par le frère le Porc ; Remarques sur les langues mortes, comme langues de bœuf, cochon, et autres ; un Recueil de plusieurs pièces de four, le frère Godiveau ; la Manière de rendre l'or potable, etigent aussi, par le frère la Buvette ; l'Art de bien boucher bouteilles, impression de Liège ; l'Itinéraire des cabarets, ore posthume de Tavernier ; de Arto bibendi, auctore frère plier, &c. &c.*

As for the news, political and otherwise, given in this ette, here are a few specimens :—

*Lisbonne*, le 20 février, 1705. The Archduke gave a erb masquerade, at which the high admiral of Castille and e Portuguese noblemen were present ; they were disguised ings, and in this attire were not recognised by any one. high admiral danced the Follies of Spain, which is the mon dance."

*De Bruxelles*, le 28 juin, 1707. The allied army is always mped near Tirlemont, where they drink nothing but beer, those of the duke de Vendôme near Gembloux, where y drink nothing but wine ; this is the reason why there are any desertions in the former, and which attracts so many iers into the French army."—"At a fête given in London," s the same article, "they made vast contrivances to limit the aordinary power of France, they spake also of going a foraging expedition even to the gates of Rheims, and of ying off all the champaigne wine for the queen's use ; of ing in pieces the army of Philippe V., and of conducting g Charles III. in triumph to his good city of Madrid. This passed in building airy castles, but the next day they were pulled down by the arrival of two couriers ; the former ging the intelligence of the defeat of the allies at Almanza, he duke de Berwick ; and the other the loss of a great ber of ships taken, or sunk by the French. We cannot res the astonishment and dismay experienced by the glish, a nation so proud and prepossessed in the conscio- s of their own power. The Queen demanded eagerly if ante was taken ; the courier replied that it was, and all the uts around it. Her Majesty appeared very sorry, as she sidered this city impregnable. After the spread of this lligence, trade was all upset, money disappeared, beer ame one and a half as dear as formerly, and wine was ulated no more in London, neither were Exchequer ls. They convened a large meeting, in order to arrange

some means by which they could procure wine, as they could no more count on that of Spain, the inconvenience being the difficulty of importing it from any other place. The English, having made a flourish that the sea belonged to them, the chevalier de Forbin and the privateers of Saint Malo, not willing to credit this boast, attacked boldly all the vessels bearing the English flag; and they report that they vowed the ruin of the country, sooner than permit their importation of wine." The relation was sometimes in verse.

A la harbe des ennemis,  
Villars s'est emparé des lignes;  
S'il vient à s'emparer des vignes  
Voilà les allemands soumis.

This badinage, as we may perceive, was wanting neither wit nor cunning, consequently it gained much repute. Besides the brothers of the order de la Boisson had given proof of good taste in their statutes, protecting themselves from inebriation a defence particularly odd in a bacchanalian society.

Dans nos hôtels, si d'aventure  
Un frère saut ses discours,  
Par lamoindre petite ordure,  
Je l'en bannis pour quelque jour.  
Que si ces peines redoublées,  
Sur lui ne font aucun effet,  
Je veux que son proche soit fait,  
Toutes les tables assemblées ;

said the Grand Master, the philosophy of which was comprised in the following quatrain :

Je donne à l'oubli le passé,  
Le présent à l'indifférence;  
Et pour vivre débarrassé,  
L'avenir à la Providence.

*Le Regiment de la Calotte.* At the commencement of the eighteenth century, some officers of the court, amongst others Aymon, one of the twelve cloak bearers to the King, Louis XIV., and de Torsac, an officer of the Guards, determined on establishing, under the name of *Regiment de la Calotte*, a society whose object would be to correct, by the force of ridicule, the disorders in conduct, style, or language which came to their knowledge. They registered immediately amongst the number of members of the *Regiment de la Calotte*, all those who were remarkable by their singularity or eccentricity either in action or discourse. When a man had done, said, or written a silly thing, they sent him immediately a *calotte*, that is to say, an epigram full of sarcasm, which overwhelmed him with ridicule, and dispatched to him a commission in the



*calottin* in verse, by which he was at once enrolled as a member of the corps.

Aymon was elected Generalissimo. His election took place at a splendid banquet, two servants presenting him on a velvet cushion, one the fool's sceptre, the staff of authority, the other a cap, ornamented by a weather cock, on which were rats, rattles and butterflies.

De Torsac having one day made a rodomontade at the house of the Generalissimo, Aymon insisted on investing him as the chief; de Torsac was so invested, whether he would or not, and he retained the title up to the period of his death in 1724. They composed a funeral oration in his honor, a piquant satire on the discourses delivered at the French Academy, which was scarcely printed when it was seized through the influence of the parties satirized; but, thanks to the interest of Villars, Aymon, who was re-elected Generalissimo, obtained a reversal of the seizure. The latter died the 5th of May, 1781. The Regiment de la Calotte survived him many years, and ended by sinking quietly away. The best pieces composed by its members have been published.

Two orders which recalled the Regiment de la Calotte, the Order de l'*Eteignoir* and that of *Girouette* were instituted during the first Restoration, and distributed a great number of commissions.

The order of *Capripèdes*, *Ratiers* or *Lucifuges* the members of which assembled in Languedoc by moonlight.

*Les Frères Charbonniers* who in turning to politics became the *Carbonari*.

The order of *Charpentiers*, subject to the *Fendeurs*.

The order of chivalry of the *Cocus réformée*, established at Paris. There was a book of this order published, without date, in octavo.

The order of the *Coleaux*, of which there is notice in the third satire of Boileau. The origin of the order is thus given in the life of Saint-Evremond. "One day as he was partaking of some refreshment at the house of M. de Lavardin, bishop of Mans, this bishop began to rally him on his delicacy, and that of the Count d'Olonne and of the Marquis de Bois Dauphin. 'These gentlemen,' said this prelate, 'overdo everything. by their extreme desire for refinement in luxury; they can eat nothing but calves fattened along the banks of the river; it is necessary that their partridge should come from Auvergne, and that their rabbits should be of the Roche-



Guyon or of Versine. They have not less difficulty as fruit; as for wine, they can not drink any that is not les trois coteaux d' Aÿ, of the Haut-Villiers and of Avenay. Saint-Evremond did not fail to impart to his friends the conversation and they so often repeated what he said of the coteaux, and joked about it so frequently, that they were so called *Les Trois Coteaux*.

From the French literary coteries England derived her Bluestockings Assemblies; and to one who reads the history, the social history, of the last century, they form its most interesting points.

In the year 1763 England was at peace with France, and many persons of fortune took advantage of that circumstance to visit Paris. Amongst these were several who loved literature for its own sake, and who, obtaining admission to the chief literary coteries of France, resolved to attempt the formation of such societies in their own country; of those so resolving Mrs. Montague was, from her fortune and position, the most remarkable. Her estate was ample, and her rank in life sufficient to enable her to commence the holding of these literary meetings. Whilst in France she attended a sitting of the Academy, and heard Voltaire indulge in his usual strain of senseless and ignorant false criticism of Shakspeare. When the secretary, said to her—"Je crois, Madame, que vous êtes un peu fâchée de ce que vous venez d'entendre"—but she answered with great readiness—"Moi, Monsieur?—Point du tout—je ne suis pas amie de M. de Voltaire."—But so much annoyed was she by this depreciation of the great poet that upon her return to England she wrote and published *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakspeare*. Her assemblies of literary men and women were held once every week and she frequently invited large parties of the most distinguished persons to very expensive and well appointed dinners, believing, perhaps, with Moliere's hero, that "le vrai Amphytrion est chez qui l'on dine."

Mrs. Vesey was a rival of Mrs. Montague, as were, in a minor degree, Mrs. Thrale and Mrs. Boscowen. The commoners, however, were not permitted to hold exclusive possession of all the talent, and occasionally the dowager Duchess of Portland and the young Duchess of Devonshire threw open their mansions to receive the men of genius of the time.

During the thirty years in which these assemblies were held

Mrs. Montague's house was the centre of all literary attraction. One can fancy the scene her rooms must have presented. The tall, bony hostess, rouged and powdered, and, though nearly seventy years of age, vain of her diamond necklace and bows, is moving amongst her guests. The apartment is richly furnished, and upon the walls hang portraits of most of the great statesmen and writers who graced the reign of George the Second, and who gave a glory to the early years in which his grandson ruled, Pulteney's picture holds the place of honor above the chimney piece, and near it is placed that of the first Lord Lyttleton. The evening is advancing and the rooms are full. There is a crowd around a large burly man, who is rolling, and mouthing, and sipping, and disputing, and drinking innumerable cups of scalding tea—but the throng about him increases—all are anxious to hear Dr. Johnson.

He has been snubbing Boswell, who appears rather pleased, and thinks the great old Samuel a far nobler fellow than that, as Lord Auchinleck called Paoli—"land loupin Corsican". Now the rough old man turns, smilingly, to answer some question of the Duchess of Devonshire, whose fair bright face is bent anxiously towards him, for he is her idol and her sage. Sir Joshua speaks, and the Doctor listens calmly and attentively, and answers so as that every word may reach the dull ear of the painter. Then Topham Beauclerk comes up, and the old man can hardly frown at the open hearted, dear young rake, who is so clever and so witty; but a smile lights up his heavy face as he grasps the hand of that wonderful young Irishman "Mund Burke;" he would like to argue with 'Mund, there is "no nonsense, sir, about him," but he cannot forget his politeness, and his hostess shews him some china plates, which she wishes him to observe, as they once belonged to Queen Elizabeth. He blinks at them with his bleared eyes, and then making a profound but shambling bow, observes—"belonged to Queen Elizabeth, Madame, they have no reason to be ashamed of their present possessor, who is little inferior to the first."

A little pock-marked man, in a flashy court dress, fidgets around the circle; it is Oliver Goldsmith, anxious to make himself conspicuous, wondering why nobody comes to listen to his opinions, and thinking that unless he can contradict Johnson he will pass unnoticed. David Hume has returned from Paris, where he has been Secretary of Embassy under Lord Hertford,

and is telling a select few how he attended a masked ball, dressed as a sultan, and sat between two of the handsomest women in France. He is praising Madame D'Epinay, and talking of Grimm and Diderot, to the intense amusement of Horace Walpole, who thinks what a capital paragraph a description of the whole affair will make in that letter which he means to write the next day to Sir Horace Mann, and he wonders if Hume is aware that Madame D'Epinay has described the ball scene in a letter commencing—"Le célèbre David Hume, grand et gros historiographe d'Angleterre, connu et estimé par ses écrits, n'a pas autant de talens pour ce genre d'amusemens auxquels toutes nos jolies femmes l'avoient décidé propre." Walpole thinks too, how oddly "le grand et gros historiographe" would look if he knew that he, Walpole, described him to Lady Suffolk, stating, "Mr. Hume is fashion itself, though his French is almost as unintelligible as his English."

Doctor Burney and his daughter enter, and the latter goes once to address Doctor Johnson, lest otherwise he might suppose his clever little friend Fanny had forgotten his kind praises of *Estlin*. Horace Walpole is doing the fine gentleman, and talking to Reynolds about art and artists, particularly of a mad young Irishman, named Barry, who is abusing everybody and everything. Mrs. Carter too is there, and ready to speak on any subject of literature or the classics; and not far off is seated a very ugly, but very clever woman, well known through her letters, Mrs. Chapone. And David Garrick is moving from place to place, his bright eye glancing around, and he is acting in the drawing-room, having left all his nature in his theatrical dressing-room. He has been talking in a corner to Doctor Shipley, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and now turns to speak to a very remarkable young man who has been in the army and navy, who has written sermons and preached them to his company, when they had no chaplain; he is now studying at the bar, but is not a very ardent lover of the dry details of the profession; he will, however, one day, be the great foreign orator of England—he is the Honorable Thomas Erskine, the son of the Earl of Buchan.

Forgetful of his late rebuff, Boswell is hovering and lingering about the Doctor's chair to catch his words, and as some great thought, in morals, in philosophy, or in criticism, falls from his lips, honest Bozzy hopes that he has never spoken thus before. Mrs. Thrale, or Ned Malone, or Tom Davies. All the

with others, formed the brilliant circle in the reception rooms of our English Blue Stocking Coteries ; but the coteries passed away with knee-buckles and hair powder ; with the reign of pantaloons, and hair dressed à la Victime, arose another literary association, which found its last supporters in Lydia White and old Lady Cork.

In these literary coteries all the subjects of the day were before the society ; wit and humor were employed upon them, and puns, and epigrams, and stinging lampoons were suggested or written. A better order of composition was attempted by those whose powers enabled them to accomplish it.

## ART. II.—PAUL HIFFERNAN. A CHARACTER OF THE LAST CENTURY.

"Old times are changed—old manners gone," and instead of saying *there is nothing new under the sun*, we may more fitly say, there is nothing *old* under the sun—whole classes of beings appear to be extinct—we do not speak of the supernatural beings only, who with one consent have taken their departure from a world become all-too bustling for them—the rustic swain now treads his way homewards when his evening task is over, uninterrupted by the merry laugh of fairies dancing on the green ; the maiden, as she rises at the dawn of morning, never finds in her shoe the welcome coin ; and even veritable beings of actual flesh and blood, have left vacant places in our land, and are never to appear among us again—the very hermits, once considered absolutely necessary to give the finishing effect to the picturesque, no longer sit in solemn state, with a handful of berries, a bunch of cresses and a draught of water, caught from the trickling rills, for their every-day fare—if such things as pilgrimages are still made, depend upon it they are accomplished with the aid of locomotives. The most romantic hero of modern days turns aside from shady groves and purling streams, for the nearest railway station. The children of former times, when *ignorance* was bliss, who scampered about the green fields, far from the paths of science, have been succeeded by a race of juvenile philosophers deep in scholastic

and scientific lore. Oddities, too, are gone, oddities! we gave such amusing variety to society, and furnished anecdote and adventures for the dramatist and novelist, which might now be considered an outrage on nature! In our young days every little village, nay, every family, had its own oddity—but steam vessels and railroads have so thoroughly invaded the privacy of all localities, that there is scarcely a quiet nook left for the undisturbed cultivation of singularities. Men are no longer brought into such constant contact with each other, or as the mesmerists would say, in *rapporé*, that they imbibe the same turn of thought and tone of feeling—just as we find the roughnesses of coins smoothed down into a level surface, when they have been for some time well jingled together in the pocket, so the peculiarities by which individuals are distinguished are worn away, wherever men are well jumbled together. For ourselves, we confess that we regret the close assimilation of manners and habits, and pine after the oddities of by-gone days and all their delightful eccentricities. Now we can only turn to our biographies to renew our acquaintance with them; but the manners and the tone which gave so much effect, cannot be recalled.

In turning over some biographical sketches, we meet with some of the passages in the life of Paul Hiffernan, and though he was not a man in whom we could feel an interest, yet as the associate of many celebrated persons of his day, and being mentioned in Washington Irving's delightful biography of Goldsmith, and elsewhere, a brief account of him may not be unacceptable. In some respects his situation was similar to that of Goldsmith, but the contrast between their characters, is as great as can be conceived. The strangeness of his habits was no impediment to his intimacy with the most celebrated men of the day, nor to his introduction to the best society, but he had the power of amusing, which goes for a great deal.

Paul Hiffernan was born in the year 1719, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and received the early part of his education in his native city. As he was intended for the Roman Catholic priesthood his parents sent him to pursue his studies in a college in the south of France; here, he became acquainted among his fellow students, with several, who afterwards became men of the highest celebrity. Rousseau and Marmontel were the most remarkable; with Marmontel, who was lively and social, he soon became intimate, and with his class fellows, appreciated

the powers of their young companion, whose wit, poetic turn, and agreeable sallies, gave promise of his future fame. In the intense love of retirement, and contemplation of Rousseau, he did not discover the genius that was yet to gain the applause of the world. Hiffernan found that most of the English and Irish students were studying medicine, and he resolved to give up the intention of taking orders, and to prepare himself for the medical profession. He remained in France for seventeen years, part of the time in Paris, and the remainder in the college; he then took out a medical degree, and returned to Dublin to practise as a physician, but this resolution was not put into execution. He was so intolerably indolent and so fond of amusement, that he was utterly unfit for any serious pursuit, and so could never have succeeded in a profession, in which the demand on time and thought is so constant, but he had qualities which fitted him for the life which he liked best; he was a good scholar; he had caught much of the French manner during his residence in France, and abounded in anecdote; his company was sought, and he availed himself of the hospitality of his acquaintance, and was a constant guest at their tables. His first specimen of authorship was in a periodical paper called "*The Tichler*," for which he was engaged to write against Doctor Lucas, who was from his active patriotism, the most popular man at that time in Ireland, and had been returned to serve in Parliament by the people—the papers which Hiffernan furnished were much cried up and admired by the party for whom he wrote, and were the means of extending his convivial intercourse, as he was always welcome to those who were opposed to Lucas. These productions had no literary merit to insure a prolonged existence, they were in fact merely personal abuse, and prejudiced statements. Hiffernan became an object of great dislike to the popular party; the license which he had given to his tongue and to his pen, would have justified them in this, but it was carried too far, and the excitement against him became so violent that he could not venture to appear in public without incurring great danger; so by the advice of his friends he determined to leave Dublin and settle in London. Having obtained the approbation of his friends and excited the rage of his enemies, he considered himself fully qualified to set up as an author in the great city.

At first he was mostly engaged in making translations from the

Latin and Greek, for which task his familiarity with those languages would have particularly fitted him, had not his own language in a manner become foreign to him, during his long residence abroad ; and he wanted that easy flow so essential in writing ; this defect in style, and his want of punctuality, prevented his succeeding in this department of literature. He was however, more fortunate in a periodical called *The Tuner*, which came out in five numbers. In this he ridiculed with considerable humor some of the new plays. In the year 1755, he brought out miscellanies in prose and verse ; many of those papers had been written during his stay in France for the amusement of his friends, and embraced a variety of subjects, in which very entertaining anecdotes and original observations were introduced. Among them we find essays on taste, the virtues of cockfighting, theory of acting, and a dissertation on the character of Polonius, in which he defends him from the imputation of folly, in which he asserts himself to be fully borne out in the sage advice given by that statesman to his son and daughter, and by the character which the King gives of him to Laertes. Though this work was not devoid of merit, it was not popular, or profitable to its author ; its sale was chiefly promoted by his personal application to his friends—no very creditable manner of seeking for success. He sometimes brought out a pamphlet having secured a list of subscribers among his intimates. Wishing to turn his pen to better account, he thought of exercising it in the art of puffing ; it is stated that several painters and actors were under regular contribution to him. Numbers of aspirants to public favor, sought his services, which, from his intimacy with Garrick and Foote, and others of great influence in matters of taste, they supposed to be invaluable. He gave regular audience to those who sought his good offices ; the cider cellar, Maiden lane, was the place where the presentations took place ; vast numbers came forward to solicit his aid ; actors who asserted that they had ability for the highest range of parts, and who from sheer envy were made to fill subordinate ones, called on him to publish their wrongs to the world, and to make the tyrant manager wince under a just chastisement, and learn a lesson never to be forgotten—that *he who is fitted by nature and by study to represent the heroes of the drama, should never tread the stage but as such*. Painters, wishing to crush the managers of the Exhibition, for excluding the works in which their discerning eyes could dis-

cover the genius of a Titian or a Claude Lorraine, called on his pen for the merited castigation, and for a just eulogium on the excluded works. To administer to their vanity, and to satisfy their cravings for revenge was his business ; and he made it a most lucrative one ; candidates for the stage flocked to him in numbers.

The introduction of one, was after this fashion :—

The waiter introduced him into the great man's presence, who never rose from his seat, but slowly withdrawing the pipe which he had been smoking from his mouth, made a slight inclination of the head, desiring the applicant to sit down, and speak ; he listened with profound attention to the account which he gave of himself, of the great capabilities of which he conceived himself possessed, and the great parts for which he felt himself peculiarly inspired ; the doctor listened, but did not give any opinion ; he appointed a private meeting for the next evening, at the Black Lion, Russell-street, or at some other favorite ale-house. Here, he again gave audience to the candidate, and opened the proceedings by stating the terms of his patronage ; a guinea entrance, a guinea for instruction, and two guineas more to be paid on getting an engagement at either of the theatres. The first instalment having been duly paid and deposited in the Doctor's pocket, he then took an accurate survey of the person of his protégé, in all directions, but for the more exact measurement of his proportions, he took a six-inch ruler, with which he was always provided, from his pocket, and making him stand against the wainscot, he took his dimensions with the utmost precision. If the candidate happened to be very tall, Hiffernan heaved a deep sigh, and said that was not so well, but then added, in a consolatory tone, that Barry was as tall, and nobody found fault with his acting ; if he was short, deep regret was apparent in Hiffernan's countenance and manner, and he expressed his fears that such under-size was unsuited to the personation of a hero ; but suddenly recollecting himself, his brow cleared in an instant, and he observed with a cheerful air, that Garrick was short, and yet everyone admired him. Of course, the candidates were satisfied when they found that there was a point of resemblance between them and those great actors. These evenings did not close without a propitiatory supper, the sole expense of which was defrayed by the novice, while Hiffernan was glad on this, as on every other occasion, to take whatever he could get, in



whatever shape in which it was offered. In this discreditable manner did he pass that time which, with the stores of information which were at his command, might have been usefully as well as profitably employed. One of his strange peculiarities was the inviolable secrecy which he preserved as to the place of his abode; no earthly consideration could tempt him to divulge it, even to his greatest intimates. He had placed a translation from the French, from a work called "*The Origin of Despotism*," in his bookseller's hands for publication; it was, however, delayed beyond the time when it was to have appeared; he called for an explanation; the bookseller told him that the copies had been ready for publication, but as parties ran high at the time, he feared the risk which would be incurred by exposing them for sale, so thought it better to wait for a while. Hiffernan, however, proposed to take the copies himself, with the intention of pressing them on his friends; terms having been settled, his signature was required to the agreement, to which his place of residence was to be added. Having signed his name, the Bedford coffee-house was written under it, as his address; the bookseller would not be satisfied with this, as a coffee-house was no place to make a note payable; nothing could persuade him to give any other, and thus a bargain from which he had expected to derive profit was broken off. The mystery in which the place of his abode was involved naturally excited much curiosity among his friends, and among those with whom he had dealings, but he was never fully satisfied; all devices to discover it proved abortive. As he was often seen in Fleet-street with clean shoes and other tokens of a recent toilet, it was conjectured that he lodged in one of the little courts in that neighbourhood. He was generally observed to set out on a visiting excursion at about twelve o'clock, and he went from house to house, in hopes of an invitation to dinner; if all utterly failed, he would take his dinner in an eating house, and go to the theatre in the evening where he generally slept during the whole of the entertainment; he may probably have required the sound of his own voice and the excitement of his own humour to keep him awake. Washington Irving mentions a comfortable nap in which Hiffernan indulged on a particular occasion. He tells us that Bickerstaffe had invited him with Goldsmith and some other literary friends to dinner, after which he proposed to read a play which he had just written. Scarcely had the author got

into the second act, when Hiffernan began to nod, and at length snored most audibly; Bickerstaffe was embarrassed, but read on, in a more elevated tone—the louder he read, the louder Hiffernan snored. When the author came to a pause, “never mind the brute, Bick,” said Goldsmith, “but go on—he would have served Homer just so, if he were here and reading his own works.” When he left the theatre of an evening, it was his custom to repair to the “qider cellar,” or to some other parter house near Covent Garden, where he generally met some acquaintances, to whose offering of paying the reckoning he willingly acceded, so that he never lost an opportunity of turning his agreeability to good account. He indulged so freely on such occasions, that it seldom happened that the evening closed, without its being apparent that he had taken a cheerful glass; he then became very quarrelsome and abusive; his behaviour, when a guest at the house of a friend, was very different; here he exerted himself to the utmost to please, and his conversation abounding in anecdotes and original and amusing remarks, was extremely pleasant.

Hiffernan’s obstinate secrecy with regard to his lodgings was, one night, put to the test, by Mr. Dossie, secretary to the Duke of Northumberland, a literary man who was fond of conversation, and would sit up late at night to enjoy it. He was in the habit of proposing to walk home with the last of the company. As Hiffernan had outstaid the other guests, chatting with him, Mr. Dossie said that he would accompany him home. This was the most distasteful proposal which he could possibly have made to the Doctor, who most earnestly entreated that he would not give himself any such trouble, and added, by way of discouragement, that he lived very far off in the city. Mr. Dossie persevered, and, overruling all objections, actually set off arm in arm with him. They at length reached St. Paul’s, when Mr. Dossie enquired whether he lived much further. The Doctor asserted, in a very decided tone, that *he did indeed*, hoping his companion would desist; but he was disappointed, and on, on, they went, till they arrived at the Exchange. “Are your lodgings much further?” again enquired Mr. Dossie. “A great-great deal,” replied the Doctor eagerly, “a great deal further, all the way at Bow,” thinking that, as Mr. Dossie began to lag, he might safely name some distant point. He now hoped that he had really tired him out, by the long walk which he had taken him. Such was

indeed the case, for he declared he could go no further ; so bidding the Doctor good-night, he left him to pursue his solitary way to the obscurity of his abode.

Hiffernan continued to write occasionally, and, among other things, he brought out "*Dramatic Genius*," a work in five books, which he prudently dedicated to Garrick, and in which he flattered him in the most extravagant manner. His compliments were not lost on empty air, for Garrick was accessible to flattery in no common degree. Before condemning him too severely for this weakness, we should make allowance for the position which he occupied was one that could not have failed to produce a yearning after open demonstrations of admiration. Public applause was everything to him, so that it was quite natural that every act of homage to his genius should have been gratifying. That he appreciated that offered by Hiffernan was proved by the interest which he felt for him. He exerted himself among his friends, and procured subscriptions for the work which amounted to £150. This was wealth to Hiffernan, who had never had the command of so large a sum before ; he consequently became purse-proud, for he not merely satisfied himself with the equipment of a new suit of black, but actually took upon himself the airs of a successful author, and, above all, never lost an opportunity of making an ostentatious display of his money. One day, while dining at the house of a friend, he took from his pocket a twenty-pound note, and asked if any of the party could change it. As no one could, his host offered to send his servant to the bank to change it. Hiffernan handed it to the servant, and then entered into chat with the company as they sat over their wine. More than half an hour passed, and the Doctor asked if the man had come in. He had not. The Doctor betrayed some uneasiness, which he endeavored to disguise as well as he could. Another half hour went by, and he enquired again, and again received the same answer. Becoming seriously alarmed he exclaimed, with an oath, "your man, I am afraid, has run off with the money." "It seems odd," said the gentleman, "but, if he has gone off, it is with *your* money, not *mine*." "Sir," interrupted Hiffernan, rising from his chair and raising his voice in great agitation and vehement passion, "Sir, I'd have you to know, that I know law as well as you, and if I, by your direction, gave my money to your servant, you are accountable to me for it. I tell you, Sir, that

the act of the servant is the act of the master." A warm dispute on the point of law arose; it was at length happily interrupted by the entrance of the servant with the change.

In some time after the Doctor appeared as a dramatic writer. An unfinished tragedy was found among the papers of Henry Jones, the author of the Earl of Essex, and was given to Hiffernan to complete. It was brought out the following year under the title of "The Heroine of the Cave." It went off with great applause, in great measure owing to the fine acting of Mrs. Pope, who personated the heroine. On the profits of this play Hiffernan lived for some time, but, when they were nearly expended, it was time to think of something else; so he determined to give a course of lectures on the anatomy of the human body. He published his prospectus; a guinea was the sum for the course, to consist of three lectures; the subscribers were not to exceed twenty, that they might have sufficient accommodation. The subscription, which was taken up by his friends who pitied his situation, was soon filled, and the first lecture was announced by the Doctor himself, who went round to the subscribers to apprise them as soon as it was fixed. It was to be given in the Percy Coffee House. At the appointed place and hour, one o'clock, the audience assembled. It consisted of the following persons:—Doctor Kennedy, physician to the Prince of Wales, Mr. George Garrick, Mr. Beckett of Pall Mall, and another gentleman. They waited in vain till two o'clock for more company, but none coming, the Doctor emerged from a closet in a full suit of black, and, placing himself by a little round table, made a very formal bow to his four auditors, who could not suppress a smile. With great pomposity he proceeded to draw from his pocket a small print of a human skeleton, evidently cut out of a magazine. Having laid it on the table, he commenced:—"I am now, gentlemen, about to open a subject to you of the greatest importance in life, which is *the knowledge of ourselves*, which Plato recommends in that short but forcible maxim of *noes teipsum*. Pope by saying, 'the proper study of mankind is man,' and our divine Shakespeare by exclaiming, 'what a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals!' having thus given the general opinion of these great men on this subject,

I shall commence with describing the head of this paragon animals." The description, which treated of the skull, brain, &c., occupied about half an hour; then, lifting up print, he restored the head of the skeleton, which he had previously doubled down, to its former position. In the next part of his lecture he was to treat of the conformation of the breast. "Here, gentlemen," said he, "is the next part of this very extraordinary animal, which may very properly be taken from its very curious bend and texture, the bread-basketery of the human form." At this the audience lost all command of their risible faculties, and burst into peals of laughter; from which, when they recovered, they fell into an awkward silence. The Doctor stood, with the print in his hand, glaring at them. One of the company, however, recovered himself sufficiently to address him. "Why, Doctor, as we are all friends, and as the subscription has been paid in, what signifies giving yourself any further trouble; we are satisfied of your capacity, and we can dispense with any more lectures." A unanimous *aye* was a confirmation of the fact. "Suppose, gentlemen," said one of the party, "that you all come and take a bit of dinner with me to-day, and we can see what we are able to do anatomising the bottle." The words *dinner* and *bottle*, always so welcome to Hiffernan's ear, so magical in their effects upon his feelings and his spirits, were no sooner uttered than the clouds dispersed that had darkened his brow. The laugh was forgotten, the scowl was gone, the solemnity of the lecture was instantly discarded, and he stepped from behind the table among his friends, saluting each with the most satisfied anticipations of the convivial hours before him. In the exuberance of the benevolent feelings excited, he ordered up coffee for the party, but, his heart failing, he contrived to slip away before the reckoning was paid, leaving its settlement to those he left behind him. He joined them some time after at dinner.

Notwithstanding his mean and indolent habits, this strange being had the art of making friends. Among those were some eminently distinguished for talents and literary acquisitions. They were ever ready to lend him a helping hand in the difficulties in which his indolent habits constantly involved him. Garrick frequently relieved him, which was always attributed by Hiffernan, with most comfortable vanity, to a deep sense of obligation for the epigrams and paragraphs of his praise which he had furnished from time to time. It

certain that poor Goldsmith, to whom any distress was a ready passport, was among those who lent him a helping hand; his generous nature always acknowledging a claim in the want which sought his aid; his own hard necessities being lost sight of when he looked on those of others. From Foote Hiffernan had also received much kindness: the last act of the sort occurred one morning in the Haymarket, where he met Hiffernan, and asked him how he was. "Why, faith, but very so so," replied the Doctor. "What, the old disorder, Doctor,—*impecuniosity*, I suppose?" The Doctor gave a melancholy nod of assent. "Well, my little Boyce, I must prescribe for you; I have been lucky last night at play; I'll give you as many guineas as you have shillings in your pocket: come, make the experiment." Hiffernan, nothing loath, took out seven shillings; Foote, with equal readiness, produced seven guineas, which he put into Hiffernan's hand. "You see, Paul," said he, "fortune is not such a jade as you imagine, for she has been favorable to me last night, and equally so to you this morning."

In the spring of 1777 Hiffernan was attacked by jaundice, and his friends, knowing that he should keep himself quiet and stay within doors while ill, used to assist him most liberally, that he might not exert himself. Among those who were most forward in the benevolent object, were Garrick, Murphy, Doctor Kennedy, and Mrs. Abington. Hiffernan, however, used to steal out every day for an hour or two, to bask in the sun, hoping it might revive him. It was on one of these occasions that he crept to the house of a friend; he was so exhausted that he had not strength to go up to the drawing-room. The friend, touched by his situation, used the privilege of friendship, and offered his assistance, at a time when, as he said, he was aware that sickness must involve increased expense; but, to spare his broken spirits from what he conceived might be a mortification, he proposed the gift as a loan, and begged that he would allow him to send a guinea every week till he got well. Hiffernan thankfully accepted the offer, but when asked for his address, that the remittance might be left, would give no other than "*The Bedford Coffee House*." "My dear Doctor," said his friend, "it is from no impertinent curiosity, from no wish to pry into what you may not wish to tell, but it is really necessary that I should know where it will reach you safely and quickly, for fear of any mis-

take." "*The Bedford Coffee House*," repeated Hiffernan with a deep sigh, as he pressed his friend's hand, "*The Bedford Coffee House*," and so they parted, never to meet again. the two following Saturdays the letters enclosing the gun were found, on enquiry, to have reached the Doctor safe; the packet on the third Saturday was returned unopened; had breathed his last the night before in one of the obscure courts off St. Martin's lane.

In looking over the slight notices of his career which had fallen in our way, it would have been impossible not to have been struck by the melancholy exhibition of advantages thrown away, and by mournful reflections on the faults of character which habits of indolence engender. His having secured the friendship of so many men of the highest character proves that he must have possessed the power of pleasing in a common degree; and, had his abilities been wisely and steadily directed, his days might have been passed in independence and usefulness.

### ART. III.—THE POST OFFICE.

1. *First Report of the Postmaster General, on the Post Office.*  
Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command  
of Her Majesty. 1855.
2. *Second Ditto.* 1856.

We have often thought that if our *Reviews* would devote some portion of that space which is freely given up to disquisitions on the institutions of other times and countries, to the presentation, in a condensed form, of the vast amount of useful, important, and interesting information contained in the valuable Reports of the various public offices, printed each year by order of the legislature, the public service would gain in popularity, and the public would gain a fitting knowledge of the progress and position of those establishments which the nation supports. Thinking thus, we have resolved to analyze, from time to time, some of the most useful of the much abused, because little read, stores of information known as Blue Books, and we can make no better selection of a Report, with which to commence our series, than the two interesting works which we have placed as the heading of this paper; and we dare say the reader will agree with us. He, we, and everybody have cried, in chorus, "The Post Office is really astonishing," and we have all been inclined to admit the truth contained in the song of *The Post Man's Knock*, which proclaims, "What a wonderful man the Post Man is!"

Important as the administration of the Post Office must ever have been considered, it is strange that, although a foreign letter office was established in the reign of James the First, and an inland letter office in that of Charles the First (1635), yet the *First Report* is made in the Postmaster Generalship of Lord Canning, and is for the year 1854, bearing date January 31st, 1855.

The first establishment in England, of a Postal Service for the conveyance of the letters of the public is involved in some obscurity.

The letters both of private and public personages were originally sent by special messengers only, and more recently by common carriers, who began to ply regularly with their



pack horses about the time of the wars of the Roses. As the carriers travelled the journey through with the same horse, this mode of transmission must have been very slow, yet it was long the only conveyance available by the public.

Government posts, that is relays of horses and men under the control of the Government, were not established till nearly three centuries later; but as early as the time of Edward II. horses were kept by private individuals for hire, so that a messenger might travel post, i. e. by relays: and as 'Haste, Post, Haste' is found written on the backs of private letters at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, it may be inferred that the use of this mode of conveyance was not restricted to the correspondence of the Government.

In 1481, Edward IV., then at war with Scotland, is said to have established a system of relays of horses, (probably from York to Edinburgh,) the post stations being twenty miles apart, so that despatches were conveyed 200 miles in ten days.

In 1548, the charge for post horses impressed for the service of the Crown was fixed by Statute at a penny a mile.

There seems to be no evidence of the existence of a regular system for conveying the letters of the public during the reign of Elizabeth, although posts for forwarding the public despatches were doubtless organised, inasmuch as one Thomas Randolph is mentioned by Camden as being Chief Postmaster of England in 1581; and it appears that in Ireland the horse posts were established in this reign during O'Neil's wars for the purpose of bringing intelligence of military events.

The first establishment of a Letter Post by the Government was in the reign of James I., who, as is stated by a proclamation of Charles I., set on foot a Post Office for letters to and from foreign countries "for the benefit of the English merchants," but nothing of the kind seems to have been done for the accommodation of inland correspondence, and special messengers were still employed to carry the letters of the State.

It was not till the reign of Charles I., that a Post Office for inland letters was established. In 1635 the King issued a proclamation, in which he recites that up to that time there had been no certain communication between England and

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. iii. No. 12, p. 251, for some interesting particulars connected with the Post Office establishment in Ireland in early times.

Scotland, 'wherefore he now commands his Postmaster of England for foreign parts to settle a running post or two, to run night and day between Edinburgh and London, to go thither and come back again in six days, and to take with them all such letters as shall be directed to any post town in or near that road.' It is at the same time ordered, that bye posts shall be connected with many places on the main line, to bring in and carry out the letters from and to Lincoln, Hull, and other towns; a similar post to Chester and Holyhead, and another to Exeter and Plymouth, are to be established: and it is promised that as soon as possible the like conveyances shall be organised for the Oxford and Bristol road and also for that leading through Colchester for Norwich. The rates of postage are fixed at twopence the single letter for any distance under eighty miles; fourpence up to a hundred and forty miles; sixpence for any longer distance in England; and eightpence to any place in Scotland. By a subsequent proclamation of 1637, it is ordered that no other messengers, nor foot posts, shall carry any letters but those alone which shall be employed by the King's Postmaster General, unless to places to which the King's posts do not go, and with the exception of common known carriers, or messengers particularly sent on purpose, or persons carrying a letter for a friend.

This new establishment was entrusted to Thomas Witherings, who had before been appointed Foreign Postmaster; but in 1640, he was superseded for alleged abuses in both his offices, which were sequestered and placed in hands of Philip Burlamachy, to be exercised thenceforth under the care and superintendence of the principal Secretary of State. From this time, the Post Office may be considered to have become one of the settled institutions of the country.

The object of the Crown in establishing this letter post was probably quite as much the formation of a profitable monopoly as the accommodation of the public.

The prohibition of the carrying of letters by persons other than those employed by the King's Postmaster, caused great dissatisfaction, being viewed as an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative. In 1642, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the matter, and the subject afterwards engaged the attention of Parliament. But the utility of the institution was too great to admit of its abandonment; and we find that in 1644, Mr. Edmund Prideaux, who afterwards

held the appointment of Attorney-General to the Commonwealth, and who had been chairman of the Committee of 1642, was elected by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament to be Chief Postmaster.

Prideaux established a weekly conveyance of letters into all parts of the kingdom, which, according to Blackstone, saved the public a charge of 7,000*l.* a year in maintaining Postmasters.

In 1649, the Common Council of London set up a post in rivalry with that of the Parliament. But the Commons, although they had loudly denounced the formation of a monopoly by the Crown, promptly proceeded to put down this infringement of their own monopoly; and from this time the carrying of letters has been in the hands of Government.

In the beginning of the system the Postmaster was allowed to take the profits in consideration of his bearing the charges; afterwards, however, as the revenue increased, the office of Postmaster was farmed; and this practice of farming was continued, as regards the bye posts, almost to the end of the eighteenth century.

In 1649 the amount of the revenue derived from the posts was 5,000*l.*

Under the authority of Cromwell and his Parliament, in 1657 the Post Office underwent material changes. The ordinance under which this was effected gives as a motive for the establishment of posts, 'that they will be the best means to discover and prevent many dangerous and wicked designs against the Commonwealth.'

At the Restoration, the settlement of the Post Office which had been made under the Commonwealth was confirmed. The statute 12 Car. II. c. 35. re-enacts in substance the ordinance of the Commonwealth; and this Act being the first strictly legal authority for the establishment of the Post Office, has been called its Charter.

In the year 1663 the revenue of the Post Office was, by the statute 15 Car. II. c. 14., settled on James, Duke of York, and his heirs male in perpetuity. At this time it had increased to 21,000*l.*, that being the sum at which the office was farmed.

In Scotland, although the proclamation of 1635 provides for the conveyance of letters from London to Edinburgh, no provision seems to have been made at that time for an internal post; but during the last half of the seventeenth century,

several internal posts were established on the principal lines of road, though without any legislative enactment to that effect, until the time of William III., when, in 1695, the Scotch Parliament passed an Act for the general establishment of a Letter Post.

In 1683, a Penny Post for the conveyance of letters and small parcels about London and its suburbs, was set up by Robert Murray, an upholsterer, who assigned the same to William Dockwra. This was denounced by the ultra-Protestant party, as a contrivance of the Jesuits; and it was alleged that if the bags were examined, they would be found full of Popish plots. Nevertheless, Dockwra seems to have conducted his undertaking with success for some years, till its profits excited the envy of the Government, who seized it on the ground of its being an infringement of the rights of the Crown; though a pension of 200*l.* a year was afterwards granted to Dockwra by way of compensation. This was the commencement of the London District Post, of which Dockwra was subsequently appointed Controller, and which, until last year (1854), existed as a separate department of the General Post Office.

At first there appears to have been no limit to the weight of a packet sent by the District Post, but its value was restricted to ten pounds.

In 1685, the revenue of the Post Office, which in 1663 had been conferred on the Duke of York, now that that Prince had succeeded to the throne, was settled on the King, his heirs and successors; the amount being then estimated at 65,000*l.* a year.

In 1698, Dockwra was removed from his office on a charge of mismanagement. The charge is contained in a memorial by the officers and messengers of the Penny Post (as the District Post was then called), to the Commissioners of the Treasury, alleging that Dockwra wilfully "doth what in him lyes to lessen the revenue of the Penny Post Office, that he may farm it, or get it into his own hands," for which purpose it was declared, that he had removed the Post Office to an inconvenient place. The memorial went on to state that, "he forbids the taking in any handboxes (except very small), and all parcells above a pound, which when they were taken did bring in considerable advantage to the Office, they being now at great charge sent by porters into the city, and coaches and

watermen into the country, which formerly went by Penny Post messengers, much cheaper and more satisfactory."

It was further alleged, that "he stops, under specious pretences, most parcels that are taken in, which is great damage to tradesmen, by loosing their customers, or spoiling their goods, and many times hazard the life of the patient when physic is sent by a doctor or an apothecary."

Dockwra was also charged with stopping parcels, which it was hinted he misappropriated: with opening letters and taking from them bills, &c.; and with persecuting all the officers except his own creatures.

In 1708, an attempt was made by Mr. Povey to establish a Halfpenny Post in opposition to the official Penny Post, but this enterprise, like Dockwra's, was suppressed by a law-suit.

In 1710, the statute of 9 Anne, c. 10., was passed, which repealed the 12 Car. ii. and the Scotch Act of 1695, remodelled the law of the Post Office, and remained until 1837, the foundation of that branch of the law. By its provisions a General Post Office for the three Kingdoms and for the Colonies was established under one head, who was to bear the style of "Her Majesty's Postmaster General," and was empowered to keep one Chief Letter Office in London, one in Edinburgh, one in Dublin, one in New York, and one in the West Indies. In 1784, however, the Irish Parliament passed an Act which, in conjunction with the British Acts, 24 Geo. III. cc. 6. 8., had the effect of severing the Irish from the British Post Office, and creating an independent Postmaster General for Ireland; but the Post Offices were reunited under the British Postmaster General, by the Act 1 William IV. c. 8, passed in 1831.

After the passing of the statute of Anne, the next event deserving notice is the farming of the Cross Posts, by Ralph Allen, in 1720. Allen observed that the organisation of these posts was very imperfect, and that they were so few in number that many districts were unprovided with a postal service, while in other cases letters passing between neighbouring towns were conveyed by very circuitous routes, which in those days of slow locomotion caused serious delays; and he thought that a great improvement both of the revenue and in public accommodation might be effected by an extension and re-arrangement of the Cross Post system. He thereupon induced the Govern-

ment to grant him a lease of the Cross Posts for life at a rent of 6,000*l.* a year, and carried into effect his intended improvements, realizing an annual profit of upwards of 12,000*l.*, which he lived to enjoy for forty-four years, spending it mainly in works of charity, and in hospitality to men of learning and genius.

On the death of Allen, in 1764, the Cross Posts were put under Mr. William Ward, who (for a salary of 300*l.* per annum) undertook to hand over their profits, which then amounted to about 20,000*l.* a year, to the Crown. This branch increased rapidly, and in 1799, when the Bye Letter Office was abolished, and its functions transferred to the General Post Office, the annual profits amounted to 200,000*l.*

The Office at this time (1764), though much increased since its first establishment, was of very insignificant proportions compared with those which it has since assumed. Thus the records show that in 1763 the Secretary had one clerk and two supernumerary clerks assigned to him, whereas the Secretary's office now comprises 67 clerks. The Receiver-General had two clerks, and the Accountant-General a deputy and one clerk; though these two offices (now united in one) require at present the services of 51 clerks. Two clerks only were employed to open "dead and insolvent letters," but the like duties now occupy the time of 85 clerks. The Packet Establishment consisted of four Harwich packet boats, six Dover boats, and five New York boats, which cost the office 10,000*l.* per annum, whereas at the present time the number of packets employed under contracts for the Mail Service is not less than 110, and the sum paid for the use of them is more than 800,000*l.* a year.

At the time above referred to there were pensions payable out of the revenue of the Post Office to the amount of 72,000*l.* per annum,\* and the Department was bound by statute to pay in to the Exchequer 700*l.* a week or 36,000*l.* per annum. The annual payment, indeed, actually amounted to 70,000*l.*; but this sum is less than a seventeenth part of the present net revenue.

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\* Three of these pensions still continue chargeable on the Post Office revenue, viz., one of 4,700*l.* to the Duke of Grafton as the representative of the Duchess of Cleveland, paid since the year 1686; one of 4,000*l.* to the heirs of the Duke of Schomberg, since 1694-5; and one of 5,000*l.* to the Duke of Marlborough, since 1707-8.

In 1784 the privilege of franking was greatly restricted. Up to that time Members of both Houses of Parliament had probably enjoyed the privilege of sending and receiving letters through the Post without payment, from the first establishment of the Post Office, or at least from its adoption by the Long Parliament. This privilege was much abused. Before 1764, Members were able to frank by merely writing their names upon the cover of the letter. Parcels of such franks were obtained from Members by their friends and put aside for use, like the stamped covers sold by the Post Office at the present day; and there was even a trade carried on in them by the servants of Members, whose practice it was to ask their masters to sign them in great numbers at a time. There was reason, too, to believe that franks were forged to a large extent; and it was estimated that had postage been paid on the franked correspondence, the revenue would have been increased by 170,000*l*.

In 1763 it was enacted that the whole superscription of the letter must be in the hand-writing of the Member; this, however, was not found a sufficient check to the evil, and in 1784 and 1795 further restrictions were imposed. Finally, at the establishment of Penny Postage in 1840, the privilege of both Parliamentary and Official franking was abolished.

In 1784 one of the greatest reforms ever made in the Post Office was effected by the introduction of the plan of Mr. John Palmer. Up to that time the mail bags had been carried by post-boys on horseback; at an average rate, including stoppages, of from three to four miles an hour. Mr. Palmer, in his scheme submitted to Mr. Pitt, in 1783, gives the following account of the then existing system: "The Post, at present, instead of being the swiftest, is almost the slowest, conveyance in the country; and though, from the great improvement in our roads, other carriers have proportionably mended their speed, the post is as slow as ever.\* It is likewise very unsafe, as the frequent robberies of it testify; and to avoid a loss of this nature people generally cut Bank bills or bills at sight in two, and send the bills by different posts. The mails are generally intrusted to some idle boy, without character,

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\* In 1696 the Treasury sanctioned an arrangement for conveying the mails between Exeter and Bristol twice a week, under a stipulation that the distance (65 miles) should be performed in 24 hours.

mounted on a worn-out hack, and who, so far from being able to defend himself or escape from a robber, is much more likely to be in league with him."

Mr. Palmer, who was manager of the theatre of Bath, had observed that when the tradesmen of that city were particularly anxious to have a letter conveyed with speed and safety, they were in the habit of enclosing it in a brown paper cover, and sending it by the coach, though the charge for such conveyance was much higher than the postage of a letter. He therefore proposed that the mail bags should, as far as possible, be sent by the passenger coaches, accompanied by well armed and trustworthy guards. He also suggested other important alterations, as that the mails should be so timed as to arrive in London, and, as far as might be, in other places, at the same hour, so that the letters might be delivered altogether; and that they should be despatched from and arrive in London at a time convenient to the public, the mails having hitherto left London at all hours of the night.

This plan was vehemently opposed by the officers of the Post Office, but Mr. Pitt saw its merits, and, under his auspices, an Act of Parliament was passed authorizing its adoption.

Mr. Palmer was appointed, under the title of Controller General of the Post Office, to superintend the carrying out of the scheme, at a salary of 1,500*l.* per annum, together with 2½ per cent. upon any excess in the net revenue over 240,000*l.*; and he appears to have performed his duties with great ability. The speed of the mails was at once increased from three and a half to more than six miles an hour, and subsequently still greater acceleration was effected.

This improvement, notwithstanding some additions to the rates of postage which accompanied it, caused a great immediate increase of correspondence as well as of revenue, which continued steadily to advance for many years afterwards.

In 1792 Mr. Palmer was suspended from his functions, and an allowance of 3,000*l.* a year (a sum much below the emoluments to which he was entitled under his agreement) was assigned to him in lieu thereof. He memorialised the Treasury against this arrangement, but without success. Subsequently however, he petitioned Parliament for redress, and in 1813, after a struggle of many years, a Parliamentary grant of 50,000*l.* was made to him.



In 1792 a Money Order Office was first set on foot; but as the history of this department has been given in the recent report of the Treasury Commissioners, it will suffice to say, that the conduct of it was originally undertaken by some of the Post Office Clerks on their own account, and that in 1838, it became a recognized branch of the establishment.

Owing to the high rate of commission formerly charged, and the double postage necessarily incurred, Money Orders were comparatively little used, until after the introduction of the Penny Postage. In 1840, the commission, however, was greatly reduced, and the facilities were extended; the result being a vast increase in the number of Orders. Thus in 1839 there were issued in the United Kingdom less than 190,000 Orders, amounting to about 313,000*l.*; while in 1854, as will appear in a subsequent part of the Report, the number of Orders had risen to nearly five millions and a half, and their amount in money to nearly 10,500,000*l.*

In 1796 the rates of Inland Postage were raised to a scale varying from 3*d.* to 9*d.* and they were afterwards raised still further.

In 1799 an Act was passed authorising the Postmaster General to send bags of letters by any private ships, such letters being subjected to half the packet rates. This is the origin of the ship-letter system, under which, besides the postal communication by regular packets, letters are conveyed to every part of the world visited by private ships.

In 1814 measures were taken to provide a new General Post Office, the old one in Lombard Street having become too small for the business to be transacted. It was not, however, till 1829 that the present building in St. Martin's le Grand was opened for use.

About the year 1818, Mr. Macadam's improved system of roadmaking began to be of great service to the Post Office, by enabling the mails to be much accelerated. Their speed was gradually increased to ten miles an hour and even more, until in the case of the Devonport Mail, the journey of 216 miles, including stoppages, was punctually performed in twenty-one hours and fourteen minutes.

In 1827 some concession was made to the public by rescinding the rule which imposed double postage on two letters written upon one sheet of paper, and even on a letter and a bill if upon the same sheet.

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In 1830, upon the opening of the line between Liverpool and Manchester, the mails were for the first time conveyed by railway.

In 1835, by the indefatigable exertions of the late Lieutenant Waghorn, the mails to India were for the first time conveyed by the direct route, through the Mediterranean and over the Isthmus of Suez; a line of communication subsequently extended to China and Australia.

In 1836 the stamp duty on newspapers was reduced from about  $3\frac{1}{4}d.$  net to one penny, a reduction which led to a great increase in the number of newspapers sent through the Post Office.

Early in 1837 Mr. Rowland Hill broached his plan of Penny Postage, which, after an examination by a Royal Commission, and a full investigation by a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed on the motion of Mr. Wallace, M.P. for Greenock, was adopted by the Legislature in the session of 1839, and carried into effect in the beginning of the following year.

The effect of this change was to increase the number of chargeable letters passing through the Post Office from 76 millions in 1839 to nearly 169 millions in 1840, and the number has since continued to increase rapidly; as will hereafter appear.

Thus far we have, aided by the interesting "Historical Summary" of the *First Report*, sketched the rise and progress of the Post Office to its most important epoch—the introduction of the Penny Postage.

Mr. Rowland Hill's plan was submitted privately for the consideration of the Government, and appeared, in pamphlet form, under the title, *Post Office Reform—Its Importance and Practicability*—in the year 1837; in a few weeks three editions were sold.

Mr. Hill proposed to effect,—1, a great diminution in the rates of postage; 2, increased speed in the delivery of letters; and 3, more frequent opportunities for their despatch. He proposed that the rate of postage should be uniform, to be charged according to weight, and that the payment should be made in advance. The means of doing so by stamps were not suggested in the first edition of the pamphlet, and Mr. Hill states that this idea originated with Mr. Charles Knight. A uniform rate of a penny was to be charged for every letter not exceed-

ing half an ounce in weight, with an additional penny for each additional half-ounce. Mr. Hill showed, that the actual cost of conveying letters from London to Edinburgh, when divided among the letters actually carried, did not exceed one penny for thirty-six letters.

The publication of this plan immediately excited a strong public sympathy in its favor, and especially with the commercial classes of the city of London. Mr. Wallace moved for a select committee of the House of Commons to inquire into its merits, on the 9th May, 1837; but the motion fell to the ground. On the 30th May, 1837, Lord Ashburton, upon presenting a petition from some of the most eminent merchants, bankers, men of science, and others in the metropolis, to the House of Lords, spoke strongly in favor of the plan. In the December of the same year, the government assented to the appointment of a select committee of inquiry. A society of merchants was forthwith formed in the city of London to furnish evidence of the evils of the high rates of postage, and the insufficiency of the Post Office management in answering the wants of the present times. The subject began to excite much interest throughout the country. In the session of 1837, five petitions were presented to the House of Commons in favor of the plan. In 1838, upwards of three hundred and twenty were presented, of which number seventy-three emanated from town councils, and nineteen from chambers of commerce. After sitting upwards of sixty-three days, and examining Mr. Rowland Hill and eighty-three witnesses, besides the officers of the departments of the Post Office and the Excise and Stamp Offices, the committee presented a most elaborate report in favor of the whole plan, confirming by authentic and official data the conclusions which Mr. Hill had formed from very scanty and imperfect materials. The committee summed up a very long report, as follows:—

“The principal points which appear to your committee to have been established in evidence are the following:—

“The exceedingly slow advance, and occasionally retrograde movement, of the Post Office revenue during the period of the last twenty years. The fact of the charge of postage exceeding the cost in a manifold proportion. The fact of postage being evaded most extensively by all classes of society, and of correspondence being suppressed, more especially among the middle and working classes of the people, and this in

consequence, as all the witnesses, including many of the Post Office authorities, think, of the excessively high scale of taxation. The fact of very injurious effects resulting from this state of things to the commerce and industry of the country, and to the social habits and moral condition of the people. The fact, so far as conclusions can be drawn from very imperfect data, that, whenever on former occasions large reductions in the rates have been made, those reductions have been followed in short periods of time by an extension of correspondence proportionate to the contraction of the rates.

“And as matter of inference from fact, and of opinion—

“That the only remedies for the evils above stated are, a reduction of the rates, and the establishment of additional deliveries, and more frequent despatches of letters.

“That, owing to the rapid extension of railroads, there is an urgent and daily increasing necessity for making such changes.

“That any moderate reduction in the rates would occasion loss to the revenue, without in any material degree diminishing the present amount of letters irregularly conveyed, or giving rise to the growth of new correspondence.

“That the principle of a low uniform rate is just in itself; and when combined with pre-payment, and collection by means of a stamp, would be exceedingly convenient, and highly satisfactory to the public.”

The appearance of the committee's report seemed to inspire the whole country with confidence in the plan. Petitions in its favor, amounting to 2000, were presented to both houses of parliament in the session of 1839. The late postmaster-general, the Duke of Richmond, advised the government to adopt it; and the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward a bill to enable the Treasury to carry the plan into effect, which was carried by a majority of 100 in the House of Commons, and passed into a law on the 17th August, 1839. In the following month an arrangement was made which secured Mr. Rowland Hill's superintendence of the working out of his own measure.

On the 5th of December, 1839, as a preparatory measure to accustom the department to the new practice of charging by weight, the inland rates of postage were reduced to a uniform charge of 4d. per half-ounce, except those which had previously passed at lower rates, which continued to be charged as before. The London District Post was reduced at the same

time from 2d. and 3d. to 1d. On the 10th of January, 1840, the uniform rate of 1d. per half-ounce came into general operation, the scale of weight for letters advancing from a single rate for each of the first two half ounces, by an increase of 2d. per ounce, or for any fraction of an ounce, up to 16 ounces; the postage to be paid on posting the letter, or double postage to be charged. On this day parliamentary franking ceased. The use of stamps, which formed one of the means suggested by Mr. Rowland Hill for facilitating the despatch of letters, was introduced on the 6th of May.

Having worked earnestly and continuously, and with untiring zeal, Mr. Hill was most unjustly dismissed from his post, in 1843, by the Government. His cause was warmly supported by the public whom he has so widely benefited, and a public, or we should rather write, a national testimonial was presented to him in the year 1846, in the shape of a reward, amounting to, we believe, over £13,000.

Although the Government were unable to appreciate Mr. Hill's ability, a railway company was more clear-sighted, and he was engaged to manage the London and Brighton Line; and in 1854 the Government, recovering the use of its senses, once more secured his services, appointing him secretary to the Postmaster-General, the post long held by Colonel Maberly.

In the period from 1843 to 1854, during which Mr. Hill was unemployed by the Post Office, he was frequently entertained at public dinners; and the following speech, delivered by him at the dinner of the Liverpool Guardian Society, in 1847, is worthy of insertion here, as it is a declaration of his own views and hopes in connexion with his great and important measure of postal reform:—

Mr. Rowland Hill, on rising to address the company, was received with rapturous welcome: enthusiastic plaudits continuing for some time. He begged to thank Mr. Smith for the manner in which he had proposed, and the company at large for the manner in which they had received, the toast just given. He had done himself the pleasure of accepting the invitation with which the society had honoured him for several reasons. First, that he might in person, acknowledge the friendly interest the society had taken in what so much concerned himself; secondly, that he might explain the nature of the duties attaching to his present position, in connexion with the Post office; and above all, that he might investigate on the spot, those alleged defects in the postal arrangements of this locality,

which had been so ably stated, from time to time, in the "Liverpool Mercury." It was a matter of personal convenience to himself, that his duties in the Post Office should be clearly understood, as the erroneous ideas which prevailed respecting them, had involved him in a correspondence, which occupied time which ought to be devoted to other objects. His duties were to advise the Postmaster General, on all points to which His Lordship might be pleased to direct his attention, and to carry out gradually the remainder of his own system of Post Office improvement, of which the penny rate was only one feature. Without a general understanding to this effect, he need scarcely say that he should not have felt justified in accepting office. (cheers). Of the management of the present details, he had no control whatever. But though a slight consideration would show that it was impossible that he could exercise any direct power in the Post Office, he had the good fortune to serve under a nobleman, who, with excellent business habits, united a thorough appreciation of the duties and responsibilities of his important office, and who was sincerely desirous of making the institution over which he presides, as useful to the public as possible. (cheers). He wished to convey to his hearers some idea of the magnitude of the institution. Were he merely to state that so many millions of letters passed through the Post Office in a year, no one could form any accurate conception of the reality. The best mode probably to convey any idea of the whole, would be for him to describe some part. For instance, last night, when he left London, he was at Euston-square when the Mail was brought in to go by the Train, this being only one of many, which are despatched by Railways. It was considered an exceedingly light Mail, but small as it was, it literally filled six large omnibuses; and the heavy Mails, forwarded on a Saturday night, filled nine carriages of a similar description; again, the number of dead letters since the adoption of prepayment had become a very small fraction less than the two-hundredth part of the whole; nevertheless, the average amount of money found in such letters, in coin, bank notes, and bills of exchange, was £400,000 per annum. (hear, hear). Many thousands of pounds were actually found in letters with no address whatever. (laughter). The company would see, therefore, that in so vast a machine, the difficulties in the way of any extensive change, were very great. Another difficulty was, that the machine was constantly in motion; it never stood still night or day, and the greatest care, forethought, and calculation were therefore necessary in making alterations. In improving, it would not do to make a mistake, that might stop it altogether; they could rarely try an experiment; all must be investigated and settled with unerring certainty beforehand. If a steam engine became defective, it could be stopped, and the requisite repairs made; but not so with the Post Office. He wished the society to bear these facts in mind, and to continue to him some portion of that great confidence which they had hitherto reposed in him, assuring them, that so far as he was concerned, no time should be lost in carrying out the remaining portions of his plan. (cheers). With reference to the peculiar defects in this neighbourhood, he had

not the requisite local knowledge, to say that all could be remedied, but he thought he had heard enough to justify him in saying, that there was much room for improvement; there were reasons for adhering to some existing arrangements, which, no doubt, appeared injudicious. It might seem to many absurd that letters should be carried past a town for which they were intended, and then brought back, but it was not really absurd. It arose from the impossibility of every town making up a bag for every other town. There were about one thousand Post towns, and if every one of these made up one thousand bags, there would be a million of bags, in fact more bags than letters.\* It had often struck him that some pains should be taken to make the main features of the Post Office system intelligible to the people. There was no department of Government which came so much into contact with the people, and it was advisable that they should know what arrangements were capable of improvement, and what were not. His desire had ever been, in all the difficulties and opposition with which he had to struggle, to do justice to the institution, and he was happy to be able to say, that even before he went to the Post Office, instructions had been sent to the surveyors to make certain returns with reference to the distribution in this neighbourhood; though owing to the many other duties they had to perform, these returns had not yet been made. (bear, hear). Perhaps it might be interesting to the company to revert to a few facts connected with the change produced by the plan of penny postage. (cheers). Immediately before the introduction of the reduced rate of postage, the number of chargeable letters, not including franks, delivered, amounted to seventy-five millions annually. Last year it had amounted to two hundred and ninety-nine millions and a half, or to four-fold the original number. It would require something more than that to bring the Post Office Revenue up to the former gross amount; but less than five-fold would effect that object. At the present moment the number of letters delivered in the London district, comprising a circle of a radius of twelve miles round the Post Office in St. Martin's Le Grand, was quite as great as that which, under the old system, was delivered in the whole United Kingdom. The increase was rapidly going on, and amounted to twenty-eight millions each year, as compared with the previous year. It was the opinion of many gentlemen, that the introduction of the penny rate increased the difficulty of effecting improvements. It was said they could not afford to give cheap postage, and greater facilities also; but, in fact, improvements had followed one another more rapidly since the penny postage came into operation than before. When the plan was first proposed, the large towns had only a single Mail connecting them with London; now they have two Mails per day. Again, in England and Wales, there were formerly only two thousand Post Offices of every kind; now there were four thousand. There was a growing conviction in the minds of all connected with the Post Office, that,

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\* These observations were meant by Mr. Hill to apply to Sub-Post only.—Ed.

to make the establishment profitable, they must make it as useful as possible, and to that great object, his best efforts should be devoted.

Mr. Hill concluded amidst great cheering.

The results of this system are worthy of note. In the year 1839, before its introduction, the estimated number of letters delivered in England and Wales was 59,962,520; in Ireland, 8,301,904; in Scotland, 7,623,148; total for the United Kingdom, 75,907,572. In the same year the total number of franks for England was 3,172,284; for Ireland, 1,054,508; for Scotland, 336,232; for the United Kingdom, 6,563,024; giving a total of paid and franked letters amounting to 82,470,596. The gross revenue for the same year amounted to £2,346,278 Os. 9½d.; the cost of management was £686,768 3s. 6¾d.; the net revenue was £1,659,509 17s. 2¾d.

In the year 1841, after the introduction of the Penny Postage, the number of letters delivered in England and Wales amounted to 154,471,121; total for Ireland, 20,794,297; total for Scotland, 21,234,772; total for United Kingdom, 196,500,191. The gross revenue for 1841 was £1,359,466 9s. 2d.; the cost of management, £858,677 Os. 5½d.; net revenue, £500,789 8s. 8¾d.

In 1855 the total number of letters delivered in England and Wales was 368,530,340, being an increase of 23 per cent. on 1854; in Ireland, 41,832,834, being an increase of 1½ per cent. on 1854; in Scotland, 45,853,002, being an increase of 4 per cent. on 1854; in the United Kingdom, 456,216,176, being an increase of 2¾ per cent. on 1854. In 1855 the gross revenue was £2,716,420 Os. 4½d.; the cost of management, £1,651,364; net revenue, £1,065,056 Os. 3½d.

In the London District Post 23,108,722 letters were delivered in 1841; in 1855 the number had risen to 45,844,963.

In 1841 the number of letters delivered from country offices in England and Wales was 103,395,477; and in 1855 the number was 263,037,827.

In 1841 the London, Ireland, foreign and ship letters were 27,966,722; in 1855 they were 59,647,549.

From these figures the reader will be able to comprehend the vast benefit conferred by Mr. Hill upon his country; and we now proceed to show the present position of the Post Office, condensing the information from the two Reports before us:—



As at present constituted, the British Post Office has, with few exceptions, an exclusive authority to convey letters within the United Kingdom. It is also required to convey newspapers; and it undertakes the conveyance of books and the remittance of small sums of money; but it is only as regards letters that the Office possesses any privilege, the other branches of its business being open to any persons who may choose to undertake them.

By means of the railways, and of steam boats, mail coaches, stage coaches, omnibuses, mail carts, and mounted and foot messengers, letters and other postal packets are despatched and received daily in almost every part of the country,\* and in many cases, including nearly all important towns, the communication is twice a day or oftener; and by packets or private ships, mails are despatched at short intervals to all parts of the globe.

Subject to the provisions of the law, and to the controlling authority of your Lordships, and except that the Packet Service is, to a large extent, superintended by the Admiralty, the Postmaster General has the direction of all postal affairs within the United Kingdom and in certain of the Colonies; also between this country and the Colonies, and with a large number of foreign states. At the same time, it is open to all the Colonies in which the posts are under the management of the Colonial Government (and this is the case with the most wealthy and important) and to all foreign countries, to take part in this inter-communication; and as the cost of the mails carried by sea generally much exceeds the revenue derived from them, this country would be financially benefited if the part so taken were much larger than it is.

In the United Kingdom the Lords of the Treasury have power, within limits prescribed by law, to fix the rates of postage; and the Postmaster General has authority to determine the frequency and speed with which the mails shall be conveyed and letters delivered.

The number of officers and servants of the Department, exclusive of 171 in the colonies, and of agents in foreign countries, is as follows:—

Postmaster General . . . . .	1
Secretary, Assistant Secretaries, and Secretaries for Ireland and Scotland }	5
Surveyors . . . . .	13
Other Superior Officers; i. e. Heads of Departments, Chief Clerks, &c. }	17
Postmasters . . . . .	10,498
Clerks, &c. . . . .	1,519†
Guards . . . . .	180
Letter-carriers, Messengers, &c. . . . .	10,314
	<hr/> 22,547

\* In Scotland there are about 45 posts, limited to three days in the week, and in Ireland about 12. In Scotland there are also about 11 posts limited to two days in the week.

† This number is exclusive of persons whose time is partially occupied in the service of the Department, but who are not regularly appointed officers, being engaged at the discretion of the Postmasters, to whom an allowance is made for that purpose.

Of the above staff about 2,800 are attached to the Chief Office in London.

Last year [1855] the number of Post Offices in the United Kingdom was increased by 525, making the whole present number 10,498. Of these 920 are Head Post Offices, and 9,578 Sub-Post Offices, or Receiving Offices.

Further progress has been made in revising the postal arrangements of the rural districts. It is in these districts that many of the new Offices have been opened, and much additional accommodation has been afforded by the appointment of rural messengers, who collect and distribute letters at places too small to warrant the establishment of a Post Office.

In addition to these extensions of the system many pillar letter boxes have been put up, and have been found to afford much public accommodation. One advantage they afford is that collections can be made from them at hours when it would not be reasonable to expect any but regular Postmasters to be on duty.

The experimental use of pillar letter boxes having fully succeeded, I intend soon largely to increase their number, especially in London.

Free deliveries were established last year at 1,327 places where none had formerly existed; and at 649 other places the free delivery was extended or otherwise improved.

Experience having confirmed the advantages to be derived from the use of travelling Post Offices, several additional offices of this kind have been provided. Much greater use also has been made of the apparatus for exchanging Mail bags on railways.

Exclusive of conveyance by steam-vessels and boats, and not counting the walks of letter-carriers and rural messengers, or the carriage of the Mails from Post Offices to railway stations, the whole distance over which Mails are now conveyed within the United Kingdom is nearly 59,000 miles per week day, being about 2,000 miles more than at the end of 1854. This increase is wholly in railway conveyance. It will be seen, however, by the subjoined table, that more than half the duty is still performed by coaches and Mail carts.

	Mails conveyed by Railways.				Mails conveyed by Coaches, &c.			
	Number of Miles per Week Day.	Average Charge per Mile.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Number of Miles per Week Day.	Average Charge per Mile.	Maximum.	Minimum.
ENGLAND . . .	21,069	s. d. 0 9½	s. d. 4 10	d. ¼	19,371	d. 2½	s. d. 0 10½	d. Exemption from Tolls.
IRELAND . . .	2,503	1 5½	4 6	½	7,293	2	0 8	½
SCOTLAND . . .	3,537	0 8½	3 2	¾	5,003	2½	0 6½	¼
UNITED KINGDOM	27,109	0 10	4 10	¼	31,667	2½	0 10½	Exemption from Tolls.

The following table shows the number of chargeable letters delivered in the United Kingdom during the last year, with the rate of increase, and the proportion of letters to population.\*

—	Number of Letters in 1855.	Increase per Cent. on Number in 1854.	Proportion of Letters to Population.
ENGLAND - - -	368 millions.	About 2½	About 19 to each person.
IRELAND - - -	42 „	„ 2½	„ 7 „
SCOTLAND - - -	46 „	„ 4½	„ 15 „
UNITED KINGDOM -	456 „	„ 3	„ 16 „

As compared with last year this number shows an increase of 13 millions; and as compared with the last year before the introduction of the Penny Postage (1839), an increase of 380 millions, or exactly six-fold.

During the last five years the rate of increase in letters as compared in each case with the number in the preceding year, has been as follows:—

	per Cent.
1851 - - - -	4
1852 - - - -	5½
1853 - - - -	8½
1854 - - - -	8
1855 - - - -	2½
Average about -	5½

The number of Valentines passing through the Post Office every year, as shown by the increase in the number of letters in Valentine week, is upwards of 800,000. The largest proportion is in England and Scotland, and in both these parts of the kingdom the number is increasing, but in Ireland it is on the decrease.

Of the whole number of letters nearly a quarter are delivered in London and the suburban district; and counting those also which are despatched, nearly half the letters pass through the London Office.

The number of letters given in the foregoing statements includes colonial and foreign as well as inland letters; though even in the aggregate the colonial and foreign letters delivered in the United Kingdom form but a small fraction, not more than about one fiftieth, of the whole number of letters.

Of the increase of 13 millions last year in the number of letters,

\* This table is to some extent an estimate, being the result of a calculation founded on a record of the actual number of letters delivered in one week of each month in the year. At page 56 in the Appendix will be found a statement of the number of letters in each year since 1838.

about 300,000 were in letters from Australia; about 150,000 in letters from the East Indies; about 70,000 from Canada; about 340,000 from France; and about 340,000 also from Prussia; owing chiefly in the latter case to the letters from our fleet in the Baltic coming through Prussia.

In the letters from the United States there was a decrease of more than 500,000, owing probably to the diminished frequency of postal communication caused by the withdrawal, for the purposes of war, of some of the mail packets. The increase in the number of letters from Canada might seem scarcely consistent with such explanation; since the less frequency of postal communication applied to both cases. In that of Canada, however, there was a large reduction in the rate of postage, while there was no such reduction as respects the United States.

Reference was made in the last Report to the large number of letters passing between our soldiers on the shores of the Black Sea and their families and friends at home; but great as was the number in 1854, it was still greater last year, as will be seen by the following Table; which is exclusive of ship letters and of letters from persons engaged in the Transport Service:—

LETTERS *viâ* FRANCE.

Year.	To the Army and Navy.	From the Army and Navy.	Total to and from the Army and Navy.
8 months, 1854 -	282,000	325,000	607,000
12 months, 1855 -	762,858	1,198,853	1,961,711

Thus it appears that last year, through France alone, nearly two millions of letters passed between the people of this country and Her Majesty's Army and Navy in the East; a number greater than that which passed during the same time between the United Kingdom and the East Indies or Australia, or any foreign country, except France, and the United States; the inhabitants of these latter countries, with the English families residing there, being the only people who last year exchanged with us a larger number of letters than our Army and Navy in the East.

With reference to the number of returned, mis-sent, or re-directed letters, Mr. Scudamore, Chief Examiner in the Receiver and Accountant General's Office, makes, in his able Report, the following statement:—"In the year 1838 the postage on returned, mis-sent, and re-directed letters, amounted to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the gross revenue of the Post Office of Great Britain. In the year 1841 (the second after the adoption of Penny Postage) it had fallen to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; in the year 1852 it had fallen to one per cent., and in the year ending 31st March, 1855, it was only three quarters per cent. on the gross revenue of the Post Office of Great Britain for that year. It is but fair to say, that the reduction in the number of returned, mis sent, and re-directed letters, is mainly due to the improvement of the system, though it may be due partly to the increased intelligence of

the writers, and partly to the fact, that letters are not now (the days of heavy postage) written merely to be looked at, and refused by the parties to whom they are addressed."

Last year the number of returned letters, that is, of letters which were sent to the Dead Letter Office, and returned to the writers, in consequence of the attempts to deliver them having failed, was nearly 2,400,000, or about one-half per cent. on the whole number of letters posted.

The number of newspapers sent to the Dead Letter Office last year was nearly 600,000.

The population in the Colonies being more scattered and less settled than that of the mother country, the proportion of returned letters there appears to be much greater than with us. Especially does this seem to be the case in Victoria; for while the whole number of letters sent to that Colony last year was about 350,000, more than 42,000, or about 12 per cent., were returned, as undelivered and unclaimed, and no postage applied for. This is the more remarkable, as nearly 40,000 of the letters had been pre-paid, and nearly 1,500 had even been registered.

Of nearly 2,000,000 letters sent to the United States last year, more than 103,000, or about five per cent., were returned; but of these the great majority had been posted *unpaid*.

Of about 2,300,000 letters sent to France last year, 37,000, or about one and a half per cent., were returned; about two-thirds of these had been posted *unpaid*.

The proportion of letters sent in envelopes is still increasing, and is now, as respects Inland letters, as much as 93 per cent.; and even in the case of Colonial and Foreign letters, 71 per cent.

Excluding official packets, the average weight of an Inland letter or packet paying the full letter rate, is between a quarter and a third of an ounce; that of a Colonial letter rather more than a third of an ounce; and that of a Foreign letter rather less than a quarter of an ounce.

The abolition of the stamp duty on newspapers, and the substitution of a postage charge, have caused a decrease of about one-fourth the number of newspapers posted; nevertheless (retransmissions included,) there are still posted about 71 millions of newspapers per annum, or nearly 200,000 every day. Of these much the largest portion still bear the impressed stamp.

It appears by information obtained from the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, that about 93,000*l.* was received between the 30th June last (when the compulsory newspaper stamp was abolished) and the 31st December, for impressed stamps to enable newspapers to pass free through the post; and during the same time about 25,000*l.* was received for postage labels employed for the same purpose. These sums, which together amount to about 118,000*l.* for the half-year, or to 236,000*l.* for a year, show a loss, as compared with the amount of the former newspaper stamp duty, of about 242,000*l.*; or of rather more than one half.

The average weight of the newspapers which pass through the Post office is now about three ounces each; this average having decreased, since the abolition of the newspaper stamp, by about half an ounce.

The number of book packets, exclusive of newspapers, which now pass through the London Office, is at the rate of about 1,400,000 per annum, being an increase of more than a million, or of 273 per cent. on the number in 1854. Concurrently, however, with this increase in number, there has been a decrease in the average weight per packet, from ten ounces to four and a half ounces; so that the increase in the total weight is less than 70 per cent.

To a considerable extent the book packets consist of tradesmen's circulars and catalogues; which, when more than half an ounce in weight, can now be forwarded most cheaply as book packets. This term is used to comprehend all printed matter, except newspapers bearing an impressed stamp.

As already stated, about half the letters of the whole kingdom pass through the London Office. As London is the chief place of publication, it is probable that a yet larger portion of the book packets pass through this Office; but, assuming the proportion to be the same as with letters, the whole number of book packets posted in the United Kingdom is now at the rate of about 3,000,000 per annum.

The great increase in number is chiefly attributable to a large reduction in postage made last summer; the present charge being only one penny for four ounces; but in part also to the extension of the Inland Book Post to the British Forces engaged in the war, and to the Foreign Legion stationed at Heligoland.

Including five branches in large towns, 63 new Money Order Offices were opened last year, making a total of 1,935.

Ten years ago there were only 1,280 Money Order Offices in the United Kingdom.

The subjoined tables show the number of Money Orders issued during the year, with other particulars.\*

—	Number of Money Orders issued.	Amount.	Increase per Cent.	Profit after deducting Expenses.	Proportion of Money Orders issued to Population.
		£ s. d.		£	
ENGLAND AND WALES	4,901,316	9,403,104 5 6	5	20,514	1 to about 4 persons
IRELAND - - -	444,730	753,660 2 8	9	Loss 957	1 " 14 "
SCOTLAND - - -	461,376	862,615 4 0	4½	695	1 " 7 "
UNITED KINGDOM -	5,807,412	11,009,379 12 2	5½	20,252	1 " 5 "

\* In order to avoid the delay which is necessary for completing, in all particulars, the financial accounts of the year, the sums given in this Report, whether relating to Money Orders or to the General Revenue and Expenditure, are, in part, the result of estimate; but it is believed that any error which may exist is so slight as to be scarcely appreciable. At page 50 in the Appendix is a statement of the number of Money Orders issued in each year since 1839.

ANNUAL INCREASE in the Amount received for MONEY Orders issued in the last Five Years, as compared in each case with the Amount received in the Year preceding.

Year.	ENGLAND and WALES.	IRELAND.	SCOTLAND.	UNITED KINGDOM.
1851	About $4\frac{1}{2}$	About $4\frac{1}{2}$	About $1\frac{1}{2}$	About $4\frac{1}{2}$
1852	" $7\frac{1}{2}$	" $1\frac{1}{2}$	" $1\frac{1}{2}$	" $6\frac{1}{2}$
1853	" $8\frac{1}{2}$	" $1\frac{1}{2}$	" $4\frac{1}{2}$	" $5\frac{1}{2}$
1854	" $8\frac{1}{2}$	" $4\frac{1}{2}$	" $8\frac{1}{2}$	" $5\frac{1}{2}$
1855	" $5$	" $9$	" $4\frac{1}{2}$	" $5\frac{1}{2}$
	} per cent. increase.	} per cent. increase.	} per cent. increase.	} per cent. increase.

Total Profit or Loss in each of the last eight years :—

	Profit.	Loss.
	£	£
1848	-	5,745
1849	322	-
1850	3,236	-
1851	7,437	-
1852	10,689	-
1853	14,149	-
1854	16,167	-
1855	20,252	-

It appears that while the number of Orders issued in Ireland has increased, the number paid in Ireland has diminished; also, that the Orders granted in Ireland are generally for larger sums than heretofore.

These facts afford additional evidence of the greater facilities now existing in that part of the empire for obtaining lucrative employment, and of the consequently diminished tendency to seek employment in England.

Increased facilities have been afforded for obtaining Money Orders by dispensing with certain precautions which experience has shown to be unnecessary.

How far it may be owing to these greater facilities I cannot say; but it appears that the number of Money Orders issued in the last quarter of 1855 was not only greater than that in any previous quarter of this or any other year, but showed a more rapid rate of increase than at any previous time.

In the latter part of the year arrangements were made for extending the Money Order system to our Army in the East, so as to give our soldiers a ready means of sending money to their families; but as yet there has scarcely been time for remittances to arrive.\*

Arrangements have also been made, and will shortly come into operation, for enabling all sailors on foreign service to send money

\* March 17th. The system has now been in operation about eight weeks, and the money received in this country already amounts to more than 13,000*l*.

home by means of Money Orders obtainable through the paymaster of the ship in which each man may be serving.

So great has been the increase of Money Order business at some towns, that at Liverpool nearly twice as many Orders were issued and paid in the single month of December last, as in the whole of the year 1840, while at Birmingham the corresponding increase is even fourfold.

One-tenth part of all the Money Order payments in England and Wales in December last was made at the Chief Office in London.

A curious illustration of the pertinacity of a careless habit in individuals is afforded by the fact, that while of the ordinary class of Money Orders issued, only 1 in 837 is allowed to lapse from neglect in presentation, nevertheless, of those orders which, though being too late in the first instance, are renewed for a certain period on the payment of a second commission, 1 in 39 is again overlooked and allowed to lapse.

In concluding his report, Mr. Jackson, the Controller of the Money Order Office, states as follows:—

"With reference to the alterations in the system of Money Order accounts recommended by the Commissioners, and which commenced 1st January, 1855, I beg to say that they have been fully carried out, and it is with much pleasure I am enabled to state they have in every respect answered; and although these changes have been accompanied by a steady and constant increase in the business of the Office, the work has proceeded most satisfactorily."

The alteration in the system of accounts referred to by Mr. Jackson, dispensed with the labour of 21 clerks, and this after previous simplifications originating in the department, which had produced a saving of labour equal to that of 75 clerks.

Owing, however, to the constantly increasing business of the Department, improvement, even when it economises labour, is not attended with the painful duty of discarding officers. The difficulty is met by simply omitting to fill up vacancies.

So far as the test of time has yet been applied, the new system of appointment and promotion recommended by the Treasury Commissioners—concurrent in by my predecessor, and adopted by your Lordships about a year and a half ago,—has operated very beneficially; so beneficially indeed, that the Commissioners are entitled to the gratitude of the whole Department; and I may add that indirectly they have conferred an important benefit on the country at large.

Complaints have, indeed, been made, notwithstanding the liberal manner in which the change was effected; but many of these complaints have come from persons who, under the present improved plan of appointment, would never have been admitted into the service, and whose withdrawal would certainly be a great relief. Still, as it would be cruel to dismiss them, however unfortunate may have been their original appointment, I purpose to retain them in the service, excepting of course any that may forfeit their claim to consideration by misconduct.

In some instances, voluntary resignation has followed the loss of all hope of obtaining preferment except by merit.



Erroneous reports having appeared in some of the newspapers regarding the London letter-carriers, I have inserted in the Appendix a copy of the reply which under my directions was made by the Controller of the Circulation department to such of the letter-carriers as signed the memorial respecting alleged grievances.

The general effect of the new system has been greater energy and increased efficiency.

In the Circulation Department there has not yet been time to give the new arrangements (which involve a reconstruction of the classes according to qualification and efficiency) a fair trial: but the following statements will shew the working of the system in other departments:—

Mr. Scudamore, Chief Examiner in the Receiver and Accountant General's office, addressing the head of his department, says, "The Cashier and the Book-keeper have desired me to add to my own their expressions of satisfaction with the conduct of the officers in our respective branches. Last year your attention was drawn to the officers employed in the examination of Postmasters' accounts and to the great mass of work performed by them, and also by the officers in the Book-keepers' branch. It is needless for me to add that the same amount of work is still performed by them; but I wish to direct your attention to certain items of the work performed in the Expenditure branch and in the Cashier's branch.

"In the expenditure branch upwards of 13,000 Payment Warrants (exclusive of Salary Warrants) and each having a corresponding account, were prepared and issued in the year 1855.

"In the Cashier's branch upwards of 118,000 remittance letters were received from Postmasters in the year 1855, being an increase of about 10,000 on the letters of the previous year.

"It is, of course, well known to you that the amount of money which passes through the Expenditure and Cash branches of this office on Revenue and Money Order account is quite independent of the Gross Revenue of the Post Office, and that changes which do not increase the Revenue, but only hasten the collection of it, very greatly increase the work of this office.

"As an evidence of the amount of work performed in certain branches of your Office, and of the increased activity of those who collect and distribute the Revenue, I will add, that in the year 1854 there passed through your Office, on Revenue and Money Order accounts, upwards of 4,685,000*l.*, and in the year 1855 upwards of 4,986,000*l.*, being an increased circulation of 301,000*l.*"

Mr. Jackson, Controller of the Money Order Office in London, states:—"My own endeavours have been ably seconded by those of my chief clerk and the first-class clerks; and indeed the whole body of officers have shown the utmost zeal and industry throughout the year. Much good has already arisen, and I feel confident the best results may be expected from the present admirable system of promotion, which so fully provides for the advancement of those who merit it, and there can be no doubt that the preliminary examination to which candidates are subjected, has supplied a more efficient class of probationary clerks than was the case previously."

Mr. Long, Accountant in the Dublin Office, reports:—"I am strongly of opinion that the efficiency of this Department under the present arrangements, will permit hereafter an increase of business to be performed without an addition being made to its present force."

In a subsequent part of his report Mr. Long speaks more specifically of the good results of the plan of probation before appointment, of the re-arrangements of the classes according to efficiency, of an augmentation of the salaries, and of the adoption of the principle of promotion by merit.

Mr. Lang, Controller of the Circulation Department in the Edinburgh Office, states:—"It affords me satisfaction to be able to add, that the revision of this Department, which took place in April last, has been attended with success and manifest advantage to the public service. Also, that the system of promotion by merit, then introduced, has animated officers of all grades with a measure of zeal which has contributed greatly to their efficiency."

Of 22 candidates for Clerkships in the London Office, last year, 11 were, on examination, appointed, and 11 were rejected; and of 8 candidates in Dublin, 4 were appointed and 4 rejected.

Of 431 candidates for the situation of Letter Carrier in London, 313 were appointed and 118 rejected; and there was a similar proportion in Dublin; but in Edinburgh the proportion of rejections was larger, although the examination there is not at all more strict.

The arrangement for allowing provincial Postmasters to appoint their own Clerks having been found to work satisfactorily, in securing the selection of better qualified officers, and rendering it practicable and just to hold the Postmasters to a higher degree of responsibility, it is my intention to take another step in the same direction, by giving to the Postmasters of the larger towns the choice of their Letter Carriers.

Before the appointment of any Clerk under this arrangement is confirmed, the Postmaster is required to make a written report on the candidate's age, character, and qualifications, accompanied with a specimen of his writing and power of calculation, together with a medical certificate respecting his health and constitution; and I shall lay down a similar regulation with regard to Letter Carriers. As respects both provincial Clerks and Letter Carriers also, I intend to make the appointment, in the first instance, probationary only, to depend for ultimate confirmation on the receipt of a satisfactory report at the end of six months; as is the case in the Metropolitan Offices.

The Letter Carriers, in several of the larger provincial towns, have been dressed in uniform, like those in London; an alteration which has been found not only to promote their general comfort, but to prevent loitering and neglect of duty.

The revision of the offices in Edinburgh and Dublin, and at Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, and Glasgow, mentioned in the First Annual Report, has been carried into effect; and similar revisions have been completed at Bath, Birmingham, Gateshead, Hull, Nottingham, Plymouth, Sheffield, and other towns. Considerable

progress also has been made in revising the other chief provincial Post Offices.

In accordance with the rule that experience had shown to be necessary in the Customs and Inland Revenue Departments, it is now a regulation of the Post Office that no person in its service shall make an application for increase of salary or promotion, except through his immediate Official Superior; with a provision, however, that if an officer have good ground for believing that his application has not been duly considered, he may write direct to the Postmaster-General.

Officers who infringe this rule will be liable to punishment. It is most important in every way to make the officers of the department feel that they must rely entirely on their own exertions and merits for advancement, and that no interest, except that which is felt in a deserving man by those charged with his superintendence, will be of any avail.

Early last year it was determined to appoint, as a regular officer of the department, a medical gentleman to take charge of the health of the large number of Letter Carriers attached to the Chief Office to examine candidates for admission to the service, and to perform other medical duties. I know that it was Lord Canning's intention to nominate to this office Dr. Gavin, whose assiduity and success in the performance of similar duties during the cholera epidemic of 1854, were spoken of in the last report; and this intention would have been acted upon but for Dr. Gavin's untimely death whilst on temporary absence to assist in the organization of the military hospitals in the East. The post was subsequently conferred on Dr. Waller Lewis, a gentleman who, like Dr. Gavin, had given much previous attention to the means of improving the sanitary condition of large bodies of men.

Dr. Lewis' first periodical Report will be found in the Appendix and your Lordships will be glad to perceive that the general health of the officers since his appointment has on the whole been very satisfactory; although he is of opinion that there are causes in existence, particularly such as relate to the condition of the dwellings of many of the Letter Carriers, which prevent the health from being so good as it might be.\*

The general freedom from disease which seems to be enjoyed by the occupants of the model houses that have been erected in the last few years, affords ground for hoping that immunity from sickness to a similar extent might be enjoyed by the Letter Carriers if their dwellings were equally good; an object which might in some degree be attained by the erection in the neighbourhood of the Post Office of suitable buildings, available, on the payment of a moderate rent, to such of the Letter Carriers as might desire to live there.

Such an arrangement would be beneficial to the men, not only by affording them better dwellings, but by saving their time and labour

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\* The chief illness was diarrhoea, and rheumatism. Of 2,000 officers, 986 were attended, Total deaths, 8. Of these 5 were from Phthisis, 1 from disease of the heart, 1 from dropsy, 1 from softening of the brain.

in walking to and from the Office ; while to the Department much convenience would be given by the opportunity of speedily summoning an increased force on the arrival of any large Mail from abroad.

I do not propose that such buildings should be put up and maintained at the cost of Government, as I think the undertaking is more suitable to a public company ; but the Department might afford aid by securing to the company its rents, deducting the same from the wages of such Letter Carriers as become tenants.

Reference was made in the last Report to some measures which had been taken (by payments of part of the premiums) for encouraging the officers of the Department to insure their lives. This measure has proved very acceptable, and many have already availed themselves of it, as will be seen by the following extract from the Report on the Receiver and Accountant-General's Department :—

"TABLE showing the AMOUNT and NATURE of the Aid in Payment of Premiums on Life Insurances afforded to officers of the Post Office of the United Kingdom in the year 1855.

	Policies not exceeding 50l.	Policies not exceeding 100l.	Policies not exceeding 150l.	Policies not exceeding 200l.	Policies not exceeding 250l.	Policies exceeding 250l.	Total number insured.	Per-centage of the insured on the employed.	Amount. paid in aid of Premiums.
ENGLAND - -	15	198	15	131	9	338	701	44	£ 959 4 7
IRELAND - -	—	11	3	16	—	52	80	rather more than 3	143 15 11
SCOTLAND - -	9	47	5	32	3	75	171	nearly 7	212 18 6
	24	251	23	178	12	465	952		1,314 19 0

"TABLE showing the AGES on which the various Officers enumerated in the foregoing Table insured their Lives.

Ages.		England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.	United Kingdom.
Under 20 years		-	3	—	7
20 years and, under 30	"	131	34	8	173
30	"	292	81	39	403
40	"	183	34	38	245
50	"	72	16	12	100
60	"	19	3	3	25
TOTAL		701	171	80	952

It is difficult to determine how many of these insurances were effected in consequence of the aid given by the Department (equal to one-fifth part of the whole premium), but it is believed that about one third of the policies in England and Scotland are due to this aid, and about one-half in Ireland.

It had been the practice among the General Post Letter Carriers on the death of any one of their number, to make a collection to pay

the cost of the funeral, and to furnish the widow with a temporary fund for the support of the family. The contributions were 12s. from each man, according to seniority, every one being expected to give with reference partly to the time he had been in the service and partly to the official age of the deceased Letter Carrier.

The sum thus raised on the death of a Letter Carrier varied generally from about 25*l.* to 45*l.*; but owing to the union of the two corps of Letter Carriers, an apprehension arose that the collection of "funeral money" would gradually fall into disuse, consequently that the families of those who might continue in the service would reap no benefit.

Under these circumstances my predecessor received a memorial from the General Post Letter Carriers, asking for assistance in the support of a fund to which many of them had long contributed, which they had looked forward to as a means of affording relief to their families at their death.

On examination it was found that if, instead of engaging to contribute to funeral money, each of the memorialists, when he entered the service, had insured his life, even for 50*l.*, in some regularly constituted Insurance Office, he would not have had to pay more in the form of premium than he had had to contribute in funeral money; which position would have been safe from all danger such as that which had given rise to the memorial.

Proceeding on this fact, Lord Canning gave directions that every Letter Carrier who had hitherto paid funeral money, should be permitted to insure his life for 50*l.* in a regular Office, on the understanding that the difference between the rate of premium which would then have to pay, as compared with what would have been demanded at the time he entered the service, should be defrayed by the Department; the money to be taken from the fund which the Lordships had kindly placed at the disposal of the Postmaster General for promoting life insurances.

I am glad to be able to state that about 300 Letter Carriers included in the preceding table, have thankfully availed themselves of Lord Canning's offer, and are in course of completing their insurances.

The following are statements of the Gross Receipts, Expenditure and Net Revenue, of the Department during the year 1855.—

#### GROSS REVENUE.

<i>Letters, Book Packets, &amp;c. :</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>
England - - -	2,244,000	} 2,620,000
Ireland - - -	189,000	
Scotland - - -	187,000	
<i>Commission on Money Orders :</i>	<i>£</i>	
England - - -	83,000	} 97,000
Ireland - - -	7,000	
Scotland - - -	7,000	
Total - - -	-	<u>£2,717,000</u>

This sum shows an apparent increase of 15,000*l.* on the Gross Revenue for 1854, which was estimated at 2,689,000*l.*, but which actually reached 2,702,000. Virtually, however, the receipts in 1855, instead of being larger than those of 1854, were somewhat less.

The discrepancy is thus explained; until last year the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, under whose direction the Postage Labels and Stamped Envelopes are manufactured, paid over to this Department only the net produce of the Stamps and Envelopes after deducting the cost of paper and manufacture; but now our accounts are on the one hand credited with the gross produce, and on the other hand are debited with the expense of paper and manufacture.

As compared with the year 1854, the gross revenue of 1855 is further increased by an addition, for the first time, of a charge for the conveyance of Newspapers.

As already stated, the greater portion of this charge is received for impressed Stamps by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, and is not brought into the Post Office accounts; but that which is collected for Postage Labels, amounting to between a fourth and a fifth of the whole (being about 25,000*l.* out of about 118,000*l.* for the half-year since the abolition of the Newspaper Stamp), is carried to the Postal Revenue, and forms part of the foregoing sum of 2,717,000*l.*

The virtual diminution in the Gross Revenue of the Post Office, notwithstanding the addition just named, and the increase of letters, is thus explained:—

1st. The diminished number of English Mail Packets between this country and the United States last year, owing to the war, not only reduced the correspondence, but transferred a large portion of the remainder from the British to the American Packets; thus causing a decrease of not less than 85,000*l.* in our share of the postage; to which must be added about 16,000*l.* for loss caused in the same way, in the receipts for letters to Canada.

2nd. Notwithstanding the increase in the number of letters to France, consequent on the reduction of postage, already referred to, there was in this branch also a loss last year of more than 19,000*l.*; but I think it not impossible that this loss will quickly diminish, and that before many years have passed, the amount of French postage may be as large as before.

I entertain similar expectations also, and a yet speedier realization, with regard to the recent reduction in Colonial postage; and am supported in these expectations by the results already arrived at.

EXPENDITURE.*					
Salaries, Pensions, &c.	...	...	...	...	£813,
Buildings	...	...	...	...	25,
<i>Conveyance of Mails :—</i>					
By Railways	...	...	...	£401,000	} 577,
„ Coaches, Carts, &c. and Wages of	...	...	...	161,000	
Mail Guards	...	...	...	...	
„ Packets†	...	...	...	15,000	
Manufacture of Postage Stamps, &c.	...	...	...	...	32,
Miscellaneous, including the conveyance of Mails in Colonies under the postal direction of the Postmaster General; the conveyance of the Mails through Egypt; the cost of the Army Post Office; clothing for Letter Carriers and Guards; rents, taxes, law expenses, &c.	...	...	...	...	} 144,
Total	...	...	...	£1,591	

The sum, after deducting 32,000*l.* for the manufacture of Post Stamps, (an item which, as already explained, appears in the account for the first time,) shows an apparent increase on the expenditure of 1854 of 146,000*l.*; but £28,000 of this is owing to the circumstance of the charge for railway conveyance in the year 1854 not having included sums which, while really belonging to that year's expenditure, were not paid till the year had closed. In the account for 1855, however, the sum stated shows, as nearly as can be ascertained, the real expense incurred without regard to the time of payment, and this course will be adopted in all future accounts.

Thus corrected, the actual increase in expenditure last year over that for 1854, was about £118,000, or about 8 per cent.

The following have been the chief causes of increased expenditure :—

1st. An increase in the number of Sorters and Letter Carriers at the London Office, required chiefly on account of the holiday allowed to these men; the adoption of a higher scale of salaries for Sorters and Letter Carriers; and an enlargement of the pension granted to these officers in old age.

\* The entries under this head show the expenditure properly accruing to the year, not the payments actually made.

† The Packet service is for the most part under the superintendence of the Admiralty, and is borne on the expenditure of that Department. The Contractors for the several lines being subject, in most cases, to conditions framed with other objects than the efficiency of the packet service. The above sum does not include the payments made by the Admiralty.

The omission in the expenditure of the Post Office of such part of the cost of these Packets as may fairly be chargeable to that Department is more or less counterbalanced by the omission (under the head of revenue) of the charge for the transmission (inland) of stamped papers.

2ndly. An addition to the salaries of most other officers in the London Office, resulting from the more general provision of an annual augmentation made in the scale of salaries recommended by the Treasury Commissioners.

3rdly. The revision, as already mentioned, of the Post Offices in Dublin and Edinburgh, and of some of the larger provincial towns. This revision is not yet complete, but it has already had the effect of increasing the number of Clerks and Letter Carriers, and of raising the salaries of many who were already in the service; producing in the aggregate an enlarged annual expence of about 32,000*l.*; to which sum must be added about 5,000*l.* for uniforms, supplied, for the first time, to the Letter Carriers in Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, Bristol, and Birmingham, and to a certain class of Letter Carriers in London.

4thly. Increased use of Railways, accelerations of Mails, and enlarged Postal accommodation generally; amounting in annual cost to more than 20,000*l.*

5thly. Increased expence of the Army Post Office.

In the last Report it was stated that there would probably be a very considerable increase in the expenditure of the year 1855 as compared with that of 1854; and I expect a further considerable increase in 1856.

The following tables may prove interesting to some of our readers:—

*RATE per mile, paid to the various Railways for carrying the Mails:*

					<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Chester to Birkenhead	...	...	...	...	2	0
Dublin to Drogheda	...	...	...	...	2	0
Leeds to Selby	...	...	...	...	2	0
London to Bristol and Gloucester	...	...	...	...	2	0½
Ipswich to Colchester	...	...	...	...	2	0½
Ely to Yarmouth	...	...	...	...	2	1
Peterboro' to Grimsby	...	...	...	...	2	2
London to Dover	...	...	...	...	2	3
Londonderry to Strabane...	...	...	...	...	2	4
Arbroath to Aberdeen	...	...	...	...	2	6
Lancaster to Carlisle	...	...	...	...	2	6
Southampton to Dorchester	...	...	...	...	2	8½
Perth to Dundee	...	...	...	...	3	0
Dublin to Galway	...	...	...	...	3	0
York to Berwick	...	...	...	...	3	0
Dundee to Arbroath	...	...	...	...	3	1
Preston to Liverpool	...	...	...	...	3	1
Dundalk to Castleblaney	...	...	...	...	3	2
Parkside to Preston	...	...	...	...	3	6
Exeter to Plymouth	...	...	...	...	3	7
Grange Court (near Gloucester) to Haverfordwest	...	...	...	...	3	7
Drogheda to Dublin	...	...	...	...	3	9
Drogheda to Dundalk	...	...	...	...	4	0
Dublin to Cork	...	...	...	...	4	6
Limerick Junction to Limerick	...	...	...	...	4	6



AN ACCOUNT of the Amount of Postage, &c., collected at the undermentioned Cities and Towns of the United Kingdom, including Post Stamps sold by this Department, and by the Office of Inland Revenue and its Agents, during the Years 1854 and 1855.

	1854.*	1855
<b>ENGLAND.</b>		
London ... ..	£. 822,985†	£. 817,538
Bath .. ...	14,049	13,765
Birmingham ... ..	36,812	35,085
Bradford, Yorkshire ... ..	11,820	11,824
Bristol ... ..	29,479	28,510
Cheltenham ... ..	9,291	9,691
Coventry ... ..	4,566	4,365
Derby ... ..	7,818	8,202
Exeter ... ..	9,641	10,118
Hull ... ..	16,190	16,575
Leeds ... ..	19,317	18,525
Leicester ... ..	6,805	7,227
Liverpool ... ..	91,909	92,842
Macclesfield ... ..	1,949	2,015
Manchester ... ..	74,736	78,121
Newcastle-on-Tyne ... ..	17,231	18,434
Norwich ... ..	10,626	11,229
Nottingham ... ..	10,428	10,528
Plymouth ... ..	10,252	10,197
Portsmouth ... ..	9,744	10,858
Newcastle, Staffordshire, and Potteries... ..	5,617	4,507
Preston ... ..	6,352	6,786
Sheffield ... ..	13,947	14,509
Southampton ... ..	10,772	12,228
Wolverhampton .. ...	7,373	8,066
York ... ..	9,447	9,904
<b>IRELAND.</b>		
Dublin ... ..	53,676	48,499
Belfast ... ..	9,682	10,352
Cork ... ..	10,183	10,465
Drogheda ... ..	1,934	2,084
Limerick ... ..	6,971	7,364
Londonderry ... ..	4,099	4,299
Waterford ... ..	3,179	3,039
<b>SCOTLAND.</b>		
Edinburgh ... ..	41,612	41,922
Aberdeen ... ..	10,733	10,918
Dundee ... ..	7,912	8,144
Glasgow ... ..	58,136	57,788
Perth ... ..	3,720	3,735
Stirling ... ..	3,650	3,603

\* The amount of Postage, &c. for 1854 is made up to 31st December the Stamps sold by the Inland Revenue Department to 5th January, 1855.

† Including 173,451*l.* for postage charged to Government Department.

‡ Including 159,906*l.* for postage charged to Government Department.

From this condensation of the chief topics of the two *Reports* before us, the reader is now enabled to form a very just opinion upon, and has a perfect knowledge of, the rise, progress, and position of the Post Office.

It is satisfactory to find that foreign countries are improving in postal arrangements, and we find the following passages in the second *Report*, the information contained in it thus being derived from the most accurate and well informed sources :—

The countries referred to are 32 in number. Of these there are only two, viz., Sweden and Equator, in which no material improvement has been made since the introduction of Penny Postage into the United Kingdom in 1840.

In Russia, Spain, and Chili the lowest rate (which is generally applicable to the great majority of letters) has been reduced to sums above twopence but not exceeding fourpence ; in seven other countries, viz., France, United States, Bavaria, Hanover, Portugal, Sardinia, and Brazil, the lowest rate has been reduced to sums above a penny but not exceeding twopence ; and in Belgium and Denmark it has been brought down to a penny, though in Belgium this rate is confined to distances not exceeding 19 miles.

In the United States the postage for distances of 3,000 miles and under is 1½d. ; and for greater distances, 3d.

In twenty-three countries Postage Stamps have been introduced.

In two, viz., Russia and Brazil, prepayment of postage is compulsory.

In twelve, prepayment, though not compulsory, is encouraged ; the postage, when not prepaid, being greater.

In eighteen, the gross receipts of the Post Office are now at least equal to what they were before the reduction ; and in two others, the amount is nearly the same.

In three, the profits are nearly as large as before the reduction, and in nine the former amount has been fully regained.

In most of the countries embraced in this Return, the Post Office undertakes the conveyance of Passengers as well as of Mails ; and the receipts, expenses, and profits, arising from Passengers, are generally mixed with those relating to letters, and are consequently included in the sums entered in the column headed " Gross Receipts, Expenses, and Profits of the Post Office ;" it not having been found practicable to state them separately.

Again, in some instances, a large expense is incurred in the delivery of letters ; while in others, as in that of the United States, the Post Office does not undertake the delivery.

Moreover, in some countries, as in France, the conveyance of the Mails by railway is attended with little cost to the Post Office, in consideration, probably, of assistance given by the Government in the construction of railways ; while in others, the Post Office has to bear the full expense.

These circumstances render it very difficult to trace with accuracy the financial result of a reduction in postage, or to institute any

trustworthy comparison between the receipts, expenses, and profits of the Post Offices of different countries.

In the Appendices to these two *Reports* there is much interesting and amusing matter. Two letters from Mr. Scudamore, of the Receiver and Accountant-General's Office, are particularly interesting.

From these documents we learn that the general accounts of the Post Office are preserved in an unbroken line from 1685 to the present. The net produce of the year 1687 was £76,192 8s. 9d.; and the total expense was £13,509 6s. Thus we find that while the "whole net produce" of the establishment for a year, was not equal to the sum which it derives from the commission on Money Orders in a year, at the present "net produce" of the single town of Liverpool is so also, the whole expenditure of the whole establishment in a year was but a little larger than the sum which we pay each month for salaries to the clerks of the London Office alone.

We find also that, during the wars with France, the boats were frequently attacked by French privateers, and clerks for pensions, on account of wounds, were frequently made of the Post Office by the sailors. Mr. Scudamore writes:—

Thus, after a fierce engagement which took place in February 1703, we find that Edward James had a donation of 5*l.*, because "musket shot had grazed on the tibia of his left leg;" that Gal Treludra had 12*l.*, because a shot had "divided his frontal muscle and fractured his skull;" that Thomas Williams had the same because "a Granada shell had stuck fast in his left foot;" that J. Cook, who "received a shot in the hinder part of his head, where a large division of the scalp was made," had a donation of 6*l.* 13*s.* for present relief, and a yearly pension of the same amount; and Benjamin Lillycrop, who "lost the forefinger of his left hand," "2*l.* for present relief, and a yearly pension of the same amount."

The Postmasters General, in a letter to their Agent at Falmouth on the subject of pensions for wounds, informs him thus; "an arm or leg amputated above the elbow or knee is 8*l.* per annum; below the knee is 20 nobles. Loss of the sight of one eye is 4*l.* the pupil of the eye 5*l.*, of the sight of both eyes 12*l.*, of the pupil of both eyes 14*l.*; and according to these rules we consider also how much also the hurts affect the body, and make the allowances accordingly."

The Postmasters General were evidently continually troubled during the war by special consignments to them of goods and parcels, and even human beings, for whose safe transportation to their destination they were to be held responsible.

So various were the articles entrusted to them that I will set down a list culled from a very few pages of the Agents' Letter Book.

Imprimis.—“Fifteen couple of hounds going to the King of the Romans with a free pass.”

Item.—“Some parcels of cloth for the Clothing Colonels (sic) in my Lord North's and my Lord Grey's regiments.

Item.—“Two servant maids going as laundresses to my Lord Ambassador Methuen.”

Item.—“Dr Crichton, carrying with him a cow and divers other necessities.”

Item.—“Three suits of cloaths for some nobleman's lady at the Court of Portugal.”

Item.—“A box containing three pounds of tea, sent as a present by my Lady Arlington to the Queen Dowager of England at Lisbon.”

Item.—“Eleven couple of houndes for Major-General Hompesch.”

Item.—“A case of knives and forks for Mr. Stepney, Her Majesty's Envoy to the King of Holland.”

Item.—“One little parcell of lace, to be made use of in cloathing Duke Schomberg's regiment.”

Item.—“Two bales of stockings for the use of the Ambassador of the Crown of Portugal.”

Item.—“A box of medicines for my Lord Galway in Portugal.”

Item.—A deal case with four fitches of bacon for Mr. Pennington, of Rotterdam.”

Really, with all these cares upon them, and what with scolding an Agent once, because “he had not provided a sufficiency of pork and beef for the Prince;” again, because “he had bought powder at Falmouth that would have been so much cheaper in London;” again, because “he had stirred up a mutiny between a captain and his men, which was unhandsome conduct in him;” again, because “he has not ordered the Dolphin to sail, though the wind is marked westerly in the Wind Journals,” whereat the Postmasters General “admire;” what with bringing Captain Clies to trial, “for that he had spoken words reflecting on the Royal Family, which the Postmasters General took particular unkind of him;” and reprimanding another for “breaking open the portmanteau of Mons Raoul (a gentleman passenger), and spoiling him of a parcel of snuff;” what with “purchasing new vessels, stores, and provisions, and ordering the old ones to be sold *by inch of candle*;—with all these cares, one sees that our Postmasters General had enough to do. Their letters are sometimes plaintive enough. “Wee are concerned,” say they, “to find the letters brought by your boat (from the West Indies) to be so consumed by the ratts that we cannot find out to whom they belong.” Another letter to their agent at Harwich shall speak for itself. It runs:—

“Mr. Edisbury,

“The woman, whose complaint we herewith send you, having given us much trouble upon the same, we desire you will enquire into the same, and see justice done her, believing she may have had her brandy stole from her by the sailors.

“We are your affectionate friends,

“R. C., T. F.”

In the Appendix to the *Second Report* we have the following sketch of the Scotch Post Office :—

To show the difficulties in the way of rapid communication at the period [1678] from the condition of the roads in Scotland, it is stated that an agreement was made to run a coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow (a distance of 44 miles) which was to be drawn by six horses, and to perform the journey to Glasgow and back in six days. The undertaking was considered so arduous that the contractor was to receive 200 merks\* a year for five years to assist him; but the speculation turned out so unprofitable that it was soon abandoned.

In 1698 Sir Robert Sinclair of Stevenson, had a grant from King William of the whole revenue of the Post Office in Scotland, with a pension of 300*l.* per annum to keep up the post. The Post Office at this time appears to have been anything but a profitable concern, as Sir Robert, after due deliberation, gave up the grant, thinking it disadvantageous.

When Mr. Anderson took office on the 12th July, 1715, there was not a single horse post in Scotland, foot runners being the only mode of conveyance for the mails. In this manner direct bags were conveyed from Edinburgh as far north as Thurso, and westward to Inverary. There were three Mails a week from Edinburgh to Glasgow, and three in return; the runners set out from Edinburgh each Tuesday and Thursday at 12 o'clock at night, and on Sunday in the morning, and the Mails arrived at Glasgow on the evening of Wednesday and Friday, and on the forenoon of Monday. For his services the Post Office paid 40*l.* sterling per annum; but for the fraudulent dealing of the Postmaster of Falkirk, who made no payments, the runners seldom received more than from 20*l.* to 25*l.*

In 1716 the Duke of Argyll, who had then supreme control over Scotland, gave orders to Mr. Anderson to place relays of horse posts from Edinburgh to Inverness, for the purpose of forwarding military dispatches to, and receiving intelligence from, the army in the Highlands under General Cadogan. These posts worked upon two systems of roads; the one went through Fife and round by the east coast, passing through Aberdeen; the other took the central road, through Perth, Dunkeld, and Blair Atholl. These horse-posts were, however, discontinued immediately after the army retired.

In 1730 the yearly revenue of the Post Office Establishment in Scotland was 1,194*l.*

About the year 1750 the Mails began to be conveyed from place to place, by relays of fresh horses, and different post-boys, to the principal places in Scotland; but the greater portion of the Mails were still carried by foot runners. Before the system of relays was introduced on the North Road, the mode of conveying the Mails was very tedious. For instance, "a person set out with the Mail from Edinburgh for Aberdeen; he did not travel a stage, and

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\* A merk is equal to 1*s.* 1*½d.* sterling.

deliver the Mail to another post-boy, but went on to Dundee, where he rested the first night; to Montrose, where he staid the second; and, on the third, he arrived at Aberdeen, and, as he passed by Kinghorn, it behoved the tide, and sometimes also the weather, to render the time of his arrival more late and uncertain." In this manner the Mail was conveyed thrice a week. The communication by post between London and Edinburgh was not much better. The condition of the roads, however, in Scotland, would not admit of anything like rapid travelling. The best roads, even in the populous districts, were often to be found in the channels of streams. The common carrier from Edinburgh to Selkirk, 38 miles, required a fortnight for his journey, going and returning; the channel of the river Gala, which for a considerable distance ran parallel with the road, being, when not flooded, the track chosen as the most level and easiest to travel in. Between the principal cities, the means of travelling were little better. It took a day and a half for the stage-coach to travel from Edinburgh to Glasgow.

In the year 1757 the Mail was upon the road from London to Edinburgh 87 hours, but from Edinburgh to London 131 hours. At this time, from a representation from the Committee of Royal Burghs, such regulations were adopted, that the time was reduced to 82 hours from London to Edinburgh, and 85 hours from Edinburgh to London.

In 1763, a further improvement was made on the London Mail, by having it despatched five times a week instead of three, as formerly. Previously it had travelled in so dilatory a manner, that in winter the letters which were sent from London on Tuesday night, for the most part, were not distributed in Edinburgh till Sunday between sermons.

In 1776, the modern stage coach was introduced into Scotland; the first coach arriving in Edinburgh on the 10th of April. It performed the journey to London in 60 hours. And in the same year, the first Penny Post in Scotland was established in Edinburgh, by Peter Williamson, an eccentric native of Aberdeen, who in consequence of keeping a coffee shop in the hall of the Parliament House, was frequently employed by gentlemen attending the Courts, to forward letters to different parts of the city. This kind of business increased so much that he opened an office, and established a regular Penny Post delivery of letters throughout the city. He had hourly deliveries, and agents at various parts of the town to collect letters. The men who delivered, of whom there were four (in uniform), also collected letters, and for this purpose they rang a bell as they proceeded on their rounds, to give information of their approach.

Williamson's success soon induced others to attempt a similar undertaking; but the authorities of the General Post Office, seeing the importance of this branch of business as a source of revenue, gave Williamson a pension for the goodwill of the business, and the Penny Post was then attached to the general establishment.

A direct Mail between London and Glasgow was not established before 1788, when, on the 7th July, the first Mail coach from London arrived in Glasgow. Previously the correspondence between those

cities passed through Edinburgh; where it was detained two hours to be sent with the Mail to Glasgow at night.

Having followed the Scottish Post Office down to the close of the eighteenth century, it may be observed that for a long time after its introduction and establishment it was conducted solely with a view to the convenience and security of the correspondence of the public, and that it frequently received assistance from the Scottish Government by pecuniary grants. And if we except the periods of rebellion when a certain amount of *surveillance* was exercised by the Agents of Government as a measure of state security, the Post Office in Scotland appears to have been conducted with great integrity and with freedom from abuse.

In April, 1713, the Edinburgh Post Office was removed to the first story of a house opposite the Tolbooth on the north side of High Street. At a later time it occupied the first floor of a house near the Cross, above an alley which still bears the name of the Post Office Close. It was removed from this to a floor on the south side of the Parliament Square, which was fitted up like a shop, and letters were dealt across an ordinary counter like other goods. At this time all the out-of-door business of delivery was managed by one Letter Carrier. From the Parliament Square the Post Office was removed to Lord Covington's house, thence after some years to a house on the North Bridge and finally it was removed to the present office in 1821, at which period the dispatch of the Mails was conducted in an apartment about 30 feet square. This apartment was purposely kept as dark as possible, in order to derive the advantage of artificial light, employed in the process of examining letters to see whether they contained enclosures or not.

In the body of the *Second Report*, a letter from Archbishop Parker to the Secretary, Cecil, and bearing date Croydon, 22nd July, 1566, 4 o'clock, P.M., has the following indentments of successive Postmasters:—

“Received at Waltham Cross, the 23rd of July, about midnight at night.”

“Received at Ware, the 23rd July, at 12 o'clock at night.”

“Received at Croxton, the 24th of July, between 7 and 8 o'clock of the clock in the morning.”

So that his Grace's letter, leaving Croydon at 4 in the afternoon of July 22nd, reached Waltham Cross, a distance of nearly 26 miles, by 9 at night of the 23rd; whence, in three hours, it seems to have advanced 8 miles to Ware; and within eight hours more to have reached Croxton, a further distance of 29 miles; having taken nearly 40 hours to travel about 63 miles.

From these *Reports* it is evident that many of the complaints made against the Post Office are unfounded. Doubtless where 21,000 servants are employed, some must be careless

or dishonest ; but the following facts shew that the public are somewhat to blame :—

Notwithstanding repeated warnings on the subject, and in disregard of the facilities afforded by the Money Order System, as well as of the comparative security which can be obtained by registration, culpable heedlessness is often displayed in sending coin and bank notes in letters ; in the case of bank notes, even the simple precaution of cutting them into halves (withholding the second halves until the receipt of the first has been acknowledged) being often omitted. This precaution should be taken even when the letter is registered ; nor should it be necessary to add that the packet containing such enclosure ought always to be sealed. In one case which occurred lately in Ireland, a considerable sum of money was sent in a letter open at both ends like a book or a newspaper.

Whenever coin is sent by the post, special care should be taken to see that the packet is securely fastened. Sometimes, for want of such care, coins fall out even of registered letters.

In March last an unregistered letter, containing a 10*l.* Bank of England note, posted at Macclesfield, addressed to Manchester, was stated not to have reached its destination. Full inquiry was made, but the letter could not be found. Subsequently, however, the note was presented at the Bank of England, and on being traced, it was discovered that the letter had been stolen *after* its delivery.

In December last, a letter containing two 5*l.* Bank of England notes, was stated to have been posted at Leeds, addressed to a lady at Leamington, without reaching its destination ; but the inquiry that was instituted by the Department caused the sender to withdraw his complaint, and to prefer against the clerk whom he had intrusted with the letter, a charge of having purloined it before it reached the Post Office.

Last spring, a gentleman at Archerstown, County Westmeath, complained of a letter, containing half bank notes and post bills, amounting to 400*l.*, addressed to Dublin, not having come to hand ; but when the matter came to be fully examined, it was ascertained by one of our officers, that the letter was in a drawer of the house of the very person to whom it had been directed, but by whom it had been entirely overlooked.

In the spring of last year a young lady about 15 years of age, whose parents reside at a small town in —shire, was sent to a school not far from ——. The mother of the young lady was suffering from illness in April last, and letters were written from time to time to the daughter at school announcing the state of her mother's health.

The young lady declared that she wrote on the 17th of April to enquire how her mother was ; that letter was not delivered ; and that on the morning of the 19th of that month a brown paper parcel was placed in a very mysterious manner in the hall of the house at which the young lady was at school. This parcel contained a letter which stated that her mother was dead, and that the parcel had been conveyed by a friend, which accounted for its not bearing any post marks.

Other circumstances were related by the young lady, such as her having seen a man galloping on the road, who halted and informed her that he had left the parcel announcing her mother's death.



On the 21st of the same month, a letter enclosed in an envelope was posted at the town in —shire, informing the young lady that her mother was much better ; but when the envelope was opened, the young lady produced another letter requiring her immediate presence to attend her mother's funeral.

The case excited great interest, and suspicion arose that a conspiracy existed, aided by some person in the service of this department, to carry off the young lady.

The papers on the subject were referred, in the first instance, to the Surveyor of the Home District ; but he was unable to solve the mystery ; and the Surveyor of the Western District, to whom the papers were subsequently sent, was equally unsuccessful. At length the Solicitor to the Post Office suggested that Mr. Christopher Hodgson, an officer attached to the Home District, who had displayed considerable skill in investigating matters of this nature, should be despatched to the school to make further inquiry. This was done, and on a full examination Mr. Hodgson reported it as his opinion that the whole proceedings were but a plot of a school girl to go home, as its contriver afterwards confessed to be the case.

The first of these *Reports* bears the name of "Canning" Postmaster general ; the second bears that of "Argyll." It has, in reading these *Reports*, frequently appeared to us most singular that this absurdity of a Postmaster General, changing with the Ministry, should have been so long suffered to exist.

We place some aristocratic supporter of the Government in this important situation ; we give him authority to check and control men such as Rowland Hill ; we pay him an enormous salary and endow him with large patronage ; and just as he may be found to have the brains and the application, acquiring some knowledge of his office and of its duties, a new Ministry may come in and with them a new Postmaster General.

Surely, if the Right Man is ever to be in the Right Place, this is a case for Mr. Roebuck and the Administrative Reform Association. Rowland Hill makes our Postal system, and the Duke of Argyll signs Rowland Hill's *Reports*. Rowland Hill has the head to design a feature in our social progress, and is made secretary to a Scotch Duke, who, however excellent he may be in other respects, cannot serve the Nation as well as those who have given time, thought and active toil, to the invention, elaboration, and successful working of a well designed principle.

Our task here, for the present paper, ends ; and if we have not amused the reader, we trust we have been able to show him

"What a wonderful man The Post-Man is !"

## ART IV.—THE POOR RELATION: AN OUTLINE OF SOCIAL HISTORY.

BY AN IRISH WORKMAN.

*The Census of Ireland for the Year, 1851. Parts I. to V.*  
Dublin. Alex. Thom, 1852-56.

The social history of the country whose society, in the same lapse of time, experienced more ups and downs than perhaps all other human societies put together, has not, that I know of, been so much as outlined. It is true that the political historian, the politician, the traveller—curious, philosophic, or benevolent,—and the novelist, every one after his own manner, has now and again with admirable fidelity pictured some impressive or instructive episode of this history; and therein has done so well that we feel he should have done better still in doing more to the same effect. But not the less stands the fact: as a whole, the social history of Great Britain's Poor Relation, Ireland, has not in any wise been portrayed.

In this sketch I have left untouched the political history of the country; conceiving that were that to be made prominent it would cast into the shade what I deem more important, the social history.

*Veritas, lux vera*, is the maxim with which I backed my first sheet: a bold maxim as it shows itself in its two-fold bearing. Seeing, in the first place, that with regard to the obscurer parts of this and every social history, the truth of the exposition grounds itself upon the fact of its being, like the light, self-evidencing. And again, if the truth of history in its important and leading points be manifested, that not alone the succession of cause and effect from good and evil—Right and Wrong—will in the past, as it is brought into the field of view, become apparent, but, still further, that society present—the Passing—so vast and complex and imposing as it is, that this, too, will have its weak points, its glaring defects exposed.

*Veritas, lux vera!* brave words or merely braggart; which, this history will in effect disclose.

It was sketched during the famine-time, in the endeavor to lay down for myself my own position and prospects, and my line of duty, whither leading, home or abroad.

### I.

I am an Irishman, full-grown and healthy; for all which blessings I thank God. I have a desire for labor, to do what work may fall to my hand; and I am thus, I believe, so far further blessed, since the will to work is in a measure the grace of God. I do not desire to toil for myself only; but assuredly I must get a fairly proportionate share of the value of my labor. No man shall fatten through the sweat of my brow whilst I hunger or am naked; nor shall the lean kine of the land eat up all that I have herded with care. As I sow I shall and will reap: if not here, elsewhere. For while I love my country and its people—but the people rather than the land, if this people—if I, cannot live as becomes man, in comfort and independence,—if I cannot, without danger of social degradation, should I will to do so, take wife and (God send) have children grow up about me, whilst doing my duty as man and citizen, society here is a swindle; and I will not remain one with it a day longer than I need. The world is wide; there is space enough

where the hopeful heart and helpful hand can find freedom to labor and good work to do and heaven for helper. For He who gave the burden holds the hand that takes it as a blessing.

Assuredly, if I can do my duty here, can live and do well, as here I have been assigned my portion, so here it is right that I abide. This question then, I have to consider with myself and to discuss with my neighbours: are we, the present race of Irishmen, likely to prosper in the land of Ireland?—For us and ours we must look for no exemption from the common lot. If so, let us fix our home where it is. If otherwise, let us, in God's name, take up our household goods, bring with us all we may of those most near and dear to us, and go forth to build up a new home, to make green a better Ireland under more propitious stars.

Has it in fact come to this:—shall we, the refuse of our race, stay and see out our old world doom; or shall we too follow across the sea to take our footing with the workers of a new and nobler destiny?

## II.

What greater wonder has man seen than this, of which we are the witnesses: a whole people, as it would seem, hurrying from the land of their birth in search of strange settlements? "The hag has been at the heart" of the country now these five years past; and our poor people like affrighted children knowing not what afflicted them, have been seeking to hide their heads somehow, somewhere. Surely now it is time that the country shake off the hag and face its prospects. It behoves us to see really what it is that has so long, so widely, and so deeply distressed us; to know what great danger to be avoided, what great promise to be realised, what great call to be obeyed, causes the native Irish race, our fellows, to forsake Ireland. For, do not the like good and evil affect us placed with them under the like circumstances?

Are the motives to the flight of our race rational motives? Is it the rational dread of disaster at home, a rational expectation of prosperity abroad, which now possesses them? What is it that drives them to it?

The present condition of our country may truly be said to be that of pauperism.\* Pauperism is the state of all classes of our community, the exceptions being but many enough to make good the rule. The state actual may yet be only conditional; may have been produced under dispensation of passing calamity for future good. If it be in this instance, as Bacon declared it to be generally, that "adversity is the blessing of the New Testament," we have indeed been blessed! Blessed beyond all modern peoples, almost beyond all measure. But if, as many despise, presume to think, Ireland's calamity has been permitted in requital of Ireland's sin, it is right for us to look into our state, to bring together the tribes of our people, to discover what iniquity has been wrought amongst us and who have been the workers of it, so that the evil be removed, that the remnant of the people be not left to perish, that the threatened disinheriting of them be not enforced.

It is written, that like answers to like in the ways of Providence. So must we expect social crime to be followed by social retribution, and political offence by political penalty, as sin against morality by punishment of a moral nature. If, then, our calamitous condition is a punishment, our great sin must be of a social stamp; and we must look into the character, customs, and works of our society, past and present, for the origin of the evil or evils.

Our present state was not of sudden occurrence, is not the consequence of a single blow, nor even several blows given in rapid succession, though at first sight it seem so to be. We were not cast out from real and right prosperity to rest upon a dunghill; though the land, Job like, to-day be all over foul ulcers, its flocks and its herds despoiled, its sons and its daughters crushed, sorrow and suffering come upon the old Fatherland until it lies wholly in the hand of its enemy, only its existence spared!

For ages there has not been a true or common prosperity: and how could there be under the circumstances?

### III.

Ireland is, and has ever been, almost exclusively an agricultural country; and its well-being, necessarily dependent upon agricultural production, is, therefore, nearly connected with the well-being of the producers. Hence the land-classes are the basis of our Irish Society. These proprietors and cultivators have very rarely held the position with respect to one another of mere parties to a bargain. The one class has held the other's single means of livelihood, and generally,—from the numbers of the people in relation to the production of the country for the time being, has been able to command whatever terms it was its policy to offer; to which terms the other class was, if it would live in the land, necessitated to accede:—"There was always a famine of land!" There was personal or hereditary quarrel between these classes. The one were, or represented, the conquerors; the other, the conquered. And for the most part they were as antagonistic in religious and national feeling as they were in race—"Sassenach" and "meer Irish."

It would indeed be strange, if under those circumstances the relationship subsisting betwixt these land-classes were right and constitutional, and altogether satisfactory to the dependent class. Far otherwise was it. The landlord was the master and law-maker; he had his peculiar notions, adopted from feudalism, of his high prerogative; he made his own terms and enforced them by power of law, civil or martial as suited the occasion. The tenant had to suffer; but he did not fail to feel injustice, nor to resist when opportunity and means presented. Hence arose and thence proceeded the struggle which, under various phases and names, religious and political, has for a century and a half periodically thrown the island into civil convulsions. Active and passive by turns, shown on the one side in the enacting and enforcing of laws—in rule and raid and eviction; on the other, in agitation and insurrection—in the Whiteboy, Oakboy, Peep-o'-Dayboy, Hearts of Steel, Rockite, Ribbon, and other like systems, and in all manner of agrarian crime and outrage. Throughout, is manifested the single struggle: of the lord, for supreme mastery; of the serf, for the right to live. Sometimes open and aggressive enemies, at best covertly hostile, they seemed to think that their interests were utterly opposed; so that whatever was injurious to the one must be beneficial to the other. One wonders if they ever felt that it would be their interest to maintain friendly relations. If so, when did they ever act upon the conviction? If they knew that co-operation must tend to their common benefit, how rarely did they use their knowledge to the purpose! It is, at the least, remarkable that the higher

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\* Evidence taken before the Land Occupation Commis. 286, Question 10.

class did not understand that people who are bound together depend one upon another, should work together kindly, were it through the polite motive—self-love. Is there need to point the saying in explicit terms, lo! in ruinous result the influence of the dissipated delusion that evil to the one must be the other's good,—the fatal consequence to both parties; how the peasantry have to bear the load of lordly embarrassment till they have at length weighed down by the insupportable burden of a rack-renting class; and again see how the keeping down of the peasantry level of dependent serfdom has had for its effect the spreading widely that pauperism which now, under the Poor-laws, is swamping proprietary! Twin facts, nevertheless, of which we to-day are witness.

The exercise of despotic power, from the facility which it affords of raising income, is a prime incentive to luxurious living. During the reign of Elizabeth nearly until the reign of George the Fourth the Irish master-class exercised a despotism unlimited as the Sun. Their modes of life were luxurious even beyond their means. William of the state of the country in his time, a Viceroy, the famous Chesterfield, says, "all the causes that ever destroyed a country centre in this point to ruin Ireland. Premature luxury outstrips riches, which in other countries it only accompanies." When wants became too many for their means, the owners sometimes resorted to wring from their serfs what should supply their requirements. Despite the unfortunate circumstances of their tenancies, notwithstanding enough inducing recklessness, a minority of the labor-class did with a will and become in a measure wealthy. But what they saved they as closely guarded, suffering at times the severest penury on account of their obduracy.† They hoarded with the hope of times coming. And the time did, to be sure, come, when the labor class, not less needy but more knowing, was induced to make concessions.‡

While the United States of America were proclaiming independence, a partial adjustment of the relationship betwixt owner and occupier of the soil took place in Ireland. The disabilities of the Catholic Serfs have and hold the land under lease, and, with certain restrictions in fee, were then removed; and so far the return upon the labor of the industrious was rendered less insecure. The lease-right was granted

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\* "The original cause of the rising of the Whiteboys was this. Some landlords in Munster set their lands to cottiers far above their value; and to lighten their burden, allowed commonage to their peasantry, by way of recompense: afterwards, in despite of all engagements contrary to all compacts, the landlords enclosed these commons, and excluded their unhappy tenants from the only means of making their bargains tolerable." *An inquiry into the causes of the outrages committed by the Levellers or Whiteboys.* Printed, 1762—cited in *A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland*, in a Series of Letters. (By the T. Campbell, LL.D.) 1776, which latter see with reference to the Whiteboys and Steelboys.

† See, for instance, "A Brief Declaration of the Government of the land, &c., wrote in the Government of Sir Wm. Fitzwilliams, who was six years Lord Deputy in Ireland; that is, from the year 1598, to the year 1594. By Captain Thomas Lee, 1594. Anno Regni Reginae Elizabethæ." *Desiderata Curiosa Hiberniæ.* Vol. I. pp. 66-4

‡ See Appendix.—Wyse

laid hold on by the labor-class. They paid freely for security in their farms. Hence a considerable portion of the lands of the country came to be let for long terms at the low rents which obtained in those days. Consequently, the holders of this lease-interest grew, every generation, into higher consideration, till they came to be landlords themselves and to exercise all the privileges of ownership; the head landlord, seemingly withdrawn into higher regions, being perhaps unknown, save in name, to the actual occupiers. In fewer instances the tenantry were enabled to purchase and possess in fee. And this latter privilege would probably have been more extensively availed of but for the restrictions imposed by the laws of Settlement and Entail upon free dealing in land. The owners, mostly, had but life-interest in their estates. Yet it was no part of their policy to break the entail: for no matter how extravagant the father had been, no matter how the creditors had ruled the rent-roll during his life, dying he left his son a clear estate. Such a state of things of course induced actual gambling. Lenders required enormous interest for their money, and traders extortionate prices for their goods, in consideration of the risk incurred. This system was, like all gambling traffic, ultimately found injurious to both parties. Wherefore a time arrived when the proprietary thought well to borrow from the capitalist, who lent at a moderate interest, but required to have a permanent lien upon the land, through the co-operation—co-borrowing of the heir and the holder in possession. Most of the great estates thus became encumbered.

## IV.

When Dublin had an independent Parliament, during the closing quarter of the last century, it was said to be the gayest capital in Europe. It was the focus and most brilliant reflection of the extravagance of the higher class. There was a magic in the life and freedom of its society; an easy, dashing hospitality, very delightful to partake of if one could refuse to consider how this rivalry of pleasant prodigality must end. Poorhouses there then were none; but you might, occasionally, meet scions of broken-down houses breaking-in horses for their friends, or pursuing some such gentlemanly menial employment: trade was vulgar.

The passing of the Union Act, and the consequent withdrawal of the Parliamentary eligibles from their native Green, changed their sphere but not their movements, "*cælum non animam mutant*."—It drew them into a wider circle, where their gay social trifling was lost in the more serious business of London fashion. Thence incumbrances increased upon the lands, as, in consequence of increased expenditure, debts accumulated on the proprietors; and the estates were given over completely to the systematic management of the agent. It better suited the temperament and habits of the great proprietors to live at ease away from the trouble and turmoil of magisterial life in Ireland,—to get out of sight by turning their backs upon that wretched crawling mass which covered the robe of their gentility. It was preferable to have their properties managed for them even at a loss. But it proved that the Agent, once that supreme control and mastery had been given over to him, brought positive, immediate profit to his principal. Many of the first-class proprietors had thus become absentees—some wholly, others partially—long previous to 1800; but since, it is quite a rarity to find a first-class Irish proprietor resident in Ireland, regularly, during any portion of the year.\*

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\* See "*A list of the Absentees of Ireland, and the yearly value of their Estates, &c.*" By Thomas Prior, Esq., 3rd Edition, 1745."



It is true that this class when at home had, by example, so far and wide the seeds of excess, which took root quickly, bore fruit freely in the luxuriant soil of Irish nature. The effect of its withdrawal was as though much of the atmospheric pressure had been taken off our little world, and thence that men and things had no stability. And this, as will be seen hereafter, was the measure irrespective of the serious loss sustained by the nation in the periodical exhaustion of its wealth.\* Thus reclamation or improvement of the land was neglected; and all other great natural resources were almost unheeded. Commerce languished, and many flourishing trades died out. Practical ability left the country to employ itself where more profitably, or labored at home in the rank field of politics. Thence politics filled up the measure of our excess.

The Agent, thus become uncontrolled and irresponsible master of the lands and of the lives of the tenantry who were unprotected by lease, pursued an Agent's interest only in the well-being of the occupiers or the security of the owner in the estate. If he were a self-interested man, his policy was evidently, to pander to the needy excess of the landlord through the utmost exaction from the tenant. He became quite a comfort to the employer when, from the accumulated savings of income and perquisites of place, or by other ways and means, he came to be the easiest of lenders. And so, frequently, he closed his account as chief financier. This land-agent system in Ireland swelled into a monstrous iniquity. Under its operation we have seen pass in close and rapid reckless competition and rack-renting, crop-lifting and murder. To the owners were, mostly, bad masters, they had many redeeming qualities which won the regard often, and sometimes the respect of their tenants. If they did a wrong at one time, they were capable of acting generously at another—though "generosity," as has well been said, "seldom amounts to more than a small per-centage of justice."—They were free-holders to the poor man; they had hearts of flesh in them. Not so their Agents. Between these and those they ruled there was no bond of sympathy. They were hirelings merely. They cast the blame of harsh measures upon the circumstances of their places; or upon their employers. Upon the ground of obligation to do the best they could for those employed, they often, possibly, justified to themselves the wrong, outrage and every law, committed by them or under their sanction. Their vices

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\* Economically, the matter stands thus: the value of four millions of pounds, sterling, (*Evidence taken before Parl. Committee, Third Report p. 481.*) be it more or less, in corn and cattle, has annually been sent out of the country, in return for which we received land and receipts—happy if they were receipts in full, and no more. Had the landlords remained at home, corn and cattle to an equal amount would have been given up to them, a portion of which would have been consumed by themselves, their families, and descendants, and thus, taking into account the existence of butchers, bakers, cooks, &c., shall say, lost to the country as though it had been sent out of it; and a portion of this produce should have been exchanged for teas, wines, tobacco, and other foreign commodities, but the entire portion so expended would not have been sent away, inasmuch as a share of it would have remained to the Irish shippers, merchants, and other traders engaged in the supply of those imports; and yet another portion should most probably, have been exchanged for home manufactured goods. It was the case before the Union; while another portion should certainly have been employed in forwarding improvements upon the estates.

tyranny of the most odious character, exercised with effect through their underlings, till at length a farmer could scarce kill a hen or pluck a goose without the cognizance of bailiff or driver. And the people abhorred them all with a far livelier abhorrence than they did the Devil himself.

Where the occupier did not hold under old lease he paid too much for his holding; and, consequently, was very much at the mercy of the Agent. Where his lease dropped, he was still more so.

It is natural for people unacquainted with the circumstances of Ireland to inquire: "Why should a farmer take or retain a farm under rent for which it was not value?" Farming and farm-work being the exclusive dependence of nearly seven-tenths of the people, land in Ireland was, up to the period of the potato-blight, 1845, at an enormous premium. As the population increased—and it was said to have doubled in sixty years, so, and nearly in the same ratio, did the demand for land increase? There were twenty, fifty, one hundred competitors, perhaps, for the farms to be let. A most pernicious rivalry seemed to have put in abeyance the common sense and prudence of the farming and farm-seeking class. They recklessly out-bid one another, offering in many cases rent which they could not pay and live; giving away as often a good part of their capital as a fine to the landlord, or a bribe—in "greasing" or "glove money"—to the Agent or the Agent's lady. The commercial rule A. 1, was that in general application to the letting of land. It was no part of the duty, or at least it was no part of the practice, of owner or agent in Ireland to consider whether or not the fine given, and rent bid were fair and equitable, such as, under the circumstances, a solvent tenant, meaning to be honest and with a just regard to himself could pay—"The value of a thing is what it brings." The Agent of course felt it incumbent on him to make the best, that is to say, the hardest bargain with the fool of most quality, in mark and means, who offered. People will even tell you of the landlord who made it a custom to calculate before setting a farm how many years it would take to break the in-coming tenant.

For a time, while the wars of Napoleon continued, the all-hazard desire for ground was not so much to be wondered at. Then, there was excessive demand for home agricultural produce; it was paid for at exorbitant prices; and, as a consequence, land assumed an extravagant value. After Waterloo, however, though the prices fell, the marketable value of the land was not lowered proportionately. For competition still continuing to an extreme, those who held farms if not bound to them, (as were many of those wise folk who looked upon Napoleon as a fixed star and war a fixed state,) still feared to throw their ground into the market; wanting other means whereby to make a livelihood, they held on desperately; though to go on with the assumed rent was to take deliberately the road to ruin. They clung to their holdings, many of them like children to a mother. "On this farm," said they, "my father and grandfather, and great grandfather were born, and lived, and died; and I will live and die on it if I can." They held to it with a desperate longing tenacity, even with beggary staring them in the face. They would live on dry potatoes only to be permitted to live there, to keep the cabin over head. They were for all practical purposes uneducated; they knew how to turn their hands to no other labour of production. And these men of the labour-class of the last generation had little of the world-scouring enterprise of their sons; who, thanks to the new fields over the way, will not stay to starve, though it be at home in Ireland.



Since the union with Great Britain, the first class proprietors generally, as is notorious, have ceased to reside in Ireland. The lesser proprietors and leaseholders, after this removal of the superior class, finding themselves the leading people of the country, should of course uphold its high-hospitable character. In truth they took and tried to maintain positions the requirements of which were extravagant beyond their incomes. They did no more than follow the example of their superiors at home and abroad, even, in many cases, but for different reasons, to the extent of becoming absentees.\* As was looked for, the like course led to a like influence and a like end. The influence was two-fold; pauperising the labour-class by rack-rents, and demoralising it by the contagion of improvidence. The end one would have thought the same, whether arrived at through the round-about of Chancery by the short cut of the Incumbered Estates' Court.

Yet should we not pity rather than condemn the men upon whom this destination fell? They were born to a false, a bad inheritance, and it failed them in the day of need. They found themselves in a false position with a fictitious income to support it. Who can pass up their mansions deserted or turned into an auxiliary workhouse without thinking of those who there lived out their palmy little day; of those gentle virtues that grew up around the hearth in kind hearts now sorrowful—doubly sorrowful, it may be, at the loss of hopes and friends formerly cherished there in happier times? Let us look at the better side of the picture, try to forget their faults, except in justifying to ourselves the supposition of severe justice which overrules all. If they have sinned much, they have suffered much; and all but their good qualities should be overlooked by us their neighbours. Thrown, many of them, utterly ruined upon the world, yet have they mostly stuff enough in them to make the most of their fortunes. They are truly our brothers now; and as such—let us think of them and act by them.

There have been rare examples to the contrary of all this; lords, and gentlemen who lived within their incomes and did not go into their tenantry, but stood nigh with helping hand even when the day came. And there have been good agents. They deserve the highest admiration; who proved themselves strong against temptation; who stood forth as saving examples; "who could have sinned and did not: who are they and we shall praise them?"

We find a true and kindly relationship in general subsisting between those owners or agents and the occupying tenantry. We scarcely an instance of a man of the labor-class holding under them who, if he had not notably been of bad character, has been driven

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\* It is of this latter class of absentees it may indeed truly be said

"They found that in other countries the scanty residue of the rental procured for them more of the luxuries to which they had become accustomed, than they could obtain at home. They were anxious to be relieved from the burden of supporting a high social position upon inadequate means. They were disgusted at seeing their estates placed under the management of a receiver appointed by the Court of Chancery. They were annoyed by the importunities of their tenantry, and pained by the sight of misery which they could not relieve; and influenced by one or more of these causes, they sought in another land the consolation and enjoyment which they no longer met with in their own." *Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland, in 1846 and 1847.* Introduction p. 12.

into the poorhouse or forced to emigrate. It is probable that not even a single case will be discovered where, with an incumbered estate and an honest resident landlord—no middleman-interest intervening—the tenantry have not been enabled to resist famine and all the following pauperising influences so long at work towards the general destruction.

## V.

A great part of the trading class,—farmers' sons born and reared in the country, as we Irish call the rural districts, with all their affections the growth of country-life, had all their joys deep-rooted in the soil. Their desires tended back to this condition of life. The goal of their earthly ambition seemed to be the making of enough to enable them to return to the country in a way of independence, and so to enjoy in it their prime, or at least renew their first childhood in their age. These divided themselves, as all men do practically, into two sets; the patient and the impatient. The latter having once begun to prosper would have immediate gratification of their desire, would farm, as well as work the shop or mill. At first it was for health's sake, to employ or to amuse their leisure hours. Next, having got into the spirit of it, each would farm for profit. If his farm was far from his business-place, then, unless he kept a steward for the farm or a partner—other than a wife—in the business, which perhaps not one in fifty of the set now spoken of did, he must obviously neglect one or both, and eventually lose one way or the other; "the business that is near is devoured by the master; the business afar off devours him." If his farm was near he almost invariably paid a ruinous rent for it. Moreover, he usually expended in "improvement," and in fancy tillage, far more than he purposed on setting out to farm. But the money went so gradually as scarcely to be missed whilst going. The till was ever at hand. From week to week what was spent on one thing or another was unfelt, but at the close of the account a large sum was found to have been expended without adequate return. Men of this set seldom succeeded in either business. But they had much influence in keeping up competition in suburban districts—in town-lots which gave a sort of lead to land rents generally. The other and wiser set, waiting until they had amassed money, gave up shop and took land, usually upon advantageous terms; and though rarely succeeding equally well in farming and in trade, they managed to live comfortably and respectably. The prudent well-to-do trader had but to change his coat to become the gentleman farmer. Having learned from the influence of town and business life the value of education,—for if he had not experienced the worth he had felt the want of it in himself,—he invariably gave his children the best, and genteel too, of which he knew. The daughters were made accomplished in the ornamental acquirements. The sons were made "gentlemen," or brought up to professions. There was, and there still is, though to a far less extent, a semi-feudality in Irish society, out of certain of the northern counties: and shop-keeping was a stench in the nostrils of the half educated semi-peeper, under-bred *aristocrats*. The effect of this was to make daughters and some ashamed of their parents, and even people themselves ashamed of their trade. As a consequence, they got rid of it as soon as they could conveniently. The sons of these people were formed to fill up a large portion of the list of Counsellors, Attorneys, and Doctors, who for some cause or another "didn't practise."

Those gentlemen with or without professions could not live on air. Indeed they commonly were quick-witted; and they exercised their wits

for their livelihood, non-professionally. A little money they usually got from their fathers and perhaps by their wives. On this they traded in land. Those were mostly good-fellows with sporting tastes, who endeavored to keep hand-and-glove with owners and agents, and to command a preference of the farms that from time to time dropped to be let. Their ready money was often a persuasive—a conclusive argument with needy landlord or greedy agent. They took land and divided it, to cottier it out; and in the letting of it encouraged competition to the uttermost.

Cottiering of the land had for a first effect a rapid increase of population. The youth of the labor-class did not in all instances wait before trying until they had occupation of the soil. The rational instinct, which in other countries and in other communities operates to the prevention of marriage until those about to contract it shall be satisfied of the probability of having enough for the unborn, was not indeed less active in the Irish peasantry; but they felt and judged from their own conditions. They had few wants: a cabin, a bed, a pot, fuel, and a potato-garden. These were these easy, almost certain, as it seemed, of supply. They thought that what had been good enough for themselves,—that upon what they had grown up and thriven, would be good enough for their children. They were surely as the mother should have health and enough of her usual strength, so surely would she have sufficiency of nature's food for her children. He should be old enough to "eat the big one with the little one." They were not starving in those days. They left all to God, and did his bidding to "increase and multiply." Nevertheless there were sensible girls, a few who, if they could please themselves, preferred the "boy," the ground of his own; who could offer something better, in hope, than a "poor hire;" some stronger security for livelihood than the "close-fisted" farmer. And some "laboring boys" chose the laborer, the farm-servant rather than that more mingled one of joys and cares, the wife and children. But whoever had a holding had a wife. No matter how small the plot was, he needed some one to help him; to weed, to hoe, to trench, to bind while he reaped, to toss the hay after his mowing, to pick the potatoes after his digging; he wanted some one to sweep the floor, to cook the dinner, to keep the hearth and the heart warm: to say nothing further—there was no help-mate so cheap as a wife.

The more the land was cottiered, the more rapidly the population increased; the poorer in all but men became the neighbourhood. The more middlemen, the more misery!

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\* "I would now expostulate a little with our country landlords, who by unmeasurable screwing and racking their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miserable people to a worse condition than the peasantry in France, or the vassals in Germany or Poland. That the whole species of what we call substantial farmers will, in a few years, be utterly at an end. It was pleasant to observe these gentlemen laboring, with all their might, for preventing the bishops from letting their revenues at a moderate half-price, (whereby the order would in an age have been reduced to manifest beggary,) and very instant when they were everywhere canting their own land on short leases, and sacrificing their oldest tenants for a penny advance. I know not how it comes to pass (and yet perhaps I know enough,) that slaves have a natural disposition to be tyrants, and when my betters give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with six of my footman, although, perhaps, he may be an honest and diligent fellow. I have heard great divines affirm that nothing is so likely

## VI

Moreover, while this cottiering was going on, sub-division of their holdings by the farmers themselves, for love not money, was in many parts taking place.

At "Shrove" you might hear of a marrying young man and his friends going about the country, within a circle of twenty or thirty miles, match-making at the house of nearly every farmer who had a "colleen," and "means;" "differing," upon the point of means, till happily at length, somewhere, a bargain was closed. Then it only remained for the friends of the young woman to return the visit.—"It lay upon them," by personal inspection, "to see into" the ways and means of the suitor, "to certify" that "the girl and her fortune" were not thrown away, "her little means" to go straight into the landlord's pocket or the usurer's chest. Leases, rent-receipts, &c., were therefore to be examined. Sometimes a knowing or suspicious old farmer would take occasion to slip into the haggard and, by drawing a sheaf here and there out of the stacks, to assure himself that his proposing son-in-law was not a man of straw merely.

It was, usually, the part of the parents at either side to make the match; some kind friend or neighbour interposing to clinch the bargain, persuading one party or both to give way, supposing that they differed upon the boy's settlement or the girl's fortune.

Now, though much importance was given to money and means, still more was in many instances attached to "blood"—hereditary disposition; since it was remarked, and remarkable, that the men of any family you could name made affectionate husbands and fathers generally, or the reverse was the rule. So with the women of a family, generation after generation they proved devoted wives and saintly mothers; while those of another turned out vixens or worse, drunkards—born with a "bad taste in their mouths," verily perhaps, imbibing "the drop" even with their mother's milk.—It need scarcely be said that these last formed an exceedingly small minority.

Once that the match was made by the old people, short work was made of the wooing. The ceremony of previous acquaintance-ship was not deemed indispensable. While the details were determining, if not before, the young couple were brought together and left "to make up to one another." Certainly, for a warm hearted and impulsive race, this matrimonial custom of theirs was a something most singular. It would seem as if wilfully opposed to their natural disposition. They simply gave their hearts, with a will, to those whom God gave them to love. "Marriages are made in Heaven," they said. "The grace of the Sacrament makes you love whether you like it or no."

It may be, however,—for such things would sometimes be, that the young man had set his heart upon having one in particular, and not the eldest unmarried, of a flock of girls, or none of them; and the father of the maids would not give away his Rachel first, "would not *cull* his daughters for any man!" So if the young Jacob would not take Lia he might go elsewhere for a wife. Any one of those good girls would make a true and loving wife: there was no doubt of that. Thus they married and lived happily, bringing up their children in the fear and love of

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call down a universal judgment from Heaven upon a nation as universal oppression; and whether this be not already verified in part, their worships the landlords are are now at full leisure to consider." *Swift*, 1720. *Works*, vol. vi. p.p. 281-2. Scott's (2nd) Edition.

God. Furthermore, so satisfied were they with the result of "the old custom" in their own regards that they kept it up and carried in the persons of their children. In fact such a thing as unfairness in the marriage state was nearly unknown.

There were then several ways adopted of settling the young people seemed but natural and proper that if the husband were the only unprovided for, he should bring in his wife to reside with his parents and vice versa, if the wife were an only child. It was not unusual, in certain circumstances, for the father to receive the fortune brought in by the son upon making over the farm to the latter. Sometimes, the young folk were happily set up all at once on their own account; their respective parents putting down "penny for penny," like the Blind Beggar of Bethnal-green, and then letting them take a farm for themselves. Very frequently, the parents at one side divided their own farm with their child, the other party to the contract getting money or meat for the match.

And thus, by more processes than one, it came to pass that the increase of population, consequent upon sub-division of the holdings,—the tillage of those holdings hardly if at all improving, was out of all proportion with the increase of production. What a comfortable condition of society to contemplate this, in which, as in the social scheme of the ancients, thus, population and poverty advanced, in many parts, nearly at the rate of a geometrical progression,—in other terms, every successive lustrum or clearance, that Wealth was just inversely as the Population.

## VII

Thus the peasantry were not themselves quite guiltless. Each man indeed has had its own liabilities; nor are we to suppose that any man has been called to account for more than its own. We sooner come to look at our rights which are far from us than our duties which are next to us. It seems clear to us, in every instance but our own, that the true law is to reach our rights is wrought with the rungs of Duty into the superstructure of Providence. And it is plain that such was not always the way in which the tenant farmers of Ireland took. Are not the duties of the farmer, first, to till the ground efficiently; and, second, to care for their laborers? Many of them were ill cultivators. They were ignorant; they had been hereditarily kept so. They wanted capital: the amount of profit rarely allowed them to accumulate. They were wanting in energy and habits of industry, but too often: their circumstances offered no incentive nor inducement to one or the other. They were a class, hard masters. They not only paid badly, but besides used the power of position so as in great measure to defraud the laborer of his hire. The system, as carried out, was this:—The farmer employed the laborer at nominal wages—three shillings a week was about the average, and he paid in kind, mostly. That is to say, the laborer required to till potato ground; and for this the farmer exacted a rent which, in the large majority of instances, required the full labor of the working man to pay. An acre of "garden" of the nominal value of eight pence sterling was held to be a set off against the whole year's work of the laborer.\* The price charged was exorbitant. Every laborer

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\* "The general price of con-acre land was from £6 to £8, for the year, worth about £1 or £1 10s. per acre; and for land and manure, as much as £12 or £14 per acre; but the rent was most usually paid in labor and labour of the worst description, and the con-acre tenant was subject to no taxes: and the owner of the land having no security for

deavored to have his "acre of garden;" and in it the digging, seeding trenching, &c., were to be done before or after his usual day's labor. If his potato beds were "lazy," they were not made in laziness. On the produce he depended for the food and clothing of himself, and wife and family if he had them: it is no wonder that they were poorly fed and clothed, and the children uneducated.

Yet the laborer too was not without means of making money, if he were active and industrious and provident. He had a pig or pigs, and sometimes goats and sheep. For the grazing of these last he had to pay the farmer. The pigs and goats had the run of the house and the "range of the road"—"the long meadow!" He fed and fattened the former upon the small and broken potatoes, and the potato peels that remained after meals. His wife had poultry, and sold eggs and fowl. By all which resources they contrived to make many pennies in the year. They mostly managed to spend them.

They lived wretchedly from year's end to year's end, excepting Christmas and Easter day. Throughout whole districts, they eat potatoes dry; a salted herring or milk were rarities. "If they had fish and tea" "on the night of the Big supper," a meat meal on Christmas day, and eggs at Easter, they were content—blessed in so being! They indulged in but one home luxury, tobacco.† They often, however, spent in excess on Sundays and fair and market days as much as might have enabled them to live all the year round in comparative comfort.

Almost every parish had its own amusements, in which gambling had a chief share. Goats, geese, and such small stock were frequently the stakes of cards. Many a shilling, hoarded amidst home privations, was betted away and swilled in porter or whiskey at the bowling or goaling (golfing) match. And the price of the pig changed hands sometimes

*rent in the event of a failure of the crops, the rent, when paid, included a sort of insurance to cover risk of insolvent years.* In some parts of Conemara the usage was more favorable to the tenant; he paid no rent, but planted his potatoes in well manured ground, and gave half the produce to the landlord." *Evidence taken before Land Occupation Commission.* This alleged explanation, though cited as such, evidently is inconsistent with the facts; for during the growth of the crop the price, labor, was in course of payment. The farmer had the payment whoever had the crop.

\* *Martin Kenny, Laborer*: "If they eat either the little pig or the butter they must go naked." *John Griffin, Weaver*: "Nine-tenths of this class would go to America, if they got any help; they would not say they would like to go, because it would disoblige the gentlemen; but they would almost all like to go, there is such a report here of the diet being so clever beyond." *Patrick Cassidy, Schoolmaster*: "The general food of the peasant is dry potatoes; he may sometimes have a herring or a drop of milk; it is a melancholy truth that they can rear the pig but they cannot eat the bacon!" Appendix, A. p.p. 357-8. *First Report from the Commissioners for inquiring into the Condition of the Poor in Ireland.* Session, 1835.

† The country people almost invariably stated to any of the higher order who attempted to reason them away from tobacco smoking, that they suffered from pain in the stomach which they found nothing to relieve but a "shaugh of the pipe." In many parts, the peasantry subsisted on two meals in the day; and in order to retard digestion of their



after a game of hand ball or a cock-fight.\* No doubt there were places where such gambling practices did not prevail; but it is more than probable that these were the fewer in number.

How far the poor ignorant laborer was to be blamed, who sacrificed not only his own but his family's comfort and security to satisfy, for the day, selfish inclinations, it is not requisite now to enquire. Enough for the present purpose to consider how far his customary conduct, as well as that of the other orders of the state, tended to induce the social condition of Ireland in 1845, immediately previous to the potato blight. It is beyond doubt that, as a body, the laborers were improvident. Their women were by halves the better. They did, whilst "bachelors," more or less encourage the excesses of the youthful and admiring "buckles" at the dances and Patrons; but theirs was the more innocent share. Their wives, they were examples of self-denial and, for their sluttish customs, of thrift also. With them it was all work, no play. They were accordingly the least chargeable with the common improvidence. But as soon as a man had to suffer with the woman in the early days, so woman was no less a sufferer with man ever after. In the years of plenty our people knew the value of providence, and when the years of famine came Providence seemed to "know them not." "Want" came upon them as a traveller, and as a gary as a man armed." Their food was blighted: their single dependence against every necessity, for every want—the potato, failed. Their help failed with it. When it was gone, they had little to trust to but Death. And they did die: the Merciful God alone knows how many, in suffering, and with what submissive patience.

#### VIII.

We need no speculative reasoning to explain how the failure of one kind of crop was effective of such desolation as that of the potato crop in Ireland:—destruction of life, ruin of property and of trade, emigration, demoralization, almost social disorganisation. If the potato was not in itself the root of our misery, it and the misery were nevertheless connected. With it the evils grew and flourished; and with it be-

food, and so keep off hunger, they were wont to eat the potato in a cooked state—"with the moon in it." But certainly, they made no objection to a general plea for indulging in their favorite luxury. This is a case as reported to the writer by a shop-keeper:—"A laborer named John Hallinan, deceased"—residence stated—"had, during fifteen years, credit from me in the matter of soap and tobacco to the amount of from £5 to £8. The soap account amounted usually to seventeen shillings and four pence, yearly. With the produce of the sale of a pig, that he fattened and sold to meet this debt especially, Hallinan discharged half-yearly the amount accruing. Hallinan himself, his old wife Betty, and two out of three sons were smokers."

\* Cock-fighting has withstood both law and enlightenment. The law against it is year after year transgressed with impunity; the fanatics of one district tempting those of another on some neutral ground there fighting out their "mains" satisfactorily. At these meetings, and that if mentioned might seem incredible are gambled; and some of the worst and most brutal passions are frequently excited amongst the engaged. It has been stated to the writer by a witness to the occurrence, that, not very many years since, a sporting gentleman farmer—name and residence stated—staked and lost on a decisive match, fought against parish, the amount of rent £120, he it more or less, that he was about to pay in order to redeem his farm *then under ejectment*. This, of course, was an extreme case.

part of the produce of the soil. It was a plentiful crop, and while it yielded a return in kind there was little danger of starvation; for the poorest had his patch of garden. Even the migrative Mayoman or Kerryman had a potato-plot near his hovel, which he, after the trenching, driving a nail in the cabin door, "left to the care of the Lord," whilst he went to work in England, Scotland, or Leinster, and his family begged the country and were fed from the produce of larger "gardens:" for the farmer never refused a handful of potatoes to "the poor man's child." Moreover, it was the people's own. All other crops they grew for other mouths, this was their own. It was on this the peasantry entirely depended for support. Then the blight came. Still the landlord should have his rent and the creditor his debt; they also had to live. But when famine broods over a besieged city or when provisions run short at sea, the high and the low, master and servant, are brought to the same level; the common right of humanity asserts itself over and above the social rights of any. It was not so here in Ireland. Community of danger failed to induce community of interest; hence the destruction of life, the ruin of property, and loss in trade; hence, too, pauperism. More than a million and a-half, or rather above one-sixth of the entire people disappeared from off the face of the land: died of famine, pestilence, and their effects, or emigrated—more in dread than hope; and many of these last were from amongst the best and most efficient of the labor-class. And yet landlord and middleman broke down; how was that? It is plain enough upon a simple statement.

The farmer who, under ordinary circumstances, did but barely exist whilst paying the rent, or sometimes only a moiety of the rent, now could not do both after having lost that crop which, from the support it gave him and his laborers, was worth to him half his farm's produce. He struggled through the first year by running into debt or into arrear of rent, or by the sale of a portion of his farm-stock. He set the potato for a second blight. In his judgment it was worth the risk; for no known substitute could make up for the loss of the potato. Upon its soundness the entire social edifice depended. Rot was in the principals; and though the whole fabric of the system was bad and abominable, the farmer thought it worth the endeavor to renew the props even of decayed stuff, no better being at hand. Should the old house come down whilst he remained within it he could not expect to come forth uninjured.

The blight of the second year was even more destructive than that of the first. In most instances there was no compromise in rent—"the farmer should take the bad year with the good:" it was "the big one with the little one" over again! The landlord took perhaps a portion of the rent *on account*; else he distrained, whereby the occupier suffered in his goods and chattels. In either case the farmer had little inducement to cultivate the ground so as to make up for his losses by increased production. He had neither property nor money-interest in his holding. He had no confidence that he should reap what he sowed; or rather he was confident that, unless he crop-lifted, some other should,—landlord, shopkeeper, or rate-collector; since the produce would not suffice to pay all and enable him to live. If the landlord had allowed an arrear to lie over, the farmer had that as well as the current rent, together with a largely increased poor's rate, and shop-debts, to meet; if he had been distrained, he scarcely could expect more consideration in the time to come. Besides, having lost wherewithal he used to feed and pay his laborers, he found the maintenance of them no easy matter. Dispirited he held on, in most instances, cultivating more or less of his holding; but still, a considerable portion of land was again put under potatoes. Again they failed, and again. More distraint, more crop-lifting, fewer



laborers employed. Then came the climacteric, the Season of Scattering!

The landlord now tried to compromise, to get up the land or to a tenantry. All this while there was general suffering in absence of general co-operation. There was less and less production where it was most want, whilst the fattening soil remained idle and the laborers unemployed; all through want of mutual confidence.

The laborer immediately suffered most; in fact the blight began with him at a sweep. For the almost only other matter of value which he possessed, the pig, depended, like himself, on the potato. The stock of swine, too, were at this period much reduced, in consequence of disease that just previously to the years of blight had made severe havoc amongst them. The few that the laborers had they were, through want of food for them, constrained to part with; and mostly at a sacrifice, the market soon having become glutted. The majority of the laborers could scrape together a sufficiency, emigrated. So also did a large number of the farmers, taking with them, in the aggregate, no inconsiderable share of the agricultural capital.

Meanwhile, the landlord had to meet his incumbrances as before. Those incumbrances amounted, it has been calculated, to seventy per cent on the rental. And how was the landlord of either order to meet seventy per cent whilst not twenty-five per cent, scarcely sufficient to support his family, was received by him out of his rental? Incumbrances accumulated; creditors became clamorous,—they too had families; mortgages were foreclosed. Parliament passed “a Bill to facilitate the sale of Incumbered Estates in Ireland.”

What of the middleman? He had rent to pay, perhaps also incumbrances to meet, and a family to maintain upon nothing, in the shape of rent. For, his tenant, the cottier, deprived of the potato-crop, had nothing to pay away. Furniture, farm-implements, and small-stocks were sold by the cottier to enable him to quit the country; or, if insufficient for that purpose, to buy food. He allowed his plot to lie fallow in order to labor on the roads under the Board of Works; and was paid for Indian corn at nineteen pounds the ton his family nearly starved upon his earnings. Let landlord, middleman, rate-collector do their worst, he defied them. He had a handful of straw in the corner and a pot of the hearth; let them distrain these! In many cases it was not easy to eject; since the small plots were commonly held under “Proprietorship” which gave legal rights not easily dealt with as not easily defined. A practical solution of the difficulty was found in the addition of a clause to the new Poor-Law, forbidding relief to any occupier of more than a quarter-acre of ground. The cottier was pauperised; so, too, was the middleman.

There came a general stagnation in nearly all regular trading. A large importation of maize and other bread-stuffs, and traffic, all but excluded in the same, took place indeed; and Ireland thence became a large importing as well as exporting country. The stream of speculation was turned into this channel. The merchant-class seemed to think that the granaries of the world must soon be exhausted, or that the necessities of our people never would be satisfied. They and the British colleagues bought up vast quantities of corn in the North American and South European ports, and hoarded it for famine prices. Large fortunes were at first said to have been realized. Nor was this to be wondered at; since maize rose rapidly from £6 to £19 per ton. It fell even more rapidly. Food had been brought to famine prices; the people had died; and yet the merchants had not done well.

Doubtless that is a proper economic law which negates interference with private speculation; but there is an older law applicable to those transactions on the whole,—that the price of blood cannot add anything to the public treasury. In this instance it was taken from the stock of the people to become the property of strangers.\*

\* The removal of the protection from home grown grain, which took place at this period, had necessarily a very decided influence on Ireland, her staple production for exchange being corn. The repeal of the corn-laws did not cheapen the necessities of the agriculturist in a degree equivalent to that of the reduction which it caused in the profit of his produce; and therefore it constrained him either to lessen proportionately his expenditure in the way of second necessities or decencies—manufactured goods, &c., or to decrease in a like ratio his accumulative capital. In the majority of cases, the former was, necessarily, the occurrence; inasmuch as none of the surplus produce remained to him to constitute such capital. It did not, as in the case of manufacturing England, confer upon one and the larger division of the people benefit more than commensurate with the loss sustained by the other. Here the matter was reversed; the benefit accrued to the smaller, the injury fell upon the larger division; the proportion of the agricultural to what may be called the town population being reversed in the countries. There can be no doubt that, taking place during a time of general scarcity, it did, by the cheapening of the food which it caused, lighten very considerably the burden of supporting a mass of pauperism. And it did also render more easy, or rather less desperate, the struggle for self-support maintained by the half-pauper population. But it may be questioned whether the benefit so conferred upon the general people was equivalent to the injury experienced, less directly but not less surely, through the producers of the staple commodity.

Ultimately, however, the loss must come against the owners; and necessarily. Since it is evident that so long as there exist such facilities for emigration, and so many inducements to emigrate, no man dependent for support upon the produce of the ground by his culture of it, will continue to occupy and pay rent for a farm the cultivation of which has ceased to be remunerative. So far only then as the tenant in possession shall have such an interest that will admit of the certain reduction of profit, and yet allow of remunerative occupancy, will he consent to be the loser. And under the present system of tenancy at will or for a short term there can be but few such tenants.

The rents of 1845 seem little likely to be re-established, permanently, at least in our time. Doubtless, a better system of farming will obtain here, and many blades of grass be made to grow where now there is none. But in order to effect such a change it will be necessary, either to supply the want of industrial training in the present class of occupiers and to increase their capital, or to replace these with a new class possessed of the skill and capital required. Having done the one or the other of these things, it will be requisite, whether to preserve or to procure a class of skilled capitalist farmers, to give such farmers an adequately remunerative interest in their holdings; and that must be quite inconsistent with the keeping up of the old competition letting value. "If the rents of 1845 were in many instances even then excessive and far beyond any sums that could be collected from the tenants," (Report of Incumbered Estates Commission, dated 3rd May, 1851,) even then when men were willing to farm for mere subsistence' sake, and

## IX

Thus have we seen how so much of the mischief of our social state was brought about :—How we fought and feasted ; how some of us fell in in the field and others under the table. How some of us turned our backs on home. Who took the posts of those, and who played their parts, and how. And who took their own parts, God bless them ! How then some of us fell and how some us rose or were “raised.” How some of us married and were given in marriage. How some of us worked. How some of us played and drank. How some of us starved. How the rest of us suffered. And now we come to see how something came home to some of us, after a long time ; and to reflect a little as to how much of all this was of our own fault, and how much of it our misfortune.

We have seen that in the general crash of interests connected with the land the incumbrancer was the last to suffer. Some have gone so far as to say that, under the circumstances, this was not altogether equitable ; that at least he should have had a child's share in the loss of the inheritance. The Legislature, however, in its wisdom, deemed otherwise ; judging that, inasmuch as investment with respect to land having been, by the proprietary laws, practically confined to mortgage, it was but just that the whole loss entailed by their own acts and deeds should devolve upon the proprietors,—that they and those who derived from them should suffer all the evil consequences of their own bad laws. “The sins of the fathers” *have been* “visited upon their children to the third and fourth generations.”

Mark, however, that even the mortgagee-incumbrancer did not escape loss when, as in many instances of cottiered estates, he was found fool enough to lend up to the rack-rent valuation. The later the incumbrance, of course the more speculative or the more silly must have been the incumbrancer. And now that the price of land has fallen, with the cottier system, the latest incumbrancer receives in answer to his claim —“No effects.” He speculated, and has lost.

Thus, too, turning our eyes backward, considering the connection of fact with fact, passing therefore from Incumbrancing to the extravagance which introduced it, we shall see how Bayard's saying, “*Ce qui vient du gant s'en va par la gorge*”—“What comes by the gauntlet goes

when extra labor was to be had for next to nothing, and when the home-market was exclusive, we need not expect that land will reach to the old price when industry is to be compensated and labor paid for, when the home-market is free to the competition of the world, and population reduced one-sixth. While so large room for labor remains, it matters little, with respect to rent, what increase of produce there may be ; since every increase beyond a fixed point is gained at a more than proportionate increase of cost. It is only when the space for cultivation is limited, that it becomes profitable to expend labor upon the nicer care of garden culture ; for the fact stands, that a certain amount of labor and other capital is to be expended, and it is matter for calculation whether or not such capital can be employed more profitably in one mode of farming than in the other : it is manifest that Swiss cultivation in a North American clearing would not be the most profitable work. Here in Ireland, so long as the extent of land in a waste or untitled state is nearly as considerable as at present, there appears no room for doubt that fine farming must be the less profitable. The landlord must then, except in the case before named, be the loser eventually by free trade. Its immediate effect, however, was, as was said, upon the occupier. In many cases it placed the “feather too much” upon the backs already burdened by the blight.

through the gullet,"—the exponent of the social economics of Feudalism, describes as well the strong handed spendthrift of a later age: extravagance, surviving the nobler qualities with which it kept breach, and bed, and board. So in this instance, as in many others, we shall find that Good and Evil, twin born, do not die together; and that there is a measure of justice in the decrees of Fame:—

“Men's evil manners live in brass;  
Their virtues we write in water.”

Furthermore.—call them by what names you will, lordly luxury and base excess—genteel extravagance and vulgar improvidence, these, however different in degree, were not only the same in kind but were nearly related, closely allied to one another. 'Tis of human nature that men are extravagant in proportion to the facility with which they obtain the means of expenditure; are improvident in a ratio with the ease of obtaining means of subsistence. In no other civilised country was so fatal a facility of augmenting income or of growing the staple food; in no other country, within the same period, did extravagance attain to such a height or population to such numbers. And when events removed the means of raising subsidiary income through potato rents, and sustenance by potatoes, the ruin of estated property and the havoc of human life were such as no other civilised country, not even France during the Revolution, suffered.

## ART. V.—CONVICTS—TRANSPORTATION AND REFORMATION.

*First Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, together with Minutes of Evidence—Ordered to be Printed, May, 1856.*

What is to become of our Convict population?—How is the dreadful amount of crime prevailing in these countries to be suppressed?—and what arrangements are to be made for the future support of those who have been convicted, but who are about to be again cast on society with the stigma of convictism on their character, are questions that have of late commanded a considerable amount of public attention, and which have called forth a considerable diversity of public opinion. England has for the last century quietly rid herself of these troublesome subjects, by transferring them to her colonies, there to propagate the influence of their baneful habits, and to infest the growing population with the experience of her greatest criminals—but of late years the inhabitants of nearly all those colonies have, after considerable exertion and agitation, succeeded in suppressing this system, by declining to receive any more.

Hence the question, "what is to become of our convict population?" a question more easily asked than answered, and one which has been recently deemed of sufficient importance and difficulty to merit the consideration of a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the convict system generally.

Before that Committee were examined men who had devoted much attention to the subject, whose sympathies are enlisted in the cause of reformation, and whose opinions are, therefore, of the utmost importance in devising a scheme calculated to improve the convict while in durance, and to restore him to society, with some evidence of having been benefited by the discipline which the law has imposed, instead of casting him loose, after a period, with his mind demoralised, in proportion to the extent of his incarceration. Few questions present such difficulties that a Committee of the House of Commons, with its ample power of examining witnesses and acquiring practical information, will not be able to unravel, and to suggest sufficient remedies; but in the case before us there are points that can only be determined by inquiry on the spot, and we, therefore, regret, that, in addition to the Committee appointed to consider this important matter, some measures were not adopted to inquire into the *detail of the convict system in our Colonies*, and to ascertain by that means the causes of failure and disappointment in that system which has met with such determined opposition from the colonists.

From this source, we think, the most valuable information could have been derived, and the most practical suggestions gleaned for future guidance. We propose, in examining a few of the suggestions supplied in evidence to the Committee, to state our own experience of the management and discipline of convicts in Van Dieman's Land, thereby supplying, so far as we can, an important addition to the labors of the Committee; and pointing out what we conceive to have been the causes of failure in resorting to transportation as a punishment, as well as showing the reasons why a convict population has heretofore been a serious evil in those colonies, where, under different circumstances and management, they would have been a decided advantage, both as supplying cheap labor, not otherwise to be procured, and as creating a large circulation of government money.

The witness, to whose views we give the palm, for good reasoning and somewhat of novelty, is Captain Walter Crofton.

We find that, that gentleman, on taking charge of the Convict Department in Ireland, had peculiar difficulties to encounter—over crowded prisons—"no systematic discipline—the prisoners morally and physically prostrate in every way—there was the want of the element of hope in them, of education, and of everything one would wish to find,"—this was in the year 1854. At the period of his examination before the Committee, we find that, by a display of extraordinary energy and zeal, all this had been remedied, that a complete system had been established, proper classification and separation, means of instruction and lecture adopted, and that even in the short period from the date of his appointment to that of giving evidence, Captain Crofton was able to speak of "extraordinary results"—and we doubt not that, under Captain Crofton's system, as explained in evidence, the best results will continue to follow.

The first point of novelty in Captain Crofton's evidence, to which we draw attention, is, his opposition to the generally approved method of granting tickets-of-leave, as a matter of right, to convicts after they have served a stated short period of their sentence with good conduct. On this subject he says, "However convenient it may be for Prison Authorities to hold out as an inducement to good prison conduct that the prisoners should lose 25 per cent. of their punishment, or be released at the end of the third year instead of the end of the fourth, I cannot think that such a course will tend to genuine reformation. I should be unbelieving in the reformation of any man who would require so strong a stimulus as to be let off one-fourth his punishment to induce his reformation." These sentiments have our full concurrence. We do not believe that the inducement to good conduct by that system is of the right sort, nor can we be satisfied that any improvement so effected could be of a lasting character. We are disposed to the opinion rather, that the outward evidence of improvement would be more the result of *expediency* in the convict, than of any inward moral conviction of the benefits of a different course of life—therefore we think, with Captain Crofton, that some other and more tangible test should be tried before granting such an indulgence. The manner in which Captain Crofton proposes to apply this test is, in our opinion, the best calculated for the purpose; instead of turning the convicts loose upon the world the moment they have served the regulation proportion of their sentence, with a ticket-of-leave, they are

according to the plan explained by Captain Crofton, removed to other Institutions where they are detained until they can procure satisfactory offers of employment, or give sufficient guarantee that they have the means of earning an honest livelihood. It is during this detention that the right tests of reformation are applied; they are allowed increased liberty of action; they are employed as far as possible like free laborers; they are, some of them, sent of messages through the city, sometimes with money, their own earnings, in their pockets, and thus gradually introduced into the new stage of liberty about to be enjoyed by them under their tickets-of-leave.

Captain Crofton does not report any instances of failure or misconduct on the part of the convicts during this preliminary indulgence. Certainly if such did occur the convict was not yet sufficiently reformed to obtain his ticket, and hence the value of this gradual test under circumstances accompanied by a certain amount of temptation. This is, to us, a new feature in the code of Convict Discipline, but it is one that has our fullest approval as a sure test of reformation. We were always opposed to the uniform application of any rule in granting indulgence or shortening the sentence of the law. We wish to see an end put to that system which makes the convict feel that he is *entitled* to his conditional pardon when he has served a stated period of his sentence, if, even, he only "saves his distance" in point of good conduct. We, like Captain Crofton, want to see some real evidences of reformation before we again set him at large. Had such evidences been at all times insisted upon, and had the gradual test applied by Captain Crofton been brought to bear more generally on all convicts abroad before discharging them to earn their own livelihood, England would never have found herself in the "fix" she is in at present, wanting fields for transportation, while her colonies, sadly oppressed for want of laborers, refuse to receive her convicts. We deny that those colonies opposed transportation altogether on the ground of "pride" against being a convict community, or that such a ground of opposition formed even an important point in the motive for suppressing transportation. We shall hereafter show what were the real causes of grievances, and we think we shall make it evident that the failure of transportation, either to reform the convicts, or to supply the labor wants of the colonies, is more attributable to the system of treatment pursued towards

the convicts, than to any objections that can be raised to a sound system of transportation. We are unable to follow Captain Crofton through the details of his most valuable evidence, to none of which can we take any exceptions; on the contrary, we are highly pleased with his system of "gratuity," his mode of education and lectures, and his gradual tests of reformation accompanied by a certain amount of confidence in the convict.

The next point of novelty suggested by Captain Crofton is that transportation (or "deportation" as he calls it) should be confined to such convicts only as show themselves actually reformed, in short, that it should be treated as a reward instead of a punishment. This proposition we conceive contains the elements of answering all the objections that have been raised by the colonists to the reception of convicts, and it also tends to afford the most lasting boon to the convict. We hold that transportation to a young and rising colony is, to a reformed convict, essentially a reward, as opening up a field not only for well paid labor, but also for acquiring position in the social scale, and, perhaps, considerable property. An inquiry into some of the Convict Colonies, Australia and Van Dieman's Land, would disclose many instances of these men, in defiance of maladministration, rising to good position and in some cases to vast opulence, or, as we heard a representative of Her Majesty once express himself, in addressing a meeting, they have become "Lords of Waste and Princes of Forests." These results have, however, been far more limited than they certainly would have been, had such a suggestion as that thrown out by Captain Crofton been acted upon from the beginning. Heretofore, the system has begun at the wrong end, the worst characters were selected for immediate shipment, or what is more to be deplored, all classes were indiscriminately mixed and sent off together. We have, hereafter, to point out some of the consequences arising from this mistake, which will also assist us in determining the principal cause of the opposition set up in the colonies.

Western Australia is the field selected by Captain Crofton as the future home of the reformed convicts—he suggests that place, we presume, for the same reason that will compel us to agree with him—namely, the want of any other; we, however, have our objections to this particular locality in consequence of its proximity to those places which have suffered



so much from the former system, and whose free inhabitants will look upon the convict, not in the light of his reformation, but, as one of the old villanous stamp; however, we must accept this as the only colony now left to us for the purpose. Separated from the above objection, there are many advantages attendant on the selection of Western Australia calculated to give the experiment a fair trial. A wide field exists there for the disposal of the convicts; we believe we are not far wrong in saying that the territory comprised in Western Australia embraces an area about eight or nine times as large as the United Kingdom, with a favorable climate, and a soil of at least average quality. The want of laborers is also much felt, which want will increase as the resources of the Colony are developed—and if sufficient inducements to free settlers are held out, that developement will keep pace in sufficient activity to afford full and profitable occupation to all the reformed convicts that England can ever produce.

Our space will not admit of the discussion of the plans by which we would propose to follow out in Western Australia, the work of reformation so ably carried on here by Captain Crofton and his colleagues, or the means we would adopt to give the convict a lasting interest in his own good conduct, after he had regained his liberty, and to secure his anxiety for the welfare of his new home—but, intending to return to the subject on a future occasion, we will for the present content ourselves by examining the former system of transportation, with its results to the colonist and to the convict, and as we are about to do so from personal observation, and to bring the experience of many years to strengthen our inquiry, we hope we may thus throw some light on the principal cause of failure under the old system, and assist those persons whose inclination and opportunities may enable them to promote a better state of affairs for the future.

Before, however, proceeding with our examination, we are anxious to point out one indispensable provision which must be made in order to secure Captain Crofton's proposition a fair trial—we allude to the interval that must elapse between the period of the convict's being selected for deportation and his arrival in Western Australia. The test of Reformation in its most dangerous application will not have commenced until the convict is placed under new control, and has started on his voyage. Here the work of former conversion will be destroyed

unless far different means than those heretofore adopted be brought to meet the difficulty. We believe that irreparable injury has in hundreds of instances resulted to convicts from the want of proper superintendence and employment during the long period of the sojourn at sea, and unless both are now provided, even for the reformed convict, we apprehend that much damage and injustice will be done to him. This voyage and its associations have been and will be found quite subversive enough to destroy all the improvement effected by training in the Reformatory Institutions, unless some counter-acting influence be brought to bear; therefore, the danger should be guarded against, as it can be, by a little foresight and extra expenditure. If this be not done the preliminary reformation might as well have been let alone; and if the former mode of disposing of these men on board ship, and afterwards employing them abroad, be still persisted in, we shall have another round of agitation from the Colonies, the Reformatory Movement will be there looked upon as a failure, and those very men who have been selected for good conduct will be banished from the scene where so many anxious for their moral and intellectual improvement, are laboring, to be subjected to the most trying ordeals of temptation. Let us hope, then, that full provision will be made for the employment and improvement of those men while at sea, and, above all, that their spiritual advancement will be fully provided for.

We have now to turn our attention to the former administration of the Convict System, and to the remnant of it still existing in the Colonies; and we believe that in that administration will be found more of the evils than can be traced to the innate depravity of the convicts, and that to it may be, as already stated, attributed the opposition given by the colonists to the reception of any more of those unhappy beings.

In order, therefore, to lay before our readers the state of the case, as it existed to our knowledge a few years ago, we must trace the career of the convict from the period of receiving his sentence to his final destination abroad.

He was first transferred to the hulk, to await the despatch of a convict ship; and, during his stay in this temporary floating prison, he was associated with other convicts of more or less depravity, from all quarters, with every imaginable class of offence, each, consequently, bringing his quota of viciousness to fill up the aggregate of this floating Pandemonium. The same association, with somewhat less restraint, continued throughout

the entire voyage, and in this state, from two to three hundred convicts remained during a passage of seldom less than six months, under the superintendence, medically, morally and spiritually speaking, of one naval medical officer. True, there were military on board, but they were only to prevent riot, and perhaps mutiny and a general massacre; but the moral guidance, we can not say training, of these men for the months referred to, was entirely, we believe, under the care of this solitary medical gentleman. This living cargo of crime, like a herd of condemned souls on their way to Tartarus, was crowded in the hold of the ship, where every species of transportable offence was blended, and in one common association were mingled, for mutual contamination, the adepts in all the vicious phases of an iniquitous career.

Of course, there usually were, as there must be, many of the number who were not as yet deeply dyed in guilt, or acquainted with the arts or deep laid schemes by which many murders, burglaries, forgeries, larcenies, and a hundred other such deeds, are successfully accomplished—still, there was no guard against free and frequent intercourse. The effects of this were painfully evident in the after life of some of these fallen, but yet not unredeemable, beings. Many commenced the voyage, in a measure, unacquainted with evil deeds, or a tithe of knowledge of what depraved humanity is capable; with but one fatal, perhaps repentant step, across the threshold of crime, yet they arrived at their destination fully initiated in all the plans and arts by which their more guilty companions had carried on their lawless course for years. Some who had heretofore been versed in but one species of crime, came out of this companionship well skilled in all, and sometimes endued with a yearning to try their hands again in some more dexterous scheme than that whereby they had received their own sentence of banishment. It has been an observable fact to us, that, whenever these men were allowed to congregate for conversation without the restraining presence of some one in authority, the subjects discussed were the modes in which villany may be most successfully practised, and the law “dodged”; here the greatest ruffian was the greatest hero; and never did one of our country’s real and admired heroes, on returning with his justly earned laurels, recount with more honest and allowable pride the deeds by which “fields were won,” than would some of these misguided and fallen beings boast of their wicked deeds successfully practised,

and crime made a "lucrative profession." The ear, at first shocked by the dreadful recital, received a daily, nay hourly, tuition; gradually it became accustomed to the poison; the early shock was now followed by an interested attention, as the plan of crime after crime unfolded. The interest increased, as in a novel, when the next character comes upon the stage, to tell of his deeds of evil daring and reckless adventure, combined with plans and stratagems, which throw the last half mythical recital into the shade. The early abhorrence of these tales and their heroes was gradually turned to admiration for the men who could conceive and execute such great achievements; the ear was thus taught to believe that the greatest crime was the greatest virtue, that the greatest criminal was the greatest hero; and, stage by stage, lesson by lesson, the man who entered the convict ship, with little of crime and its mode of accomplishment to disturb his future career and reformation, leaves it well instructed in all the arts which constitute a thorough villain. Thus far, while the law had punished its transgressor, the mode of its administration had taught him to despise its purity, and to further transgress it without compunction; his mind being at the same time rendered callous to its moral excellence, and well instructed how to sin, and yet evade its enactments.

We recently printed in *THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW* an article on Prison Discipline, from which we extract the following description of one of the scenes enacted by these unhappy people when allowed uncontrolled association. Our attention was directed to this Article subsequently to having written the foregoing observations, and it therefore affords additional evidence of the evils arising from the system which we so much condemn:—

The scenes which take place in gaols of this description, especially at night, when fourteen or more are locked up together in one room, without inspection, and with such light only as the moon and stars furnish through the grated windows, baffle all description. Gambling with stealthily fabricated dice or cards for the next day's food, fighting, singing vile songs, reciting tales of villany and debauchery, teaching or concocting crimes, with the most virulent oppression of the few who may be better disposed, are the common features of the horrid scene. If there be men who have a turn for the drama, plays are acted, and the most solemn scenes of the Court of Justice are the popular subjects. The most guilty criminal is the one most looked up to.

"In the assize (writes a prisoner) there was a considerable num-

ber of what are called first offenders,—nine or ten including myself, the remainder forming an overwhelming majority; two of them murderers, both of whom were subsequently condemned to death. I cannot reflect without pain on the reckless conduct of these two unhappy men during the two weeks I was with them. As regarded themselves, they appeared indifferent as to the probable result of their coming trial. They even went so far as to have a mock trial in the dayroom, when, one of the prisoners sitting as judge, some others acting as witnesses, and others as counsel, all the proceedings of the Court of Justice were gone through,—the sentence pronounced, and mockingly carried into execution. I shall not soon forget that day, when one of those murderers was placed in the cell amongst us, beneath the Assize Court, a few moments after the doom of death had been passed upon him. Prisoners on these occasions eagerly inquire, ‘what is the sentence?’ Coolly pointing the forefinger of his right hand to his neck, he said, ‘I am to hang!’ He then broke into a fit of cursing the judge, and mimicked the manner in which he had delivered the sentence. The length of his trial was then discussed: all the circumstances that had been elicited during its progress were detailed and dwelt upon,—the crowded state of the Court, the eagerness of the individuals present to get a sight of him, the grand speech of his Counsel,—all were elements that seemed to have greatly gratified his vanity, and to have drugged him into a forgetfulness of the bitterness of his doom. He then dwelt upon the speech he should make on the scaffold, was sure there would be an immense concourse of people at his execution, as it was a holiday week; and from these, and numerous other considerations, drew nourishment to that vanity and love of distinction which had, in no small degree, determined, perhaps, the commission of his crime. To minds in the depths of ignorance, and already contaminated by vicious and criminal courses of life, such a man becomes an object of admiration. They obtain from him some slight memorial—such as a lock of his hair, or some small part of his dress, which they cherish with a sentiment for which veneration is the most appropriate term; while the notoriety he has obtained may incite them to the perpetration of some act equally atrocious.”

On the arrival of the ship at its destination, after being for months the pest house in which the united experience of between two or three hundred convicts has, by a species of human friction, increased in some, and matured in others, their vicious habits, they were then dispersed throughout the several Probation Stations to undergo a period of probation,—intended, it is presumed, to test the amount of moral improvement which their recent association had wrought in them, and to qualify them for private service, where they would have opportunities of dispensing to their employer’s children the morality acquired by the teaching of their companions. At these stations the same indiscriminate association was

permitted, all classes of crime, character, and disposition, were congregated; no rule that we are aware of appeared to apply in fixing their destination as they were called out in alphabetical order and arrangement, and were thus sent in batches varying from 20 to 50 to the several stations. Here they were encountered by hundreds of criminals, who had passed through the same sad apprenticeship but a few years or months before; and here, too, old acquaintanceships were renewed, and former exploits gaily or regretfully, expatiated on. The new arrival interests his old companion with a history of the many villainies he had perpetrated since they were separated, while the "probationer" entertains his *ci-devant* "pal" with a history of the station where their mutual reformation is to be effected, and instructs him how, in furtherance of that reformation, he may best "dodge" the officers, and evade the observance of the regulations. Added to this there might be found at each of these stations, old offenders who received the sentence of the law ten and twenty years previously, but whom all discipline, (such as it was,) all coercion, and manifold punishments, had failed to reform. Not that the elements of reformation were entirely extinct, but that the means adopted to revive them in this unfortunate class of men were calculated more to harden the heart, to deaden all feelings of soul, to extinguish for ever all ideas of an over ruling Providence in their breasts, and incite to further crime.

With such men as those last referred to, whose record of offences, or "character," as they themselves call it, had long since filled the allotted parchment sheet, (no mean document in size), and who would require to live three times the ordinary period of human existence, ere they could serve half the additions to the original term of their sentence, with men guilty of every offence known to human laws, some of them of a character too revolting to name, were those newly arrived probationists placed in unrestrained community—what wonder, then, that many of those new comers, instead of reforming, and passing through their ordeal of probation in one or two years, imbibe the principles of their associates, and go on, from offence to offence, and crime to crime, till they become a *convict and probationist for life*. Nor is it to be wondered at, that such as pass through this ordeal and are transferred to private service, frequently disappoint their employers, break out on every opportunity, and indulge in every excess, for a time denied to

the body, but confirmed, and made beautiful to the mind; that many of them, after a short period, are returned to their moral destroyers, to continue, and increase, if possible, their knowledge of depravity; and to end a life of misery, cut short by the slavery of chains, or the more speedy appliance, the hangman's rope.

We cannot too strongly deprecate this fatal error, little is known of it at home, because the fruit is seldom ripe until boardship and colonial associations are added to the sentence of the law; but were it in the power of any enquiring mind to carry itself to Norfolk Island, or Port Arthur in Van Dieman's Land, scenes of depravity and misery would there present themselves, beyond the power of pen to describe, and almost too horrible to contemplate. All nature sickened by the disgusting and revolting repudiation of her laws; men once possessing the germ of virtue, perhaps, in their breasts, but now totally eradicated, become beasts of such ferocity, that irons and chains alone can control them; and all this, we believe, the result of a system that sought alone to punish the transgressor by imposing toil and discipline on the body, while the real substratum of all moral improvement, the MIND, is not only totally neglected altogether, but actually forced into positions of imbibing the most fatal passion. We do not wish to be understood as saying that there was no provision made for the moral and religious instruction of these unhappy men, or that the system under which they were demoralised did not profess to teach them better things; but we do say that the provision was very inadequate, there being at most only one Protestant, and sometimes one of the Roman Catholic instructors attached to the largest stations, and those not at all times the most happy selections. It is not our object or wish to inculcate individuals, but it might prove a profitable subject of enquiry whether the instructors were men possessing all the elements of Christian benevolence and uniformity of *temper*, which should characterise their holy calling. We fear that in their case, as well as that of other classes of officers, it would be found that their sense of dignity and self importance often surpassed their moderation; that their mode of administering consolation sometimes tended rather to irritate than soothe—and that their self control was not of a character to excite admiration for their command of temper. It would be found perhaps that the convict has often paid the penalty for indulg-

ing in peculiarities of temper in presence of the officer, while the officer has shown himself incapable of subduing a similar disposition in presence of the convict. We have heard of instances where the spiritual consolation offered to one of these unhappy men, when subjected to solitary confinement for offences committed against the rules of the establishment, was to the effect *that he was only, so far, served right, that it was a pity his punishment was not more prolonged.*

Surely, under such circumstances, it would be very hard to persuade that convict of any improvement or benefit intended to his moral character, or to convince him that such a monitor possessed qualifications worthy of respect, or attributes calculated to bring balm to the wounded spirit. If any shreds or memory of early religious instruction remained, the convict could perceive at once that such a bearing in a consoler was entirely at variance with the religion of HIM who "was meek and lowly in heart."

We cannot too loudly denounce such conduct in men who, as messengers of Christ, accepted work in His distant vineyard, but who, by sad mismanagement in the vintage season, produced vinegar instead of wine,—sad offering for their Master's glorious banquet, where the repentant sinner is the most cherished guest, and where the feast is garnished by brotherly love.

Again, we would enquire whether in the selection of religious instructors where no such indecency as the above could be traced, they were in other respects men of that tact, energy, and mental capacity, as we require for such a work—we say emphatically, they were not. We know of one instance of a clergyman who, though a man of unquestionable piety and Christian benevolence, had the peculiarity of preaching and reading by a rule so contrary to all the methods of diction that we were acquainted with, that, though we were favored with his ministry for some years, we could never follow him through one of his arguments, or understand what he wished to convey. Yet this gentleman had the sole religious charge of two Probation Stations at a distance from each other of thirty miles, in a country without roads, or other mode of travelling than on foot or on horseback; besides which, he was the only minister of his own persuasion for the cure of souls in the entire county. It may be seen at once that, in the case of the two stations under the spiritual control of this



clergyman, it was quite impossible that any instruction could be derived, or seeds of amendment sown, in the *one hour* each week devoted to the convicts for this purpose. They were, therefore, left to the chance of encountering a good example from their lay officers, who were not the most edifying teachers, though excellent disciplinarians. So that the convicts may literally be said to have dragged through their probation term without the consolations of religion, or the precepts of their lay guardians, in any proportion to their requirements; and to have passed into private employment, all of them in a degree worse men than when they set out on this voyage of repentance. Many of them soon return to the station in an infinite degree worse than when they left, with their relish for sinful indulgence whetted, and in almost the last stage of human depravity.

Our objections to this system are not, however, confined to the want of sufficient consideration being attached to the moral and religious training of the convicts sent abroad, as we have also to glance at the manner in which they are employed. This seems to have been made a matter of as little care and forethought as that branch of the system we just attempted to describe. We have accompanied the convict from the hulk to the station to which he had been sent for training, and, of course, a species of purification; we have seen the opportunities afforded him for mental culture, and we have glanced at some of the fruits—bitter indeed—of that system. Let us now hastily examine how far his employment at those stations was calculated to excite a desire for industry, to improve him in the trade or avocation he followed before his fall, or to enable him to be of most benefit to society and himself, when he is drafted to private service. From some perverted reasoning which we never could sufficiently comprehend, it appears to have been determined by the authorities in the Penal Colonies, that regardless of previous habits and education, without reference to birth, breeding, or early culture, and never taking into consideration the quantity or quality of crime for which the doomed one was convicted, all alike must in their first stage work side by side in the gangs, and become what is known in Ireland as “a laboring man.” Hence we have community of disposition and qualifications, all supposed to derive equal benefit from the same source and daily amount of labor. We did at one time seek to be informed how it was calculated that the objects of transportation were to be

promoted by this system, and how the system was to be applied equally to men, all their former lives accustomed to labor, and those whose path heretofore was on the carpet walk of life, and to whom, therefore, the task of a trained workman would be an impracticability, without either showing partiality to the trained workman, or undue harshness to the untrained. It was explained to us that though the accomplishment of the daily task would in one case be attended with greater hardship than in the other, still the proportionate rate of punishment was equalised, for inasmuch as he of former respectability had less incitement to crime, and was, therefore, more inexcusable in its commission, it was considered only fair that his continued punishment should be more severe than that of the more ignorant offender. So, we presume, that the same astute mind which originated this theory, also determined by some process of mental calculation, that, in proportion as the offence in one case was supposed to be greater than in the other, so the deserts and dole of punishment would be nicely balanced by requiring each to perform the same description and amount of daily labor. We considered this, when we heard it, to be one of the most monstrous absurdities that ever came under our notice; yet its application was nevertheless rigidly insisted upon.

Now if we suppose the allotted task to be a hard day's work for a laboring man, as a punishment task should be, how then is the more delicate and uninitiated convict to perform so much, and yet if he does not keep pace with his hardy companion he is immediately punished for "idleness." He is sentenced, perhaps, to three days solitary confinement on bread and water, and is by that process made still less capable of attempting the work again; and, when he does resume work, it is with more depressed spirits, and, as a natural consequence of bread and water aliment, physically weaker and only ready to earn *fresh punishment* on the same score. Or, on the other hand, should the day's work be allotted with regard to the capabilities of those who had previously been unaccustomed to labor, then the strong and inured escape their fair proportion of toil, and the amount of punishment must in either case be unequal and disproportioned.

It has also been a matter of difficulty to us to realise the amount of good to be derived from the system of employing these men at occupations of which they had formerly known nothing.

We have seen a motley group composed of writing clerks, accountants, apothecaries, bakers, tailors, shoemakers, painters, with numerous other trades, and in a few instances former professional men, all working with the spade, or adding to their stock of knowledge by making roads, stone breaking, or drawing hand carts like beasts of burden. This we think a sad mistake, as it degraded such men, and gradually levelled their aspirations to the standard of ordinary day laborers, if not to that of the beasts whose position they were called on to occupy. We know it can be replied that such was the position in which they could be made most useful to the "system," and that there was not employment for them at their own calling, or even any thing at all like it. But we answer, that the system should have been made useful to them, instead of adapting them to a system notoriously bad, and if it was ever intended to improve them in mind or acquirements, the system should have inconvenienced itself, and made a field for their several callings. But alas ! this system, bad in all other respects, had not even the redeeming feature of consistency ; one of its avowed objects was to make the establishments as nearly as possible self-supporting. We have seen a Probation Station where enormous expenditure was incurred with this ultimate object in view ; mills, kilns, barracks, reservoirs, and many other costly works, were erected on a favorite spot where the surrounding soil was peculiarly fertile, and enjoying a climate as salubrious as could be desired. We have seen the immense forest "Grubbed up," become a vast and splendid farm, and beginning to assume all the appearance of the culture and old civilization of the mother-country, with a produce beyond all our experience in such matters. The establishment promised not only to be self-supporting, but we are convinced there would in time have been a large surplus, yet at this stage the whole was abandoned—for what reason we could never tell, or speculate to ourselves in a satisfactory manner—the splendid offices, granaries, &c., were left to moulder to decay, and the farm to return to its primeval state.

But to return to the arrangements for work in the field ; the men in these gangs happen to be composed of the very varied and opposite materials in shape of temper, that may be found in any promiscuous assembly, and it is perhaps to this indiscriminate herding together of conflicting elements, all to be controlled by the same officer, that the greatest mis-

fortune to individual convicts may be attributed. We admit how difficult it would be to make a classification, in order to arrive at a harmonious blending, but it might be done to a considerable extent; however, our complaint against this part of the system is not confined to the mode of employment, but also to the class of men usually selected as overseers of gangs, and we allude to this matter in the hope that the Directors of the Reformatory Institutions may devote some of their attention to the avoidance of similar blunders. Many of those overseers came in contact with us, and though we are convinced they were men of unimpeachable integrity and uprightness of conduct, we are equally sure they were as innocent of the mode of dealing with different temperaments, and as ignorant of the methods of reform, as they were of the laws of Confucius. Selected from a class whose principal object was the earning a livelihood, and uninfluenced by the slightest anxiety for the future well being of their charge, without the power of discriminating between the constitutionally incapable, and the wilfully lazy—armed with an authority most dangerous to invest such persons with, we have seen these overseers “lord it over” their unfortunate fellow beings in a manner that has frequently involved the most disastrous consequences to the latter. The grand and, indeed, the only desideratum, as far as we could observe, of these overseers, was the exacting a certain amount of obedience, and a good day’s work, which good day’s work they would have at any cost whatsoever to the convict; here commences the downward career of many an unhappy prisoner; stung by the ignorance or want of discrimination of his officer, who is incapable of appreciating his exertions because those exertions fail to accomplish the allotted task, he despairs of giving satisfaction or creditably serving his period of probation, and in this dilemma he has the rashness to remonstrate. Then, indeed, he makes himself the victim of vindictive, uncompromising cruelty; he is immediately charged with “idleness and insolence,” of which the overseer really believes him guilty; no proof is required beyond the mere ipse dixit of his accuser, no palliating circumstances are sought for or believed, if offered, and he is summarily consigned to the dark and solitary cell for a period, varying according to circumstances, of from fourteen days to one calendar month, or the last scintilla of self-respect is quenched by the torturous stroke of the lash. We have known instances

where the use of a little discernment, or discretion, would, we are persuaded, have had a most salutary effect on the mind and conduct of the convict, who was rendered desperate by coercion.

But the period of which we write was not considered one of reform; the entire object seemed to be *punishment* for past offences, and exacting discipline as a means to insure future good consequences. Many unhappy beings whose original sentence was only seven years transportation, and who have now served three times that period, are still toiling on in thralldom and chains, because they have been goaded to desperation by the, we will not say wilful, but ignorant zeal and persecution of their officers. We have had vast experience of these unhappy men, and we have seldom found them inaccessible to kindness and reason, indeed we have observed that those who revolted most against coercion, were the more easily subdued by firmness tempered with kindness, and, when once convinced that *their own* interest was sought for, and ultimate reformation desired, they willingly obeyed, and endeavored to improve. At the period of which we write, our mind was deeply impressed with the importance of endeavoring to win by encouragement, and edify by example, instead of brutalising by coercion and the lash, and to awaken in the mind of the convicts under our immediate supervision any latent good, or memory of any early moral instruction, instead of eradicating it, by provoking feelings of detestation to authority, and opposition to all discipline. Our authority was limited, and our views were necessarily confined to our own knowledge, as strict rule, discipline, and routine, were the features of the system we were employed to carry out, and by the general regulations, all infringements demanded and received summary punishment. It was our desire, as far as in our power lay, to cause all the rules and regulations to be strictly observed, but to avoid the punishments as far as possible—in other words, to make the observance of the rules a matter of principle, instead of a motive for escaping chastisement, such being, to our mind, the most effectual method of restoring those men to a proper sense of their position, and inducing them to acknowledge the justice of their sentence, and regret for its cause, on their emancipation from their term of probation.

The station to which we were attached usually contained

between three and four hundred convicts, divided into four classes, the best conducted being the first class, while the fourth was composed of those who in consequence of local offences were degraded to work in chains; it therefore rejoiced in the local cognomen of "chain gang." All newly arrived convicts commenced their course in the third class, thence, at short intervals, they graduated upwards or downwards as their conduct merited. Our supervision was over the second class, the medium position, consequently our mode of treatment was of importance, inasmuch as, its consequences, either placed the convict in a recognized position of good conduct, or degraded him to work on in hopeless despondency. We confess that we imposed upon ourselves a most difficult, and often a most disheartening task, but we found that perseverance was generally rewarded. Often and often, have we had to take one of these men aside, ostensibly for another purpose, and having pointed out the misconduct that had come under our observation, speak to him as a being possessing human feelings, and liable to human weaknesses. We could recount several instances, where the most hardened, many of them patriarchs in years as well as in sin, had been melted to tears when in familiar conversation we have accompanied him through the scenes of his early history, and home recollections of "the old familiar faces," gradually reviewing his course, from the days of childhood and innocence, to the moment at which we were speaking. Then shifting our discourse to the capacity and disposition of our listener, tell him somewhat of the higher destiny for which man was created, and implore of him, not for our sake, but for his own, to act on our suggestion, to come to us with all his heart-burnings and troubles, to look on us as desirous to befriend him, and to seek our advice without fear of his motives being misinterpreted. Our disappointments were many; often within short periods have we had occasion to resume our warnings to the same person, but we did resume them, pointing out the ingratitude he had shown to us, reminding him of the consequences had we resorted to the ordinary discipline, and again appealing to his better feelings, and convincing him of his personal interest in the matter, we have, in numerous instances, brought about a state of obedience and good conduct, that no coercion, we are persuaded, would never have accomplished. Another plan of ours was to assemble our class occasionally in the evenings,

after calling over the muster roll for bed, and in the yard adjoining the dormitory, without the presence of another officer, we would address them in a body, we would point out any circumstances with which we were displeased, and we would speak to them as if their short comings were a subject of personal grievance to us, as well as being an infringement of the regulations. We tried and succeeded in exciting a desire of emulation amongst them; and we hesitate not to say, as a result of our plan, that many whose case at first appeared hopeless attained private service, and succeeded well, so far as we subsequently had opportunities of tracing their career. As well as we can remember, at this period, there were but three instances where we had to degrade any of our men to a lower class, but we must in honesty confess to having received many of them back from the first class. This, however, in our partiality for our own plan, we were disposed to attribute more to the management of that class, than to the fault of the men,—perhaps a little of both was the true cause.

We found that by our system we were enabled to get comparatively willing labor—our class, with the assistance of an admirable overseer, possessing all the qualities we desired, soon distinguished themselves for their industry, order, and cleanliness. We received the marked approval of our superior officers, and we, at this moment, feel happy in the contemplation, that years ago we acted by the rule which is now receiving general approbation as the best. With our promotion, which we subsequently attained, our opportunities increased, as we could then interfere with men out of our class without being considered intrusive; on favorable occasions we spoke, as already described, to some of the worst characters of the “chain gang;” we promised to obtain for them a repeal of some of that degrading sentence, as a reward for certain appearances of an improvement in conduct, and if they did not infringe on our conditions for a stated period. In some cases we succeeded, in some we did not, but, even here, we found, that our system produced ample results, and that men, despairing of ever shaking off their chains, or enjoying liberty in this world, were roused to a sense of their condition, with new hopes awakened, and we afterwards saw some of these men in private service. We fear that these remarks present something of the appearance of self-praise, but we utterly disclaim all such feeling; we are simply

endeavoring to explain the system which we found beneficial, indulging in the hope, that others may be induced to try its efficacy. In doing this we are unavoidably led to state our own share in the experiment, and we feel constrained to show that while our motives, and most of our adopted means were only known to ourselves, their results called forth the marked approval of those to whom we were responsible. We anxiously trust that the directors, and other authorities connected with the Reformatory Movement, will give their most careful consideration to the selection of the officers of these establishments, *particularly, those to be employed in a subordinate capacity.* On these, in an infinite degree, will depend the success of the scheme, and it will be found, that in proportion as the officers exercise their authority with discretion and firmness, but at the same time with a knowledge that they are dealing with fellow beings possessed of hearts and an immortal soul, so will the prisoners learn to respect and imitate that example, and be grateful to the system which, while it punishes crime, provides for their moral and intellectual advancement.

The failure of all past experiments may be attributed to the mode of their administration. The theory of the last system was not in itself bad—namely, to sentence an offender to a period of transportation, to send him abroad, and there to place him for a time under a system of discipline and training, and then to discharge him to private service. But we have stated some of the results of this system when left to a casual administration. We are more apprehensive regarding the selection of subordinate officers than those of a higher class, because, from the position they are called on to occupy, and their rate of remuneration, they are not generally of that class possessing the most essential qualifications, therefore this point will require careful consideration and judgment, more particularly when it is remembered that those are the officers who will have most frequent intercourse with the convicts, and whose influence and example will therefore be of the most material importance; and it may be relied upon, that unless the prisoner sees something in the officer placed over him commanding his respect and making him feel his own inferiority, there will be no improvement wrought in that case, but he will inwardly despise that which he considers unworthy of imitation. Opportunities seldom presented themselves to us of forming an opinion of the qualifications of the officers



connected with prisons in England and Ireland, nor are we aware of the extent of their desire to benefit the moral condition of the convict, or of their power of self-control and moderation in cases where their example is likely to leave a lasting impression. In the class of officers with whom we were acquainted, we frequently had to deplore the extreme selfishness and disregard of example which characterized their exercise of authority; and we have often wondered at the rigor with which they would cause the convict to be punished for following an example set by themselves, or for indulging in a forbidden luxury, which they themselves had supplied. We will instance the case of smoking tobacco; that article was foremost in the forbidden fruit of the Probation Stations, its use or possession was an offence against the rules of discipline demanding summary chastisement. Possibly, nine-tenths or more of the convicts had formerly been much given to the habit of using it, consequently its want was a great and trying privation. The overseers in many instances would smoke all day when superintending their class at work, thus creating in the men a longing for that which they otherwise might have forgotten, and keeping alive a desire that might in course of time have died away altogether. This, to our mind, was both selfish and cruel to a degree. But they have gone farther; many of them have supplied the convicts with tobacco for some trifling service rendered by the convict in his spare time to the household economy of the overseer or other officer; or it has been given by their wives, and yet the convict has been punished and degraded for having it in his possession, and declining to tell where he got it, having received it under a solemn promise to that effect. Now, we do not complain of the fact, that tobacco and other luxuries are denied to the convicts while under penal servitude; we think it quite right that such an arrangement should be insisted upon. But we strongly protest against his appetite for those luxuries being excited, and made ravenous by seeing others use them under his eyes, and his longing for a smoke increased by the atmosphere which he breathes being perfumed by the pipe of his overseer. The entire absence of principle too, displayed in the overseer by allowing his family to supply an article and then punish the convict for yielding to the temptation. We hope such practices are not tolerated in the institutions at home, and that the officers of those institutions look with as much horror on

such a proceeding, as we do; but, as we before observed, we have had no opportunity of judging for ourselves in this particular, or their disposition towards the convicts generally.

We were at one time acquainted with an officer from the Model Prison at Pentonville, who was called upon to exercise his powers of management in the country in which we met; he was a most worthy man, and a most rigid disciplinarian—one whose eye would detect a forbidden piece of bread, the size of a shilling, in a prisoner's coat pocket, or the smallest particle of dust on the sole of his shoe; he would also, at a glance, observe a half-formed spider's web on a ceiling fifteen feet high, or he would discover that an iron pot about to be placed the next moment on a smoking fire was not burnished to the finest polish of steel; but we believe that a prisoner's moral condition never cost him a thought; he literally made clean the "outside of the cup and platter," while the inside, (the prisoner's mind,) was uncared for as a thing not worth his notice.

If we take this gentleman's ideas of reformation as a specimen of the system pursued at Pentonville, where he received his training, we may feel fully assured that the establishment is very clean, well dusted, and conducted in a manner calculated to excite the highest admiration of a casual visitor; but we question whether there will be found existing between the prisoners and those placed over them a mutual feeling that the permanent or ultimate good of the prisoner is intended. We are bound, however, to believe, from what we have read of this Institution, that matters are conducted there in a more generous and discerning manner. When we remember the training of the poor banished convicts, and its influence on their subsequent career, we are not surprised to find that, the first act of the local legislature of Van Diemen's Land on obtaining a free Constitution was, to take vigorous measures for the stoppage of transportation to the colony altogether, and this at a period when the colonists were in the greatest difficulty for want of labor, owing to the discovery of gold in Australia, whither all the free laborers from the adjoining colonies at once flocked, leaving the old fixed "settlers" without the means of cultivating their farms. Had this step of the colonists been taken at an ordinary period, we could attach no importance to it, as they naturally enough might be considered desirous to shake off the stigma of being a convict community, and their island still continuing to be the receptacle of the crime of all the British Dominions, but

we attach a vast importance to the act under such circumstances as the above, as, it proves, beyond all contradiction, that the colonists would prefer to leave their farms uncultivated, and their property uncared for, or pay a ruinous rate of wages for free labor, rather than be associated with men immersed in all villany, and debased by mutual contamination. Nor, when we bear in mind that the colonists were not at all times convinced of the integrity of their officers, or that the labor of the convict at the probation stations, was always applied for the benefit of the public; are we astonished by the announcement in the newspapers, that the same Legislative Body which successfully struggled against transportation, appointed a committee to enquire into the working of the remnant of the system still existing. But the head of the convict department, the Comptroller General, unwilling to encounter an unpleasant investigation, refused to appear before the bar of the House of Assembly, and subsequently, we believe, left the Colony altogether, to escape the tender mercies of the sergeant at arms. Let the Home Authorities then take warning by the facts spoken of from the south, and let them be well convinced that they do not fall into the same error. The ticket-of-leave system will soon begin to unfold to the public whether the convicts are improved by their present mode of treatment, or whether, as in the case considered, they have been made so much the worse, in proportion as they have been kept under discipline and under the teaching of each other.

Looking back at the bitter fruits of the old "system," we are not astonished at the colonists having almost a loathing for both convict and his labor; they found him a serpent in their homesteads and an unwilling drudge in their fields, all occasioned by the debasing "system." Indeed we think that these circumstances which we have brought to view, will afford full and sufficient explanation of the hostility of the colonists to receiving any more convicts, and that to them, rather than to motives of "pride," may be attributed the opposition the system has encountered in the face of a pressing demand for laborers; but we still hope that the dawn of a new era is breaking on this all important subject, and that under a proper and well regulated system, wherein the convict would be properly trained at home, and only those who show good symptoms of reformation sent abroad, the hostility of the

colonists will be withdrawn. We also fully anticipate that the colonies will be again thrown open to the reception of all that can be made useful, as industrious and well conducted servants, by which arrangement we feel confident the interests of every party would be promoted.

In the present state of public feeling, and the manifest desire to restore these men to a recognised position in the social scale, we are not without hope that most of the evils and injustices to which we have drawn attention will be promptly met and checked, or that at all events the convict will not be made a *worse* moral subject by his incarceration than he had previously been. Years must elapse ere the evils arising from the mal-administration of the old convict system will have died away; in hundreds of cases they can only cease with the life of the convict, in others an improved system, even now in the twelfth hour, might have its due effect. We therefore hope that the present endeavor to improve the moral condition of the convicts at home will be equally extended to those in our colonies who have been the victims of a less discerning course of discipline. And we anxiously pray that such selection of officers may be made, both at home and abroad, as will ensure to the convict a fair chance of availing himself of the benevolent intentions of the advocates of the reformatory movement. Our principal ground of hope, however, attaches to the application of the reformatory discipline to the juvenile convicts; in their case the mind is not past moulding to a sense of better things, besides, this is striking at the root of the evil. Let the erring youths of our present community be taught the right path, with moral training accompanied by the *ordeal of suffering* for justly punished deeds, and there will be little dread of an important diminution in our calendar of crime. The iniquitous haunts of villany, once swept out, must yield to the enlightened progress of the day, and these youths, instead of becoming hereafter the fathers of a race destined to pursue the same vile courses, which they inherited as a birth-right, may become the honest and virtuous fathers of children born to a good example and a comfortable home.

So many admirable papers have been written, and practical suggestions thrown out, as to the management of our juvenile offenders, that we feel it unnecessary to enlarge on the subject; but, from what we have already written relative to the appointment of officers, it may be judged with what pleasure we perceive

that the subject is now considered the most essential item in the great scheme of reformation. A judicious selection of teachers, unaccompanied by sectarianism and polemical differences, will, to our mind, produce the most beneficial results. But if party feeling and religious animosity are allowed to disturb the harmony of the reformatory institution, particularly in Ireland, the primary object will soon be swallowed up, in the unfathomable gulf of controversy and strife about words.

Being anxious to examine for ourselves the extent of improvement observable under the new system of reformation, so far as it has been tried in Dublin, we recently obtained admission, through the kindness of a friend, into the Smithfield Reformatory in this city, the first Institution of the kind established in Ireland, and that principally referred to in the evidence of Captain Crofton. We selected, as the time most likely to see things as they really are, not what they appear to the casual visitor, the hour of between 7 and 8 o'clock P.M., such being to our knowledge the period when order and regularity are somewhat thrown aside, being a sort of idle interval between the cessation of work and the arrangement for supper and bed. We did not want to see this Institution at a time when the prisoners and all things in the prison were in *inspection trim*; we had seen enough of that, and were prepared to know that the visitor might find all things very orderly and well regulated while his visit lasted. We desired to slip in, so to speak, and find matters in the undress of homely life. With what pleasure we record this visit—instead of finding the prisoners lounging about as ~~was~~ usual at that hour, indulging in idle, and often profane discourse, or chewing the cud of bitter and remorseful thought, we found that a lecture room had been established to improve and open up their minds, and if possible, win them back for society here, or make them steady, law-obeying men for one, or other of our colonies, Canada or Australia. In this room we found all the prisoners assembled, apparently contented, and listening to a most instructive, useful lecture, and one calculated to convince them that their moral improvement had really become an object of interest to the legislature; that they were not altogether forgotten in this world, and that the governing hand that was compelled to draw the sword of justice to punish, was also desirous to sow the seeds of instruction and goodness in their breasts, before returning it to its sheathe. The subject of the lecture was

**"Prisons Past and Present."** The lecturer—himself a young man, and, we understand, one who had raised himself above the accidents of birth and circumstances by an industrious tuition of his own mind, and who is now, we trust, on the road to a position where his talents can be made of still greater service in connexion with this good work—the lecturer pointed out to his audience with much ability, the well known history of former Prison Administration, culling therefrom (alas how few were his opportunities !) any bright and honorable exceptions to that reign of tyranny and bad management, and presenting, with just indignation, for the abhorrence of his listeners, the abuses and cruelties of that mistaken period.

Having paid a passing tribute to the virtues of John Howard, Elizabeth Fry, and others of their class, he proceeded, in a manner well suited to the occasion, to impress on the prisoners the opportunities and advantages now offered to them, the gratitude that should inspire them that they had escaped the lot of their early fellow sufferers ; and he then further impressed the necessity of strict morality and mental improvement, as being indispensable to their future happiness and advancement. This we felt to be a step in the right direction, but it is only one of many that are necessary ; however, we are sure the rest will follow, and that the men confined here will be duly improved by the exertions made for that purpose. We were gratified to observe that one of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, Doctor Lentaigne, was present on the above occasion, an attentive observer of the whole scene, and, no doubt, improving the opportunity for his own future guidance. This shows that, in one instance at least, "the right man is in the right place ;" for were this gentleman only disposed, as is too often the case, to confine his attention to the ordinary and indispensable routine of office hours, he would, at the moment of which we speak, have been comfortably enjoying his own family circle ; but his heart is evidently in the work, and we wish him all success in his arduous calling.

It is also gratifying to record, that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is a frequent though private visitor at the hours of lecture, as well as others of the Directors, and we doubt not that the experience gained by such men under such circumstances will tend to produce the most beneficial results. But whether beneficial results follow or not, those persons who are now devoting their time and talents to the improvement of this

unhappy class, are showing an example worthy of the highest imitation, and, even should their endeavors fail to produce the desired good, whether through the mismanagement of others, or the innate depravity of those they are endeavoring to save, they may be happy in the consciousness of having tried to grapple with and overcome a state of affairs ruinous to their country, disgraceful to humanity, and degrading to civilization.

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#### ART. VI.—STEAM AND TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION.

*General Remarks on Steam and Telegraphic Communication at the present day, with reference to the United Kingdoms as the centre.* By Thos. Knox Fortescue. *New Edition.* Dublin: J. Robertson, 3 Grafton street, 1852.

We have for some time been flattering ourselves with the hope that Ireland is becoming decidedly practical; and we feel no small pleasure in giving expression to our humble opinion, that the experience of each day tends to confirm the idea, and to afford the most solid proofs of the just ground upon which it was at first conceived. The character of the people appears to be undergoing a complete revolution; to be in a transition state between its former restless and Utopian nature, and that happy species of existence, of which thrift, industry, and foresight, may be said to form the principal ingredients. Through whatever part of the Island we travel, (and for our part there is hardly any of it we have not seen within those last few years,) it is impossible to avoid beholding the steady development of these essential attributes of a Nation's greatness, either as exemplified in its seaport or inland towns, in the great agricultural improvements which have taken place, or in the more business like conversations which we hear on the Railway or at the Hotel. That all this is the natural effect of the comparative cessation of political agitation, (even while admitting the exasperating causes which produced it,) is evident at first sight. The

minds of those classes who, from their position, naturally become the creators of commercial and agricultural greatness, if uninfluenced by unhealthy motives, having become quieted and refreshed by repose from the thunder of the platform, and the fiery rhapsodies of the press, pursue with serenity and redoubled vigor the more satisfactory and profitable employments of the farm or the counting-house. Abstracting the beneficial character of free expression, when it originates as the result of moral thought, is carried on in the true spirit of freedom, and never transgresses its legitimate boundaries, how great the contrast between the majestic though silent growth of a Nation's intrinsic wealth, and happiness, and the ephemeral blaze and rapid extinction of a system of mental excitement, which leaves nothing behind of a salutary tendency, save the example it teaches mankind to avoid!

The author of the pamphlet now before us, deserves the gratitude of all his countrymen, for the interest he has taken in the consideration of a question so intimately associated with the prosperity of Ireland, as that of, "Steam and Telegraphic Communication:" the subject of Transatlantic Communication has been before us for years, and the advantages our Island would derive from the carrying out of such measures as were proposed, one of which has, we are happy to state, been adopted by "The New York, Newfoundland and London Submarine Telegraph Company," are abundantly obvious. But Mr. Fortescue deserves the merit of taking a still wider view, and of suggesting a method by means of which, Ireland will become the centre of a collection of radii, whose extremities shall be connected with every country in the Earth. There is no benefit which may not be derived from the realization of this project, and we may here mention one which has already actually resulted; it is, that by the able manner in which it has been brought before the public, it came to be discovered that the development of Irish Fisheries, would in every human probability be attended with the most marked and speedy success. In every new Company, therefore, that we see arise and which is identified with Irish Fisheries, it is only natural to suppose that each are more or less indebted for their existence, to the application of scientific principles, such as have been cited by the author of this pamphlet as being suited to our requirements. Mr. Fortescue is Secretary to, "The London and West of Ireland Fishing and Fish Manure Company,"



the admirable treatise of whose director we have already reviewed, and which we are happy to hear is progressing so favorably; our happiness, however, is materially alloyed by learning that very few shares have been taken by Irishmen, who of all others should be so well aware of the vast treasures which lie beneath the waters of their Bays. Let us trust that they will speedily be taught by the example of their neighbours, the remunerative nature of such investments, and that they will enter with spirit into the prosecution of an undertaking, replete with incalculable benefit to themselves and to their country, thus advancing another important step upon that golden path, which leads so faithfully to national renown. In the following lucid manner, the Author demonstrates the fact that our Island constitutes the grand focus of civilization.

On inspecting the general chart, we at once recognise this, our group of islands, as being the focus of "the inhabited," "the commercial," and "the civilized world," which again, on more minute inquiry, are found to have the Isle of Man occupying, as near as possible, the local central position. Within the circuit of this island, which is about thirty miles long by twelve wide, one may perceive in the little glens, streamlets, and waterfalls alone, the face of nature in miniature, the contrast of which with the majestic expanse that bursts upon the sight on ascending 2,000 feet above the level of the sea to the summit of Snea-fell, fills the spectator with intense admiration. This view—the only one of the kind in these dominions—is truly sublime in its extent, and none can stand upon this island peak in the midst of three great kingdoms, beholding the shores of each at almost equally short distances beyond "the glad waters of the dark blue sea," without experiencing that emotion which their various associations, and the contemplation of the grander phases of nature, are so well calculated to inspire. It seems as though a microscope having fallen from the eye, a telescope has been substituted; or as when the soul, which, imprisoned within its tenement of clay has known only the limited field which its circumstances permitted it to survey, suddenly bursts the bars of its prison-house and emerges into space, where the countless myriads of worlds roll in silent and solemn majesty before the astonished and enraptured vision.

Its superficial contents are about 130,000 square acres, of which about 90,000 are under cultivation. The streams are numerous, and the hills disposed continuously. Douglas is its most populous and chief commercial town; its harbour admits vessels drawing eighteen feet water, and is sheltered from the north, west, and south; but though open to easterly winds, there is not a more secure refuge in St. George's Channel. A pier and two lighthouses have been erected; and the formation of harbours accessible at all times

of tide to vessels and steamers of any moderate burden, has received the attention of Government. The town itself is not only populous, but its neighbourhood is crowded with handsome mansions and villas. Castletown, on the south coast, is the seat of government, and residence of the Lieutenant-Governor. Peel is immediately opposite Douglas, on the west coast, and is celebrated for its cod and herring fishery; of the former the island enjoys the largest almost in these countries. At Ramsey, on the northern shore—the bay of which is one of the finest in the British Channel, and much resorted to—shipbuilding is extensively carried on by an active and busy resident population, and the Liverpool and Glasgow steamboats calling here regularly create an extensive traffic.

It is, in all respects, a producing island: corn, potatoes, cattle, fish, poultry, &c., are shipped. The produce in wheat is about 30,000 quarters; barley, 30,000; oats, 50,000; 4,000 fishermen are employed in the herring fishery, which produces 80,000 barrels annually. It imports British manufactures to the amount of £300,000, and yields a revenue to England of £25,000 a year. Rich in minerals—lead, copper, and iron ore being worked in considerable quantities, and many thousand tons exported annually—there is besides abundance of limestone, granite, marble, manganese, and the finest pottery clay. In the lead ore from 90 to 130 ounces of silver per ton are found. Mineral wealth, in fact, is the characteristic of the island; superior water-power exists, available for manufactories; salubrity of climate is among its prominent attractions, and the annual number of visitors is very great.\*

Here also the Established Church of England and Ireland, which has always been the one acknowledged, is to be found existing in its original purity and simplicity.

However, in order that we may come as directly as possible upon the subject matter of this paper, and at the same time give Ireland

\* In 1845, ever memorable year in railway annals, the following note was put forth by a "provisionally registered" company, who proposed facilitating the internal intercourse here, and which, as there is no fear of its causing a return of the "fever," is now reproduced:—

"The island is bounded by the following counties, viz.—Wigtonshire, Kirkcubright, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Flint, Denbigh, Carnarvon, and Anglesea, Dublin, Belfast, Meath, Louth, and Down. The railways from the inland counties, with the present lines of steamers, and extensions of them, render it accessible in a short period of time from every point. It is essentially a resting place on 'the great high seaway between Ireland and the north of England and Scotland.'

"The proposed line of railway will run from Douglas, by Union Mills, Crosby, Ballacraigne, and St. John's, to Peel; with a branch on the North from St. John's, by Kirk Michael, Bishop's Court, Ballaugh, and Sulby, to Ramsey; and a branch line on the south, through Ballasalla, to Castletown; with continuations to Port le Mary and Port Erin. No engineering difficulties exist. The land in many parts is obtainable at a cheap rate, and the local authorities, with the sanction of the home government, have power to grant the line, by which the delay, uncertainty, and heavy expense attendant upon obtaining an act of Parliament will be avoided."

the first consideration, it must be observed, that *by reason of the geographical position which she holds*, she is pre-eminently the natural site for THE EMPORIUM OF AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN TRADE—the commercial medium between the two hemispheres; and Dublin her capital, being the central metropolitan city of these kingdoms, the main line of Electric Telegraph to the *extreme west point of Europe* in submarine connexion, *via* Holyhead, with the lines already established to the eastward, must in time be found radiating thence, with a weekly steam communication to the ports of St. John's, Newfoundland, Halifax, Boston, &c., distant 1600 miles, or five days at the rate of 320 miles per day, or 13 knots an hour. To the northward, also, *via* the Belfast railway, and extended along the County Down line to Donaghadee, whence to Port Patrick the electric cables having just been laid down, completes the junction with the Scotch and English lines through Ayr and Dumfries: by this route also the rails will soon have reduced the journey between our metropolis and Edinburgh, to at least an equality with that to London. To the eastward (where the possibility has been shewn of reducing the passage to Holyhead from 4 to 9½ hours by means of a ferry boat 400 feet long, and 1600 horse power) the line extends to Crewe, at which point it diverges N.E. to the port of Hull, and thence direct to Hamburgh and Kiel, thereby including all the ports of the Baltic; and S. E. to London, Dover, Ostend, Calais, &c., between which latter ports the telegraph has been submerged in connexion with lines to the principal towns on the continent.

The writer goes on to expatiate on the wonderful advantages of steam, and comes at length to the consideration of Valentia, as a Packet Station between Ireland and America. Not being particularly skilled in nautical matters, our opinion on this subject may not go for much, however, from all we have heard and read, and the little we have seen, we are inclined to consider Galway a more suitable station, both for the magnificent extent and security of its bay as admitted by all, and more particularly for the safety which all vessels approaching or leaving it enjoy, owing to the general favorable direction of the winds. The two localities are we believe about the same distance from America, but the number of shipwrecks along the coasts adjacent to the Shannon, render the constituting of Valentia a Packet Station, a hazardous experiment. The focal point of America for transatlantic communication with Ireland is thus considered:—

But it is to Halifax, Nova Scotia, Sidney, and St. John's, Newfoundland, that our chief attention is to be directed. There is a spot which, owing to proximity to Europe, magnificent harbours, &c., bids fair to be the focal point of America for transatlantic communication *via* the west coast of Ireland; at present it has steamers to Newfoundland, St Andrew's and Bermudas, a station of much

importance, and which thus becomes a common rendezvous for the American and West Indian steamers. This matter has attracted much public attention lately, but three or four discreditable feints only to run steamers on this route have been the result. *Science, however, must shortly decide the question*, to the total exclusion of the dictates of low local interests, or unworthy national prejudices. The extension of the telegraph to our western ports simultaneously with that from Halifax to St. John's, Newfoundland, (across Cape Breton Island, with submarine wires in the Gut of Canso, and from Sidney to Harbour Grace, which is now in progress,) and the formation of the Railway from Bath, Maine, to Halifax, completing the link with the existing lines in the Republic, will compel the mails to adopt this route, to the exclusion it may be of Collins and Cunard lines. At the same time a coast line, through all the Atlantic cities, accompanied by the telegraph, will have been laid to Wilmington, (North Carolina,) which, produced on to Tampa Bay, or Charlotte Harbour in Florida, will in time afford the shortest route for our West Indian intelligence.

There is also the branch line from Halifax through New Brunswick to Quebec and Montreal—of which, as it is a most important design, we may give the following estimate and propositions for its accomplishment: viz.—Cost for 550 miles, at £5,000 per mile, £2,750,000—say £3,000,000, to include extras; to be raised by a Government grant in return for the transit of mails, troops, and military stores, &c.; £1,500,000; grants from the Colonial Legislature, and by subscription of stock on the pledge of land to be sold to the company by the three provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, £1,500,000; total, £3,000,000.

*Lands.*—Nova Scotia to sell 100,000 acres; New Brunswick, 300,000; Canada, 1,000,000 acres. These to be paid for when the returns of the railway and the sales of the lands yield a *surplus* after deducting interest and the annual working expenses.

*Cost of Working.*—By estimate, the annual cost of working a railroad in New England has been found to be 1,200 dollars per mile, at which 550 miles would come to £165,000 per annum.

*Total Annual Expense.*—Interest on £1,500,000 (Government to give 1½ millions, as above, in lieu of the transit of troops &c.) at 3½ per cent., £52,500; cost of working, £165,000; total £217,500.

*Inducements to Capitalists.*—1st. Grants of land. 2nd, Pledge of payment of interest on capital by three Legislatures—say, Canada, one-half; New Brunswick, a fourth; Nova Scotia, a fourth. Capital to be expended in Canada—150 miles—£820,000; New Brunswick—265 miles—£1,445,000; Nova Scotia—135 miles—£135,000.

Mr. Fortescue is of opinion that "A Ship Canal," would be preferable to any other means of communication, which has been proposed for the purpose of uniting the central American Districts: in this opinion he is joined by no less a person than the Emperor of France, who, at a meeting held

in London in 1847, suggested a line for one, which it is said he now intends to carry out.

The construction of a *ship canal*, however, is the preferable plan to adopt, and for which various lines are pointed out,—premising that in the Bay of Panama the rise and fall of tide is from 18 to 24 feet according as the ordinary or equinoctial tides prevail: at Chagres the rise and fall does not exceed as many inches; thus it happens that one time of tide the waters of the Atlantic are higher than those of the Pacific, at another they are on the same level, and at a third period the Pacific is above the low water level of the Atlantic. In June, 1847, Prince Louis Napoleon, at a meeting held in London, traced a line through Lakes Leon and Nicaragua which he recommended as possessing superior local facilities, salubrity of climate, populated character of the country, and the advantages of these lakes, which are deep enough generally, and at a small expense might be converted into harbours accessible at all times for vessels of heavy tonnage,—they are 130 feet above the low water level of the sea—the latter is 95 miles long by 30 broad, with an average depth of 15 fathoms. Prince Louis Napoleon has lately, it is said, expressed an intention of taking steps for the accomplishment of this project.

The uniting of the two oceans being, on all sides, admitted as a most important matter, more particularly since the revelations of the golden districts of California and Australia, as vessels would thereby be saved a circuitous and, at some seasons, a dangerous passage round the Horn, of several thousand miles, it becomes the interest of all maritime nations to unite for the accomplishment of this great object. From Europe to Australia *via* Panama is 1600 miles less than *via* Suez, and 2390 miles less than *via* the Cape of Good Hope. It would be productive, moreover, of great benefit to the world at large, and by diverting the present stream of commerce into a new and legitimate channel, would stimulate the exertions, and call forth the resources not only of the western coasts of America, but of the eastern portions of Asia, and all the intermediate islands of the Pacific; the ports on the Isthmus have all been recently made free, ships of any nation can enter and remain free of tonnage duty; and the customs duties on all goods, with two or three exceptions, have been reduced to the nominal one of one per cent. These advantages, combined with its central position for lines of steam navigation, point it out to the commercial world as an eligible position. Already, as has been said, there are, in connexion with the Royal Mail Steamers from Southampton to Chagres, lines south from Panama to Valparaiso, and north to St. Francisco and Oregon, &c., while from San Francisco a branch line has been extended by an American company, to the Sandwich Islands, and other vessels to China. In course of time, it is not improbable that the southern extremity of the line at Valparaiso will be connected by a line of *steamers* with that of the “Peninsular and Oriental Company” at New Zealand and Sidney, to which latter port that company has recently contracted for the conveyance of mails, &c., thus bringing the Australian colonies within sixty-four days distance of these countries, at the same time that the north and south extremities of

the American west coast line may be reached hence in about fifty days.

The trivial cost of constructing such a canal, is nothing in comparison with the immense advantages to be derived from the communication which would then exist; a communication which in all probability would be attended with as important consequences, (if not more important in relation to the interests of mankind,) as the nineteenth century has seen. Fancy the effects of the partial annihilation in the distance between these countries and China! What a field would not then be opened out for the rapid and peaceful triumphs of Christianity and civilization! By what noble results might not the facilitated intercourse with Australia be attended! Viewing it in a commercial light, the prospect is indeed magnificent, and cannot be surpassed. Ceylon, from its favorable situation, comes now to be considered as affording the greatest natural advantages for a central steam depôt in the Indian Seas.

Under such a state of affairs, Ceylon, an island about the size of Ireland, with one-fifth its population only, and which hitherto has been comparatively little known, comes prominently before us as the centre, or site of a steam depôt, in the Indian seas; its favorable situation is of itself almost sufficient to make any one arrive at this conclusion—just at the entrance of the Bay of Bengal, between the parallels of 6° and 10° N. and 79° and 82° E. Long., directly in the middle almost of the “Peninsular and Oriental Company’s” Indian line, and presenting a point whence lines of steam navigation may radiate to nearly all points of the compass. It is, moreover, a remarkably fertile island, with an increasing trade to Australia; offers many advantages to European settlers; and possesses, at least, two good harbours—that of Galle, on the southern coast, and that of Trincomalé, said to be one of the finest in the world, on the N. E. shore, where there is a naval depôt and dock-yard. Including the whole of the Kandian territories, it came into the possession of the British early in 1815. Kandy, its capital, called by the natives Maha Nuwera, and sometimes Sankada Gala, in the province of Yatti Nuwera, is situated nearly in the centre of the island, Lat. 7° 28’ N., Long. 80° 47’ E., distant 72 miles N. E. from the port of Colombo, and 130 miles S. S. W. from Trincomalé, at an elevation of 1467 feet above the sea. The Maha-ville-Ganga flows round it to the northward, at about four miles distance, while the lake of Kandy, an artificial basin, three quarters of a mile in length, and 150 yards wide, with a smaller one at the foot of the adjacent high hills, form the southern boundary or base of the angular piece of ground on which the town is built. It is judiciously planned, being formed by two principal streets.—Colombo-street, which runs east and west, dividing the town into two equal parts,—

and Trincomalé-street, which crosses it at right angles, making an almost similar division. The present regular arrangement of the streets, which all run in straight lines, was made under the direction of the late king of Kandy. The town was founded by Pandita Prakrama Baboo III., between A. D. 1267 and 1301, though it did not become the capital till 1592, and up to 1819 was little better than a collection of huts, with a population of about 3,000. Recent social improvements, however, together with extensive agricultural and commercial operations, have caused it to advance rapidly, and become comparatively handsome. It now contains some fine buildings, with an increasing population of 6,000 settled natives and Europeans, exclusive of military, with whom, up to 1832, it is spoken of as having been considered merely as a military post. Its first appearance is striking, surrounded as it is by verdant hills rising in amphitheatrical grandeur, and reflected in the silvery lake; but a closer inspection is not just at present found fully to meet all favorable impressions. Built in a basin, on a bed of gneiss, where the soil is exceedingly pervious to wet, the streets are rather unpleasant in rainy weather, which tells against its general cleanliness and health; but improvements are in progress which, when completed, will invest the place with a different character in these respects. This applies, however, to the town merely, for within fifteen miles around it are established the Indian missionary's and other sanatory stations, as high as 3,000 feet above the sea level. Nevertheless, the climate is trying to European constitutions, the thermometer ranging from 54° to 87°, with a mean of about 74°, while at Colombo, though it sometimes rises to 90°, it seldom sinks below 76°.

Gallé presents itself as the port of call for the "Oriental Company's" steamers plying between Suez and Hong Kong direct; and consequently, as a town and harbour, is improving rapidly in many respects; indeed, it is probable that much of the traffic to the central provinces will in time be transferred from Colombo to this port, as a considerable quantity of coffee and other dry goods are annually damaged whilst loading from the boats in the open roadsteads there, owing to the swell, which, in the finest weather even, breaks over the gunwale and wets the merchandize. These steamers touch there, and then proceed to Madras and Calcutta, the line being continued hence by fresh vessels to Singapore, Australia, and Hong Kong.

The following, as evidencing British spirit and enterprise in establishing steam communication, will be read with interest.

With the above internal changes in progress, steam navigation to the south and east coasts of Africa, Madagascar, and Mauritius, on the one hand, and to the Indian Archipelago and New Zealand, on the other, in addition to the two-monthly branch extension which has recently been made from Singapore to Ports Essington and Sidney—would reward the speculator, and bring prosperity and wealth to a community whose enterprise has already established steam communication with the following countries:—To Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, by the Hüll line, to St. Petersburg; to

North Germany, by the Hull and London lines to Hamburg; to Holland, Belgium, and France, by the General Steam Company's vessels; to the north and south of Spain and to Portugal, by the Peninsular Company's vessels; to Italy, by the line from London to Leghorn; to Malta, the Levant, and Constantinople, by the line from Liverpool; to Egypt, Arabia, Ceylon, India, Singapore, and China, by the Oriental Steam Company's Vessels, to British America and the United States by the Cunard and Great Western lines from Liverpool; to the West Indies, Mexico, the north and east coasts of South America, by the West India line; to Peru and Chili by the West Coast line; to the Cape and Calcutta by the General Screw Steam Ship Company; to Australia by a branch from the Oriental Company's line at Singapore. The only colony of any importance which has not now the advantage of direct steam communication is New Zealand. The ocean mail lines are upwards of 60,000 miles in length, costing the *Post-office* about one million sterling annually.

None can doubt the importance of Malta as a link in the great chain of communication; valuable as has been her situation hitherto in a military sense, she is likely now to have that value tenfold enhanced; and also to become the main-spring of gigantic commercial action. Cromwell is said to have exclaimed upon first seeing Ireland, "this indeed is a country worth fighting for." In imitation of the great Puritan, we may with justice say, Malta is an island worth holding. To be the centre from whence radiate connecting lines to the principal cities of Europe, Asia, and Africa, all of which can be traversed with lightning speed, is sufficient to render the locality which commands such an advantage enviable in the extreme.

The average time between Malta and Alexandria and the coast of Syria, is, say, four days or ninety-six hours, (though this perhaps is somewhat more than the reality,) as nearly as possible equal to that between Malta and Gibraltar; thus Malta is manifestly the middle point between the two extremes of the Mediterranean. From Malta to London, again—(the focus of the political and commercial world)—at present occupies, on the average, six days, or one hundred and forty four hours, so that her position in this point of view may not appear to hold good exactly. However, after the continuation of the rail from Lyons to Avignon, which is at present in progress, one continuous line from Marseilles to Boulogne will be available, in length between seven and eight hundred miles, which is equal to, say, one day and a half or thirty-eight hours, at the rate of only twenty-five miles per hour. The whole time of transit of intelligence between Malta and London would thus be reduced to five days, on an average; but special or swift trains on these important occasions, would accomplish the distance several hours earlier—say, at the rate of twenty-eight, instead of twenty-five miles per hour, and the whole



time occupied between Calais or Boulogne and Marseilles becomes no more than twenty-eight or twenty nine hours; in addition to this, between Malta and the port of Marseilles, the time at sea is about two days and a quarter, or fifty-four hours, on an average; and thus brings Malta within nearly the same distance of London as she now is of Alexandria. This would be the line of "latest intelligence between the United Kingdom, Malta, and the East;" while the direct bi-monthly communication by the Peninsular and Oriental Company's vessels, will continue to be the route of the majority of passengers, with whom the remaining in England till the latest day is a matter of no consequence. To include the transfer of merchandise would perhaps be useless, as heavy packages always take the cheapest mode of conveyance; whereas, in the case of passengers and news, expense becomes a secondary consideration. Independent of the above view, though by no means the less surely connected therewith by the results or effect produced, this island is made the head quarters, not only of all steamers direct between the United Kingdoms and the colonies in the East, but of all foreign steamers whose traffic in any respect may be worthy of a second thought, in a proportionately greater or less degree; for they have each their several depôts here, and in return they contribute to keep up a communication with those foreign ports to which at present no British steamers run regularly. She is the radiating point to Alexandria, Beyroutt, Smyrna, Constantinople, Athens, Naples, Rome, Leghorns, Genoa, and Marseilles, immediately on the arrival of mails from either of the extreme east or west points.\*

The advantages to be derived from the realization of the project mooted in the next extract, will be discernible at first sight.

The two lines of direct communication between the United Kingdoms and Alexandria—that, *via* Trieste and Corfu—join in with each other off the western extremity of Candia, where perhaps, in a few years, policy will point out the eligibility of a British settlement being established, until eventually, the whole or the greater part of an island whose situation enables it to command the approaches to Greece, the Archipelago, Turkey, and the countries bordering on the Black Sea; and in the climate of which, all the necessaries and the luxuries of life, from the produce of the torrid to that of the frigid zones, find a temperature suitable to their almost spontaneous growth,—may be brought peaceably under the flag of the British Empire; and thus would one of the fairest portions of the earth be rescued from the curse of despotism and heathenism, to grace, as

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\* There is a map published by Augustus Legerot, No. 55, Quai des Augustins, Paris, shewing all the railroads in Europe and the lines of steamers in the Mediterranean, a glance at which will be sufficient to convey a general idea; and the more readily if the universal term, *lines of steam*, be mentally substituted for "railroads and "steamboats" while perusing the foregoing pages.

another rich jewel, the diadem of a Christian queen, the sway of whose sceptre recognises not the setting of the sun—nor the nocturnal repose of the tax-man.

After entering into an elaborate statement of the superiority of Valentia as a Packet Station over Galway, the arguments contained in which, however, would seem to us to prove rather the benefits the south of Ireland would obtain from the adoption of the former, than the good resulting to the Island in general, the author winds up with a few excellent remarks upon some of the chief improvements upon our present condition, which will be likely to follow the establishment of Irish and American steam communication. There is nothing whatever chimerical in his suppositions; most naturally do they appear to grow out of a consideration of the question, and a most fortunate day will that be for the land of, "the holy hills" when the desired consummation shall have taken place. As to those submarine railways, &c., spoken of towards the end, we must confess ourselves rather sceptical of *their* success, and as far as the flying *machine*, and *manageable monster balloon* are concerned, we will not see them in the present century at any rate, as they have proved complete failures.

So much has been said and written, if not *read*, respecting the advantages which transatlantic intercourse would bestow on Ireland, that it will be as well to spare the reader upon the present occasion, merely mentioning the saving of *three or four days* to men in business throughout Ireland generally, and giving them the commercial intelligence at *first*, instead of, as under the existing erroneous system, *second-hand*; the drawing of *commercial men of all nations* through this island *on business*, and thus affording them an opportunity of seeing and judging for themselves, instead of being misguided by selfish or hostile reports; the saving of expense to passengers, by a *reduction of fares* as well as *time* in the transit and the diminution in the unpleasantness of the sea voyage; lastly, the economy in the expenditure in steam-vessels' fuel, wear and tear, insurance, pilotage, light dues, &c. *Ireland*, in fact, *has yet to be born into the commercial world*, and it is the establishing of a Packet-station that will most materially assist at her ovation.

Among other matters that have received their meed of passing notice at different times in the daily journals, may be mentioned, the construction of a *submarine railway* from Dover to Calais—an *Atlantic submarine telegraph*—a *flying machine* from New York—and a *manageable monster balloon* from Madrid; but although we would not, in these days of inventive science, and mechanical wonders, conclude with the presumption of ridiculing these as impossibilities, nor doubt their efficacy (to a certain extent) in promoting the regeneration of the human race, *after they shall have become established*

*facts*, still it seems *probable* that they will be allowed to remain for the *consideration*, at least, of posterity in the indefinite degree of proximity to the present generation.

"Ericsson's Caloric Engine," may perhaps partially displace the present locomotive agent, but the difference will be found to rest more on the point of economy than on any other, it being what we may define as "a dry steam engine that does double the amount of work, at one half the present average expense."

Come what may, however, "Erin go Bragh!"

It will not be irrelevant to state here some information which has reached us, in reference to the different projects which are to be seen in Mr. Fortescue's excellent pamphlet. It would appear that the present Lord Dungannon, incited by the convincing nature of the arguments used by the author, has taken the Holyhead and Kingstown question into hands, and that we may indulge every reasonable hope of yet seeing 400 feet boats running on that line. Mr. Fortescue received a handsome letter from the "New York, Newfoundland, and London Submarine Telegraph Company," on the subject of his pamphlet, and a recent notice informs us, that they have already altered their intended eastern terminus from Galway to Valentia; that line being said to be ninety-five miles shorter, and have sent out the Arctic to mark the route. As to this statement of the distance, opinions differ; but for better, for worse, there is now very little doubt that with the completion of the Foynes Railway, the establishment of Valentia as a Packet Station will soon be an accomplished fact; and though some of us may regret that Galway is not the site, still we must all rejoice at beholding the realization under any shape, of a wish which we so long and so dearly cherished. There will soon be a line from London, via Great Western Railway, South Wales, Railway Steamer to Waterford, Waterford and Limerick Railway, and Railway from Limerick to Foynes; thus perfecting the communication between New York and London. Halifax, regarding which we have given an extract, bids fair to be soon in communication with the Lake districts; and "the Montreal and Liverpool Steam Company's" ships, have commenced running. The state of the central American question renders the Panama Canal doubtful, but the route up the river Atrato, with a short cut to the river Obispo, is supposed to be still in contemplation. The Ceylon Railway is framing, and has already issued its prospectus. A short time since, the report of the surveyed route from Lurg via the Bitter Lakes,

to Tiurk Bay, was published as the one determined to be adopted ; at the same time the Railway from Cairo to Lurg is in course of construction. The Cape of Good Hope Railways have been signal failures, but since 1854, Railways and Telegraphs have sprung up in Australia. There have been constructed recently, submarine lines of telegraph, connecting Sardinia, Algiers, Malta, and Alexandria ; and General Chesney's expedition to survey the route via Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, speaks of advancement in another quarter. The Dover and Calais Submarine Railway, has not yet been summarily condemned. These facts must constitute cheering intelligence to all, and are far more eloquent than language, in showing the great strides which civilization is taking in every region of the globe ; they also go far to promise a speedy fulfilment of that prophecy, which asserts that the earth will yet be engirdled by a belt of electricity, by which intelligence can be almost instantaneously conveyed to its remotest ends. All countries will derive benefit from these universal Railway, and Telegraph systems ; their commerce will be increased, new knowledge acquired, the principles of philanthropy extended, and the motives leading to warfare almost completely removed. This latter assertion is perfectly obvious, for it is quite clear that a better understanding between nations will be the natural result of a more intimate intercourse ; and in like manner that the vast mutual advantages that intimate intercourse will assuredly bring about, will act as powerful drag chains upon the bellicose tendencies, to which humanity has hitherto been an unresisting victim. But the most precious fruit of such enterprises should be plucked by Ireland ; for not alone is her situation the most favorable for profiting by their existence, but her exports are as valuable, and her people as intelligent as those of any country in the world ; and add to this, that as she has never until now been placed in a position to compete for the prizes of nations, emulation, more in her case than in that of any other, should be a lively spur to urge her on in the race of improvement. Moreover, a small success obtained by a people who are unaccustomed to any, possesses tenfold the intrinsic worth, which a great one does to those to whom it is no novelty ; for unexpected fortune enhances the pleasure of the receiver, and wonderfully increases the value of the blessing. May we not most legitimately expect important results to this country, from every great commercial speculation

which connects her with its designs? We are aware of her position, her resources, we know the physical and intellectual vigor which are the properties of her sons, and we have seen what those qualities have effected in every clime in which a field was laid open for their development; it is only then natural to conclude, that when their own land has been made the platform upon which the fabric of social improvement, and national wealth, may be constructed, unimpeded in its rise by the storms of unprofitable agitation, each stone cemented by honest determination, and the spirit of its builders buoyed up by the healthy breath of well grounded hope in its completion, not maddened by the intoxicating influence of dazzling theories, and extravagant day dreams, the children of that land will satisfactorily demonstrate that nothing but the opportunity was wanting to let the world see, that those attributes of industry, and perseverance, which they have manifested with so much honor to themselves, in England, in France, and in America, may be brought to still greater perfection at home, under the shadow of their native hills, each, "sitting under his own fig tree."

N. J. G.

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#### ART. VII.—IRISH CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

*The Irish Church.* Speech of Edward Miall, Esq., one of the Members for Rochdale, in favour of the Impartial Disendowment of all Sects in Ireland. Delivered in the House of Commons, May 27th, 1856. London: Effingham Wilson. Dublin: McGlashan and Gill.

The remark has more than once been made by travellers who have visited the site of some celebrated battle, that nature seemed to have designed the locality for the great event which it had witnessed. There is too much of fancifulness in the consideration thus suggested to allow of its claim to any very serious attention, and yet the remark is not altogether inapt, for the simple reason, however, that the natural military advantages of a position will assuredly be recognized, and so far as possible turned to account by the leaders of armies approaching each other to decide a bloody issue. Meantime,

full many a contest of paramount importance and influence in the strife of nations has pealed its thunders and struck its giant blows, and in brief, been acted out through all its tremendous details to the mighty catastrophe that concluded it, upon a theatre as little suitable as possible for extensive military operations.

Instances of a similar aptness or inaptness, fitness or unfitness, occur in the world of opinion and political movement, as in that of military action; with a similar apparent preponderance of the apt and the fit. Political warfare, like that which has its bloody arbitrement in the actual stricken field of fight, boasts of its own peculiar strategy, and that similar main point in it, of taking the adversary in the circumstance and moment of his least preparation. And while it is undoubtedly true that, in the following out of this strategy, a theme or an occasion will often be seized upon and made use of, which shall possess of itself the attributes of worthiness and appropriateness, yet full many a great moral struggle has been engaged in, and carried on to its decisive issue under circumstances the reverse of what could be considered grand and befitting.

It is not within our design, nor indeed within our province, to follow out this train of thought so far as even in a general way to indicate the cases which are adducible in instance and illustration of the foregoing remarks. There will be quite enough in a review of the single subject which we proposed to deal with in the present paper, to occupy fully all its allotted space. That subject—one which every day is assuming larger and larger proportions and a deeper and higher importance to the people of these countries—is the question of Religious Liberty. The consideration of its actual state at this moment—its prospects for the future, and the circumstances and result of its latest presentation in the lists of public and parliamentary controversy—will prove amply sufficient for the extent of pages which the other important topics treated of in the present number of *THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW* will permit being placed at our disposal.

As in all other matters of disputation, the most advisable thing in reference to our present theme is to begin by a sufficiently full and accurate definition of terms. By Religious Liberty, then, we explain ourselves to mean not the mere permission or license openly to profess and practice whatever

forms of religion, however widely differing from each other, or even mutually adverse, the citizens, subjects, or inhabitants, of a state or kingdom may chance to favor, as individuals, or as communities, There is something beyond this which must be secured before the full meaning of the term "Religious Liberty" can be realized. The differing sects or denominations must be set free, not only as to internal restrictions, but as to external obligations. To their existing liberty of profession and practice of their own particular creeds, there must be superadded an entire freedom from exaction or contribution of any sort towards the maintenance of the ministers, and the worship or establishment of any other. In short, Religious Liberty to be worthy of the name must be really liberty—*i.e.*—the absence of all species of coercion, oppression or repression, beyond what the interests of society require in all cases for the maintenance of public order and the equal rights of all. This, then, is the definition—clear enough and simple enough we should hope—that we adopt in proceeding to review the subject chosen by us for the present paper.

The next step in our progress is to bring under the reader's attention the degree or measure of Religious Liberty, which is actually enjoyed in these countries. Members of the Church of England—the church by law established—have nothing to complain of in this respect, or so very little in the apprehension even of the most fancifully or hypercritically conscientious, as to be scarce worth a hasty notice in passing. They have to make no species of direct contribution, or payment whatever, towards the support in any manner or degree of any religious community other than their own. *Indirectly* it is true that they do pay something. Out of the common fund made up by the general taxation of the United Kingdom—to which fund they of course individually contribute in the same way as everybody else—there are certain allocations made—certain small allowances and salaries here and there to Roman Catholic and dissenting clergymen for certain purposes and services recognized and required by the state. Thus, Maynooth College has its grant of a few thousands annually, for the education *at home* of Roman Catholic priests, instead of leaving them under the inducement or necessity of going to a foreign Roman Catholic Institution for the purpose. Thus the Presbyterian Ministers have their Regium Donum. Thus too the services of Chaplains of the Roman Catholic and

Dissenting communions are paid in hospitals, in prisons, and at military and naval stations. Still, it must be all but superfluous to remark, that the proportional contribution of an individual, or, to speak more exactly, that part of his proportionable contribution to the general Revenue which is applied to the purposes and objects last mentioned must be infinitesimally small, and if injustice there be in it, the injustice is shared by so many others as to deprive it of any claim to be considered peculiar.

For the full understanding, however, of the state of opinions and parties in reference to our subject, it is necessary to add, that not a few of the members of the Established Church, while manifesting no wish or intention of leaving it, do not hesitate to declare and protest against being compelled to pay towards even its support—professing their wish to see it upheld by the agency of what is called the “voluntary system” alone, and expressing the most entire confidence that not only would its stability be maintained under the altered state of circumstances so brought about, but that its security would be even enhanced, inasmuch as dutiful affection, and not hard legal constraint, would be the bond of connexion.

All classes and denominations of religionists outside of the pale of the Established Church, are at the heavy disadvantage in comparison with her members, of being under the coercion of law to pay towards her maintenance, while rejecting her teaching and believing her to be unorthodox. This is, of course, a very different matter, and a far heavier grievance than the mere compulsion to pay to the support of one’s own church; and is *really* an infringement of Religious Liberty. The movement, however, that gave rise to the parliamentary debate we shall have presently to notice, is one that, according to the declarations of its chief promoters, is great enough to have stomach for the largest and widest measure of reform in the premises before stated, and to extend the benefits, or mischiefs as the case may be, of the “voluntary system” in its most absolute entirety, not merely to those who repudiate the Established Church with all her works and pomps, but to those of her own children who, dearly as they love her, do not relish having their money taken by her, without leave asked.

For a long time those who profit by the existing state of things have succeeded in warding off all attempts at change, by a clamor that to assail the Church in the least of its privi-



leges was to undermine social order, and all rights of property throughout the realm. The delusion, however, will not serve any further, and the millions of Roman Catholics and Dissenters will not much longer tolerate that their voice—the voice of the actual *numerical* majority of the people of these countries—should be stifled or neglected. They will insist, and *do* insist, upon either an adequate share in the good things hitherto solely possessed by the Established Church, or upon that which they would like better, the doing away with all compulsory provision in every case, and leaving each creed to work its way on its own resources.

To fight out this great contest, what more suitable or appropriate battle ground could be selected than Ireland? What portion of the empire offers such a field, with such advantages of opposition for both parties? The grievance of compulsory contribution is most notable in Ireland, where such a preponderating majority of the people differ in faith and worship from the adherents of the Established Church. On the other hand, the political argument for the maintenance of an Established Church, (of whatever value in itself that argument may be,) is weightiest in Ireland, assuming that political argument to be the greater stability to merely political and governmental institutions derivable from the close neighbourhood and alliance of a state-supported form of religion. The Established Church in this country has upon a number of occasions been declared to be so bound up with the fundamental provisions of the act of Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, as that the one cannot be touched without disturbing and speedily upsetting the other. That this declaration is indiscreet can scarcely be contested by those who reflect a moment, and who must see that one direct and leading consequence of it must infallibly be to transfer to the Legislative Union a very large share of the odium with which the Catholic and Presbyterian portions of the Irish community regard the State Church. That there is really no such necessary and indissoluble connexion, all who desire to preserve the Legislative Union itself from attack, present or prospective, should eagerly labor to shew; for we much mistake the signs of the times if there be not at this moment “looming in not a very far distance,” an onslaught upon the temporalities of the Established Church—that is upon the Church as a Church *Established*—of a character far more energetic, persevering and dangerous than she has ever yet known.

The latest premonitory outbreak of the gathering storm was in May last in the House of Commons, when Mr. Miall, one of the members for Rochdale, brought forward the following motion :—

“ That this House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider the Temporalities of the Irish Church, and other pecuniary provisions made by law for religious teaching and worship in Ireland.”

At the very outset Mr. Miall was met with so singular an attempt to get rid of the discussion altogether, on the parts of the self-styled “ friends of the Established Church,” that we shall lay it before our readers, the more especially as it gave occasion for bringing at the very outset into prominence the point already alluded to, of the asserted indispensable and indissoluble connexion between the maintenance of the Legislative Union, and the maintenance of the Establishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland.

Mr. Stafford (North Northamptonshire) said he thought it was desirable that, amidst the rejoicings for a return to a state of peace, which were taking place, or about to take place, out of doors, the House of Commons should set an example of that unity which honourable members hoped to see prevail elsewhere. Unfortunately, the subject of the very first notice on the paper—the Temporalities of the Irish Church—was an old battle-field in that House, and the resumption of the combat on that subject would not only cause considerable strife, but would be tainted with the worst of all bitterness—the bitterness of religious feelings. Under these circumstances, he thought that no constituent could misunderstand the motive which would induce the House to defer the discussion on this subject. He had no wish to stave off the discussion, but he thought that the unusual position in which they stood justified him in the somewhat unusual—(Hear, hear)—course which he was about to take in moving “ that the House do now adjourn.”

Mr. Miall said he was taken by surprise at the extraordinary nature of the honourable gentleman's motion. (Hear, hear.) If it were so necessary to cultivate the exercise of good-will, now that the nation was about to celebrate a peace, at least the honourable member might have been sufficiently courteous to have given him some intimation of the course which he was about to take. (Hear.) The honourable gentleman seemed to suppose that the discussion would be embittered by displays of ill-temper; he could assure the House that there would be no ill-temper on his part, and he thought there would be none on the part of any honourable member, except those who felt that they were endeavouring to perpetuate an injustice. (Hear, hear.) He hoped that the House would allow the discussion of a resolution which stood in his name to be taken. He had waited for some considerable time for an opportunity to bring forward the

subject, and if he allowed it to go over, an opportunity might be long in offering itself. The intention of the motion of the honourable member was so obviously to get rid of the question that the country would have no difficulty in understanding why it was made. (Hear.)

Mr. G. H. Moore (Mayo County) thought that if anything could produce exasperation in Ireland, it was the speech of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Stafford).

Lord Palmerston concurred as to the inexpediency of discussing this question at the present moment; but as the honourable member for Rochdale had had great difficulty in obtaining a day, it would, perhaps, be discourteous to expose him to any further disappointment. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Stafford having withdrawn his motion, and Mr. Miall's name being called, Mr. G. H. Hamilton (Dublin University) required the clerk to read the 5th Article of Union between England and Ireland, guaranteeing the privileges of the Established Church.

The Fifth Article of Legislative Union here referred to will demand special attention in a later portion of this paper, and so we shall postpone for the present any particular statement, or analysis of its provisions.

Mr. Miall, whose speech was received by the House, without distinction of party, in a manner that clearly shewed how much not only the importance of the subject, but the purity and uprightness of his motives, were recognized by his auditory, is certainly entitled when brought before the public in any other way to have his reasons and opinions given in his own words.

We therefore proceed to set out the explanatory preamble or exordium of his very clever speech, and thence will proceed to consider its arguments and positions in detail.

Mr. Miall spoke as follows:—I am very glad that in the discharge of the duty now before me, I shall not need to utter a word offensive to the religious feelings of any honourable member of this House. (Hear, hear.) I am very glad that the motion with which I shall have the honour to conclude, does not require me to canvass the merits or demerits of any Church, either in respect of its creed, discipline, or ethics—to assail the character or efficiency of any body of clergy whatever—nor to cast aspersions upon any ecclesiastical community, Protestant or Roman Catholic, Episcopalian or Presbyterian. The arguments I shall adduce in support of the motion will be based exclusively on principles of justice, and considerations of State policy; and as they will be urged, I trust, in a spirit of moderation and catholicity, I venture to hope that the House may find it practicable to debate an important religious question without even a momentary excitement of sectarian animosity.

## REASONS FOR MOOTING THE QUESTION.

Sir, I shall probably and very properly be expected to state the reasons which have induced me just now to bring under the consideration of the House the vexed question of our Irish ecclesiastical polity. I may be told, possibly, that I am taking an officious and obtrusive course, and one that the state of feeling which has prevailed of late years in Ireland does not demand. The policy I am about to criticise and arraign, it may perhaps be urged, if not theoretically defensible, has been practically acquiesced in—if it do not square with principles of abstract justice, it is productive of no very grievous oppression—for under it Ireland is as tranquil as could be wished—is blessed with a yearly diminution of sectarian strife—and rejoices in a rapid development of social prosperity. You may ask me, and you have a right to ask, Why not let well alone? At a time when religious feuds in Ireland are visibly subsiding, why launch again a question which has stirred such stormy passions? Why waste time in exposing discrepancies which have almost ceased to attract attention, and in meddling with anomalies which it is easy enough to render irritating, but not by any means so easy to remove? Now, Sir, without denying that interrogations of this nature have some force, I venture to think that in this instance they may be successfully answered. I venture to suggest *in limine* that they take a great deal too much for granted in regard to the present state of feeling in Ireland. Indeed, I feel pretty sure that honourable members from that part of the United Kingdom will be very far from unanimous in endorsing as correct so flattering a description of the ecclesiastical truce established there. Moreover, it would be childish to shut our eyes to the obvious fact that it is *only a truce*. (Hear, hear.) Why, Sir, the man who walks amongst explosive materials with a naked candle in his hand, has as good a right to reckon on complete security, as we have to calculate upon permanent tranquillity in Ireland under our present ecclesiastical policy. It is true that, of late, unusual care on the part of the executive, whether Whig or Conservative, coupled with an unprecedented combination of peculiar circumstances affecting the social condition of Ireland, has produced an unwonted calm. But it would be but poor statesmanship to mistake a temporary lull of agitation for settled popular contentment. Is the calm such as may be relied on? Are our existing ecclesiastical arrangements so well suited to the temper and wants of the Irish people, and so firmly grounded in their convictions, as to warrant the hope that the “great difficulty” of Sir Robert Peel has at length and for ever ceased to exist? Will the right honourable Secretary for Ireland undertake to assure us that the religious strife, which for three centuries has been the bane of that country, is at last effectually quelled—that there can be no reasonable fear of its resuscitation—and that rival sects in that part of the United Kingdom are so far satisfied with their respective relationship to the State, that no apprehension need be felt of their contentions in future? Sir, it would be idle to conceal from ourselves the fact, that our Irish ecclesiastical policy is not satisfactory to the great bulk of the inhabitants of Ireland. Left as it is, it cannot, in the nature of things,

be satisfactory, and, consistently with self-respect, it ought not to be satisfactory. Therefore it is, I think, that this House, warned by the past, and reasonably apprehensive of the future, may be very properly invited to avail itself of the present interval of popular quiet, to lay the foundation of a more stable order of things. But, Sir, this is not the main consideration by which I have been moved to bring this subject before the House at the present moment. I place my chief justification in the fact, that existing ecclesiastical arrangements are in imminent danger from another hand. If it were true that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were disposed to acquiesce in them, it is notorious that the Protestants of Great Britain are not. (Hear, hear.) Every member of the House must be aware how impossible it will be to preserve inviolate that compromise on which our Irish ecclesiastical policy is based, in defiance of the strong Protestant feeling which pervades the constituencies of England, Wales, and Scotland. The honourable member for North Warwickshire, the representative of that feeling, has already obtained the assent of the House to the introduction of a bill for the repeal of the Maynooth College Endowment Act. No doubt, that assent was most reluctantly given, and was wrung from the House by the extreme pressure of constituent bodies. Very likely the honourable gentleman may find it impracticable to carry his measure through all its stages in the present Parliament. But if it should be so, the difficulty is only evaded for a season. The same strong feeling—the same unreasonable prejudice, if you prefer so to regard it—which has compelled you to assent to the preliminary resolution, may also compel you to pass his bill. Even if the present Parliament should contrive to avoid giving legislative effect to their own resolution, the next Parliament will, in all probability, be returned upon a clear understanding that the compromise shall be put an end to, and the question settled. Well, but should such be the case—should Parliament withdraw a small State endowment from a Roman Catholic institution, the only one it grants to that body, leaving its endowment of other religious bodies untouched—where will be the boasted tranquillity of Ireland? Can you hope to maintain it? (Hear, hear.) I speak not now of physical violence—that, I rejoice to believe, you would have no reason to apprehend. But are there not consequences of a more subtle, but not less mischievous, character, which would flow from the success of the honourable member's proposition taken alone? We have already had ample experience of the social devastation wrought by the demon of religious discord, even where it stops short of actual outrage. We have seen how, wherever it fairly gets head, it withers, as with a cleaving curse, all a nation's better capabilities—how it loosens all the ties by which society is held together—dries up the kindly feelings which spring out of the common relationships of life—weakens mutual confidence—discourages enterprise—checks industrial development—and substitutes for the glow of a healthy national activity, the fever of popular excitement. It is among the greatest calamities which can befall a nation. You can attempt nothing hopefully for the social amelioration of a people among whom this spirit is rife. But this is the spirit which you must

look to see evoked, by carrying, as an isolated measure, the disendowment of Maynooth College. Sir, spite of these consequences, I believe the Protestant feeling of this country will compel you to disendow that institution. (Hear, hear.) I believe you will have to do it at no distant date. (Hear, hear.) I believe further that it is in the category of things which ought to be done. (Hear, hear.) And because I am convinced that it cannot be safely done alone—(Hear, hear.)—because I think that the real difficulty in the way of dealing, not only with it, but with the bitter sectarian animosity which the Maynooth grant was meant to allay, lies coiled up in the very core of our Irish ecclesiastical policy, I have felt not merely justified, but constrained to invite the House to go into committee on religious teaching and worship in Ireland. (Hear, hear.)

To those who are really acquainted with the condition and temper of Ireland, the observations of the speaker upon the folly of trusting to the present calm in this country in matters regarding her ecclesiastical arrangements, will appear singularly apt and well founded. Truly, as he says, the hope of permanent peace in Ireland, while things remain as they are, in reference to Church-policy, is about as well founded (and no more) as that of the man who should count upon safety when carrying an unguarded light through a powder magazine. True it is, that “only a truce” really exists; and that this truce may end at any moment, and the calm be succeeded by a storm; and on all hands it will be admitted, that if there is to be a change at all, its necessity or advisability, its nature and extent, can far better be discussed just at present, when the “unwonted calm” of which Mr. Miall speaks, is prevailing, than when the fierce winds of agitation are again abroad, and the billows are surging up and driving furiously before it over the whole surface and down into the depths of society.

Ireland will not—indeed *cannot*—be contented while she is left under such an anomaly as the Protestant Church Establishment upon her Catholic people. Her resistance and hostility to it may be more or less energetical according as her general strength and activity may chance to be at flood or at ebb; but, whether active or passive, that resistance and hostility must be enduring and ultimately must prevail.

Mr. Miall proceeded to give a historical review of the Ecclesiastical policy of Great Britain towards Ireland, and divided that portion of his subject into three parts, viz.—the stage or phase of persecution—that of ascendancy, and finally what he styled “indiscriminate endowments.” Upon the two first he entered into the following disquisition:—

The problem which your policy attempted to solve was, how to transfer from Roman Catholic to Protestant hands the ownership of the soil in Ireland, together with all political influence, all social distinctions, all the ordinary powers of achieving gain, all the potentialities of civilization, comfort, and affluence. The agencies chiefly relied upon in solving this problem were arbitrary laws, wholesale confiscation, cold steel, and gunpowder. And what are the staple materials which make up the history of that period? Robbery by the civil power, and retaliation by the outraged people—tyranny without limit followed by insurrections without pity—desperate sieges and hideous massacres—a country laid waste—a population alternating between the extremes of rage and terror—a priesthood hunted up like noxious vermin—a whole race crushed beneath a heavier doom than slavery. Sir, seldom, indeed, has a bloodier drama been acted upon God's earth. (Hear.) You cannot read it, even at this distance of time, without feeling your blood curdle in your veins. And in what did it all issue? Why in this, that in the reign of William III., Protestantism had the wealth of the country, but Roman Catholicism still retained the affections of the people. Such was the first great failure of your Irish ecclesiastical policy—I will give but a hasty glance at the next. The second phase of the Church Establishment principle is that of ascendancy—that is, the application of the power of the State to the elevation of the Church, with which it is united, above all others in worldly position, privileges, and security. You tried this modification of the State Church theory in Ireland from 1689 down to 1829. Your attempt was to foster Protestantism into strength by privilege—to depress and weary out Roman Catholicism by civil proscriptions and penal laws. The tale is a very familiar one—but familiar as it is, it falls within my purpose to repeat it—and it may be condensed into a very few sentences. I will not go into detail to show the peculiar favour your policy displayed towards Protestants—how you allowed them to appropriate to their exclusive advantage the land, the Church, the franchise, the Parliament, the municipalities, the learned professions, the University. Let us see what were the tender mercies of that policy to Catholics. They may be read in the Irish statute-book from 1690 to 1790. Well, look first at the disadvantageous position in which Irish Roman Catholics were placed by law, as respects the offices and ministration of their own Church. Their higher ecclesiastics were sentenced to perpetual exile, and large rewards offered for their discovery within the kingdom. Their parochial priests were compelled to register themselves, as a kind of ticket-of-leave functionaries—(a laugh)—to give heavy bail that they would not go beyond the limits of their respective counties, and to engage that they would never exercise their functions out of their own parish. They were forbidden to assume any ecclesiastical title, and to wear any professional dress—to erect any steeple, to toll any bell, to officiate in any grave-yard. Their images were to be destroyed, their crosses thrown down, their pilgrimages prohibited. But, on the other hand, handsome annuities were offered by law to those priests who should apostatise from the Romish faith. How were the Irish

Roman Catholics treated in regard to education? Every Catholic School was closed, every Catholic schoolmaster subject to transportation for life, with the penalty of death in case of his return. No child of Catholic parents could be sent abroad for education without a special license—and lest the act should be evaded, any magistrate might at any moment demand that the child should be produced. What was their case in regard to the ordinary occupations of life? They were incapacitated from holding any commission in the army or navy, and from serving in any office under the Crown. They were excluded from every liberal profession but that of medicine. They could purchase no landed estate—nor occupy any farm, the profits of which exceeded a third of the rent. If they betook themselves to industrial or commercial pursuits, they were literally at the mercy of Protestant municipalities. If, in spite of these restrictions, they acquired some property, what was their control over it? It was taxed *ad libitum* by the State, county, municipal and parochial authorities. No one belonging to the discouraged sect was allowed even to possess a horse of above £5 value. He could receive no real property from Protestants, either by deed or gift or by bequest—and if, during his life-time, his eldest son turned Protestant, he lost all legal control over him, and became incapable of charging his estate with portions for his other children. Finally, in regard to the general privileges of citizenship, no Roman Catholic could marry a Protestant lady, nor entrust, at his death, the guardianship of his children to his wife or friends, or exercise the elective franchise, or sit in Parliament.

#### ADOPTION OF A NEW POLICY.

Well, Sir, what was the issue of this execrable system of legal and political ascendancy in regard to the rival churches? Dead failure—worse than failure. Roman Catholicism grew the more it was trampled upon—grew until its resentment became formidable. When once it became necessary, either for her own purpose, or for the resistance of foreign invasion, to unite the whole population of Ireland, this elaborate frame-work of ecclesiastical tyranny was obliged to be pulled to pieces more rapidly than it had been put together. During the last decade of the last century most of these penal laws were repealed; and in 1829, at the bidding of an inexorable necessity, you condemned the very principle of Protestant Ascendancy, by passing the Catholic Emancipation Act. Sir, I say you gave up the principle of Protestant ascendancy because you surrendered the only means by which it could be effectually maintained. Well, Sir, it was impossible for you to rest there, for you had an exclusive Church Establishment richly endowed with national funds, and, as you still held firmly by the principle of a State endowment of religion, you were compelled to entertain various propositions tending to place the Church of the majority in a relation of approximate equity at least towards the church of the minority. Slowly and cautiously your policy took a direction towards the third and last development of the State Church principle—namely, equality of favour by means of indiscriminate endowments. By the Church Temporalities Act of 1833, you professed to cut down the Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland to the wants of the Protestant



inhabitants. By the abolition of Church cess you recognized the inexpediency, not to say injustice, of levying upon members of one church a direct tax for the exclusive benefit of another. By removing the charge of tithe from the Roman Catholic occupier to the Protestant landowner, you sought to veil the hardship of quartering the clergy of the few upon the resources of the many. All these, however, were but negative changes—changes calculated to tone down into harmony with the milder spirit of the age, a harsh and indefensible expression of the State endowment policy.

From this Mr. Miall went on to show what he considers to have been the first *positive* step towards establishing equal relations between the two Churches and the State. The Maynooth College Endowment Act, brought in and passed by Sir Robert Peel in the year 1845, was the first step, according to him, in this direction; and he quoted an opinion expressed by Lord John Russell in that year, to the effect that the argument on which the propriety of passing the act just mentioned was based, would prove as sound for proposing at a future period the making a provision for the general endowment and maintenance of the whole body of the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland;—in other words for the quasi-establishment of the Roman Catholic Religion in this kingdom.

The next positive step in the direction indicated by Mr. Miall was, according to him, to have been the actual bringing forward by Lord John Russell of a bill, embodying the proposal last spoken of. This, however, was prevented, and all further progress stayed, at least for a time, by the strong demonstration that soon after commenced in England of ultra Protestant feeling, and which was aggravated to such almost frantic extremities by what has been denominated the "Papal Aggression."

The Honorable Member for Rochdale continued for some time to expatiate upon these topics, and put the question to Parliament, what was the policy to be adopted now that further progress in the direction of a general system of ecclesiastical endowments was plainly impracticable, and that a return to the old exploded systems of religious persecution and Protestant ascendancy was at least equally so. And having put the question, he professed himself ready to supply the answer, and forthwith set about doing so. As this involves the whole meaning and object of his motion and speech, we copy from Hansard's Report his exposition of it, abbreviating, or omitting, only what was comparatively unimportant.

## IMPARTIAL DISENDOWMENT THE ONLY PRACTICAL POLICY.

I respectfully submit, then, that inasmuch as the divided religious feeling of the country prevents you, and ever will prevent you, from placing the different sects in Ireland upon an equitable footing as it regards the State, by means of indiscriminate endowments, you should accomplish it by means of impartial disendowments. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") And that as you cannot hope to render justice to the Irish people by a public support of the religious institutions of all sects, you should withdraw that support alike from all. And here let me say that, in recommending the House to adopt the policy of impartial disendowment, I am far from desiring a hasty, sweeping, inconsiderate application of that policy. When I come to lay before you an outline of the plan I would suggest for carrying this policy into effect, I think you will see that it was quite possible to combine with the disendowment policy the most scrupulous regard to the equitable rights both of religious communities, as such, and also of individuals. But, Sir, saving all such rights intact, I own that my proposition would be worth nothing, unless it covered the entire ground—unless the policy of disendowment reached everything which the State has an equitable right to deal with. A simple and determinate principle of this sort appears to me to have an immense advantage over every kind of compromise. The statesmanship of the present day, I am aware, is adverse to this simplicity of purpose, and aims rather at producing a kind of composite policy, by an amalgamation of conflicting principles. Well, Sir, I am not very confident in the superior wisdom of that statesmanship. I admit, indeed, that changes, involving a great variety and extent of interests, ought to be carefully and cautiously effected. That is one thing. But it is another and very different thing to produce a conglomerate of heterogeneous principles, none of which is consistently carried out. Such is not the course I venture to recommend. I am anxious that the House should express itself in favour of religious equality in Ireland by the only practical means—namely, impartial disendowment. I wish you to let the people of Ireland understand that this is to be your future policy, pure and simple. This resolution will not preclude you from taking whatever time you may think necessary for effecting your object with safety—nor from using whatever precautions you will to avoid or surmount the practical difficulties lying between you and your object—nor from displaying all the qualifications of true statesmanship in your choice of opportunities and means. The vote which I ask to-night is, in fact, a vote pledging you to complete religious equality in Ireland by the only means in your power. Sir, I venture to think that the slight historical survey I have just taken of our Irish ecclesiastical policy is itself the most decisive condemnation of employing the authority and resources of the State to force upon an unwilling people a Church with which they have no sympathy. I have no need, on this occasion, to discuss the abstract principle of a Church Establishment. (Hear, hear.) I content myself with the simple avowal that I regard it as essentially unsound, calculated to involve the civil power in numberless embarrassments, to degrade the Church into humiliating bondage, and to

injure religion by misrepresenting the true secret of its power. But I rest my argument to-night upon no such abstract opinion. Because, if the theory of a State Church be ever so tenable, the application of that theory to Ireland has been proved by the issue to have been a profound mistake. (Hear, hear.) To it, without doubt, that country may trace much the greater part of the wretchedness it has endured. (Hear, hear.) For surely, if there be any one thing in respect of which a dominant nation ought to be forbearing and indulgent, it is the religion of the people subject to their control. This wise maxim of state policy you have all along set at naught in your government of Ireland. You thrust into the midst of a people whom your arms had subjugated a church with which they could have no communion, and you endowed that church with property snatched from a communion identified with their dearest affections, and receiving their implicit confidence. State necessity may be pleaded in excuse of the original perpetration of this political crime, but cannot be accepted as a justification of it. Nor can it be said, as it may of some crimes, that time has transmuted its results into a blessing. The original vice remains. The great bulk of the people of Ireland—the peasantry—the poor—for whom, if any, a Church Establishment should be maintained—(hear, hear.)—are not, even after the lapse of three centuries, benefited by the spiritual teaching and offices of your Establishment. It is still maintained for the Saxon rather than the Celt, for the gentry rather than the humbler classes, for the well-to-do minority rather than the helpless majority. Such a system as this is at once the offspring of tyranny and the badge of conquest. (Hear, hear.) Nothing on earth can justify it. We may disguise it as we will, but in the eyes of man and of God it is not the less a crime. (Hear, hear.) That existing ecclesiastical arrangements in regard to Ireland ought to be, or can be permanently maintained, is a proposition which I imagine no one will undertake to affirm. The choice of the House will eventually lie between dealing with them separately, or, as I suggest, with all together. The practical question with the House will be, no doubt, whether the remedy I propose is not more violent than the disease. Well, Sir, as far as Ireland is concerned, the effect of applying the policy of disendowment will not be by any means so extensive as it seems. It can hardly be pretended, for instance, that you would thereby leave the bulk of the people destitute of religious teaching. Probably five-sixths of the inhabitants, comprising too the lowest and most needy classes, are shut out already from the benefit of your existing endowments. Whatever may be the case on this side St. George's Channel, in Ireland the Established Church can hardly be looked upon as "the poor man's Church." The extinction of the Maynooth College endowment, one of the objects I propose, would not touch those means which the Roman Catholics have found adequate to maintain their religious institutions for the last three centuries. The discontinuance of the *Regium Donum* would cut away a portion only of the stipends of Presbyterian ministers—a portion which Presbyterian wealth in Ireland is well able to supply. (Hear, hear.) Even your disendowment of the Irish Church would affect but a small minority of the people, constituting, moreover, the

richest section of society in Ireland. And, therefore, although it is true that in this last case you would have to deal with a large amount of property at present set apart for religious purposes, it is equally true that you would thereby disturb but a comparatively small amount of spiritual means.

Here certainly there is no ground for any charge of concealment of purpose, or ambiguity in declaring it. Frankly, manfully, and decidedly, Mr. Miall announces the great object and end for which he and his rapidly multiplying fellow-laborers in the same cause are contending, to be the total and absolute severing of all ties, or species of connexion whatever, of a public and formal kind, between the state and *any* church whatever—Maynooth to lose its grant—Colonial ecclesiastics, without distinction of creed, to be deprived of their allowances—the Presbyterians to lose the Regium Donum—and last and greatest of all, the Established Church to be stripped of its temporalities. The grand experiment of this sweeping change to be first made in Ireland, but Great Britain herself not by any means to be long left unvisited by the peaceful Revolution once it shall thus have begun its sweeping march.

This proposition of universal disendowment, and throwing every community of religionists in the Empire, whatever their respective denominations may be, upon their own resources, has been much more succinctly, if more roughly, epitomized in popular assemblies under some such formula as the following : “Let every man pay his own clergyman, as he pays his own physician or lawyer, when he has need of them.”

The advocates of the proposition we are dealing with, whatsoever their formula of expression, are ever ready to meet on the very threshold any objection on the score of its appearing to involve injustice to particular parties, by proclaiming in the same breath their willingness to save intact all existing interests : that is, the interests for life of all ecclesiastical persons at present receiving support or emolument from, and on the Protestant Church Establishment. The late Mr. O’Connell was strenuously and scrupulously careful to enunciate on all possible occasions this proviso, and very constantly declared that he would not only not seek, but would be foremost to reject, any measure abating what he considered the national injustice of the Protestant endowment, if it did not provide at the same time for securing to the existing Protestant clergy the life enjoyment of their revenues. His usual remark was,

that those parties had entered upon their profession, on the faith of the nation, and that at all hazards and any cost the faith of the nation should be kept with them, and his numerous followers at all times seemed to receive this opinion with approbation and to re-echo it upon all suitable opportunities. Neither his assurances, however, nor theirs, we are bound to say, seem to have had any weight with those who assume to speak as the organs of the Protestant party in England and Ireland, who shew themselves disposed to treat the suggested concession very much in what is called a "thank-you-for-nothing" spirit, but profess utter incredulosity of the sincerity of those from whom it emanates, and Mr. Miall and *his* immediate supporters have as yet had no better success.

So far this high-handed and contemptuous policy has met with no mischance and occasioned no disaster ; on the contrary, it has on the whole rather served the cause of those who would maintain entire the existing condition of things in reference to church arrangements with the State. But the continued rejection thus absolutely and scornfully of all species of proposals for so altering that condition of things as to do away with, or at least to mitigate, the heart-burnings which the present inequality in religious matters, and temporal superiority of one class of religionists over all others, necessarily gives rise to, and keeps up in the bosoms of those of the less favored creeds, cannot ultimately end well. The old story of the Sybilline books, though a fable in itself, yet has its sound and often verified moral. A glaring injustice like this inequality cannot possibly be for ever, or for any very long period, upheld or submitted to. The signs of the times are significant and frequent, that its days, though not yet absolutely determined as to their span, are inevitably approaching a close. When that close shall be at hand, the offers so lightly rejected before may indeed be repeated, but may be, and will undoubtedly, be much diminished in extent and value, and there will be no choice between acceptation and an utter and unconditional surrender. There are not wanting already many and many a loud clamorer among the assailants of the Church Establishment, who protest against reservations in favor of life interests:—declaring that, whatever might have been just or advisable to propose in that respect at first, (and they do not allow that there *was* anything in itself just or of right in the case even at first, holding that the Church Establishment was

an injustice and a robbery *ab initio*, and those benefiting by it no better in reality than *participes criminis*)—all claim to favor or to merciful consideration, and much more, all right to concession has been forfeited by the obstinate resistance to the march of reform, and the blind and somewhat insolent rejection of proffered terms and conciliatory propositions.

After having given in the portions of his speech from which our preceding quotations have been taken, a pretty plain and unmistakeable view, or *glimpse* at the least, of his and his party's great end and object—the total disendowment under any and every shape of all religious bodies throughout the Empire and its dependencies, Mr. Miall set about endeavoring to qualify his actual motion, protesting that he did not mean to bring into question on that occasion, the “abstract principle of a Church Establishment,” contenting himself for the nonce with the simple avowal that he regarded such an institution as essentially unsound, calculated to involve the civil power in numberless embarrassments, to degrade the Protestant, or any church so established, into humiliating bondage, and “to injure religion by misrepresenting the true source of its strength !”

His argument of the night he rested, he said, upon no mere abstract opinion, but upon the case and operation of a Church Establishment in the particular instance of Ireland. Supposing the theory of such an establishment to be as tenable as its warmest and most enthusiastic supporters could desire, the application of the theory to Ireland was distinctly proved, according to him, to have been a profound mistake beyond possibility of dispute; and he called upon the House to set matters right as regarded her, without encumbering the subject and embarrassing themselves by entering upon the wider and more intricate considerations connected with the relations between Church and State in the other portions of the United Kingdom; and thus taking Ireland as his chief and for the time his only illustration of the evils of a connexion between Church and State, he naturally came to deal with that article of the so-called “Treaty” of Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, upon which the Protestant Church Establishment in the latter country is at present based. This article, which, as we have seen, was on the motion of Mr. George Alexander Hamilton, one of the Representatives of Trinity College, Dublin, read by the clerk of the House at the table,

previous to Mr. Miall's being allowed to commence his speech, runs as follows :—

ARTICLE 5th.

“That it be the 5th ARTICLE OF UNION that the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called ‘the United Church of England and Ireland’; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England, and that the continuance and preservation of the said United Church as the Established Church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland, shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law, and by the Acts for the union of the two Kingdoms of England and of Scotland.”

Before we proceed to shew the manner in which Mr. Miall dealt with the objection thus raised in limine to his proceeding, it may be permitted to us as Irishmen to offer a few remarks upon the foregoing; without entering at all, as it is not our province or present desire to enter, upon the much contested question of the merits, or demerits, whichever our readers may happen to consider them, of the Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and equally without contesting for the moment the expediency and rightfulness, or otherwise, of the particular provision before us, or of any other in the Treaty or Act of Union contained, we would call attention to a point in his favor which the honourable member for Rochdale himself omitted to notice. There is an almost universal agreement now-a-days—founded on the irresistible cogency of thoroughly established facts—that the manner and means of carrying the Union were so bad and flagitious, that corruption, falsehood, and force, were so unscrupulously made use of for the purpose, as to deprive that measure of any shadow of a pretension to having been a voluntary and mutual compact between Great Britain and Ireland. There is no prescription against right and justice, and the fifty-six years which the Legislative Union counts since its enactment, have hedged its provisions around with no sanctity where they can be shewn to be unjust, and

given them no claim to any greater tenderness of handling, than that as they were enacted under the forms of law, so should those forms be observed in their modification and amendment, or if justice so require it, their abrogation.

It really is most germane to our subject to dwell a little on the topic here suggested. There is much insistence upon the circumstance of the Irish Church Establishment having been thus enshrined as it were in the "Treaty" of Union and without in the smallest way trenching on the domain of international controversy as to the maintenance or repeal of that Union, we not only feel at full liberty to point out the cracks and unsoundness of the enshrining edifice itself, but consider it a duty to truth, justice, and religious equality, to avail ourselves of the opportunity here presented to us, of depriving the advocates of sectarian ascendancy of one of their most relied upon arguments, and forcing them to debate the question of the Protestant Church Establishment on its own intrinsic merits alone, if it can be shewn to have any, and not upon any external consideration whatever.

Lord Castlereagh, the artificer of that Union, declared that as "half a million or more, had been necessary to break an opposition upon a previous occasion, the same or a greater sum was necessary then," (viz. 1799) and he followed up his words by expending a million and a half in bribery to carry the union—a sum, by the way, which was afterwards charged upon the finances of Ireland herself; who was thus made to pay the cost of her own degradation! The late Lord Plunkett described the manner in which the "*Treaty!*" of Union was carried, in these scathing words; "Licentious and impious France, in all the unrestrained excesses that anarchy and atheism have given birth to, has not committed a more insidious act against her enemy than is now attempted by the professed champion of civilized Europe against Ireland—a friend and ally—even in the hour of her calamity and distress; at a moment when the country is filled with British troops—whilst the *Habeas Corpus Act* is suspended—whilst trials by court martial are carrying on in many parts of the Kingdom—while the people are made to believe that they have no right to meet and deliberate, and are palsied by their fears—at the moment when we are distracted by internal dissensions—dissensions kept alive as the pretext of our subjugation, and the instrument of our future thralldom; such is the time in which the Union is proposed!"



The eloquent denunciations of Bushe and Saurin to the same effect, are equally well known. As, however, they travelled over much the same ground, we shall confine our *Irish* quotations to Lord Plunkett, subsequently calling into court an English statesman of that and our own day, the late Lord Grey: Lord Plunkett then at another time added this protest against the constitutionality, if we may use the word, of the Union:—

“I, in the most express terms, *deny the competency of Parliament*, to pass this measure—you have not been elected for this purpose—you have been appointed to make laws, not legislatures. You are appointed to act under the Constitution, not to destroy it—to exercise the functions of legislators, not to transfer them, and if you do so, your act is a dissolution of the Government, you resolve society into its original elements, and no man in the land is bound to obey you!”

In the English Parliament (the last *separate* Parliament in England) in 1800, Lord Grey, speaking to the same question, thus delivered himself:—

“If the Parliament of Ireland had been left to itself, un-intimidated, untempted, unawed, it would without hesitation have rejected the resolutions, (articles of Union). One hundred and twenty out of its three hundred members strenuously opposed this Union, having among them two-thirds of the county members and the representatives of Dublin, and of nearly all the places which are to send members to the Imperial Parliament. The majority of 116 were placemen, several of them generals on the staff without a foot of land in Ireland. All persons holding office under government, if they hesitated to vote with the Minister, were instantly dismissed. Even this step was ineffectual and other arts were resorted to which I cannot name in this place..... Twenty-seven of the thirty-two counties of Ireland petitioned against the measure. Dublin, and almost every other town in Ireland, did the same, and, despite every effort of Government, the number of petitioners against, to that of petitioners in favor, was as 700 to one!... Could a nation in more direct terms express its disapprobation of a political measure, than Ireland has of this Legislative Union!”

We have quoted enough to shew that there was no voluntary agreement, or “treaty” mutually consented to in the case, and therefore that it is absurd and directly contrary to the fact to

say that the Irish people took on themselves the maintenance of the Established Church, by reason of the act of Union having included that maintenance in the body of its articles. If our argument has necessarily drawn us some way into another and a larger controversy—if our course has necessarily tended somewhat

“ Per ignes  
suppositos cineri doloso ! ”

the fault and the blame are not with us, but with those who wantonly have provoked a re-consideration of the circumstances attending the carrying of the act of Union, in their desperate efforts to prop up in any way a doomed and tottering injustice.

But willingly quitting as soon as we could the larger field of controversy, we follow these injudicious partizans in their retreat, and press the point directly upon them whether they can attempt to dispute the fact, that the United Parliament itself has more than once waived, abrogated, or altered, the articles of Legislative Union? It is impossible that they can deny this, on a moment's review of those articles, and of the manner in which the things provided for in them are now managed. For instance, in Article IV., it is provided that Ireland shall be represented in the Imperial Parliament by *one hundred* commoners, “the mode by which they shall be summoned and returned to the same Parliament” being according to an act “*passed in the Parliament of Ireland previous to the Union,*” such act “to be considered as forming part of the treaty of Union!” Yet Ireland has now 105 representatives, and the mode of their election is no longer regulated by “an Irish act forming part of the treaty of Union,” but by two or three different acts of the Imperial Parliament. We do not complain of these changes; but they are clear precedents for altering any other article of the “Treaty.”

Again, the VII. Article of Union is most notoriously and flagrantly violated and set at naught. It provided for a separate financial status for Ireland, such separation to be maintained for the space of twenty years after the Union, unless on the occurrence of certain circumstances specially set forth. At the expiration of those twenty years a new arrangement was to be made to be triennially revised, but always to preserve the principle of separate taxation for debts contracted previous to the Union, unless the occurrence of the circumstances in

question, namely, that the debts of the two countries contracted before the Union should be brought within something of a proportion to each other (the English debt being then enormously greater than the Irish,) and that at the same time Ireland should have become so rich as to be able to bear equal taxation, which she confessedly was not in 1800.

In the year 1817, *three years*, that is to say before the rightful period according to the VII. Article of Union, this rearrangement was taken in hands and carried out, although the circumstances stipulated for had *not* occurred. Nay, the very minister who proposed the arrangement declared that Ireland had grown poorer and *less able* to bear taxation! Yet the protecting Article of Union was abrogated, and we were thenceforth, and are to this day subjected to any taxation England has chosen and may choose to impose upon us, in despite and distinct violation of the VII. Article of the "Treaty."

But even as regards the Church Established itself, the "Treaty" is violated. Article the Fifth provided, as we have seen, that the "doctrine, discipline, and government" of that church should be and remain in full "force for ever, as the same were then established for the Church of England" Yet since then nearly a dozen Bishops have been struck off the muster roll, and there have been many changes of discipline and discrepancies in that respect between the sister-churches.

We leave then this part of our subject, satisfied that we have shewn that neither as regards the "sanctity" nor "integrity" of the Act, or "Treaty" of Legislative Union, is there anything to strengthen the position of those who would maintain the injustice of a Protestant Church Establishment in this country. We now turn again to Mr. Miall, and let him speak for himself.

The argument—if such it can be called—which is attempted to be deduced from the Fifth Article of Union, was met by him, with in the first place a disclaimer of any desire to meddle with the "doctrine, discipline, worship, or government, of the Protestant Church." In the second place, he denied that "temporalities" meant the Church, and finally he argued from various declarations at different times of leading statesmen in Parliament, and from the Church Temporalities Act of 1833, and the Tithe Commutation Act of six or seven years later, which struck off at once 25 per cent. of the tithes in Ireland, that Parliament had asserted and exercised a power of revision of

the ecclesiastical arrangements of Ireland and might do so again. He then proceeded as follows:—

The next objection which I apprehend will be urged against the policy of disendowment, impartially applied, is, that in regard to the Church Establishment of Ireland it would amount to nothing less than wholesale confiscation. The revenues, it will be said, that I seek to withdraw from the Irish Church, are her own by the same right as that by which a gentleman holds his estate—her title to them, indeed is older than can be produced for any private property, and can only be set aside by an act of legislative spoliation. This, Sir, is a grave objection—fatal if well founded—and therefore the House will bear with me, I trust, if I examine it somewhat closely.

The broadest and most obvious reply to this assertion of exclusive and inherent right on behalf of the Irish Church is, that it rests entirely on a fiction. For, what is the implication contained in the plea that the title of the Irish Church to her revenues dates further back than that of any private property? Manifestly that the Church holds her estates in right of donations and bequests made to her some ages back. Sir, I call this a miserable fiction, because it is notorious that between the donors of these estates and the present beneficiaries there is no line of equitable and moral connexion. If a valid title to these estates can be traced back by any party to the will of the original donors, then they belong of right to the Roman Catholics. Such an inference, however, which I should have supposed no one acquainted with history would deny, has been set aside by a quibble. These revenues, it has been said, were originally bestowed on the Church of Ireland, and by the Church of Ireland they are still possessed. It was competent to that Church to reform herself, and to purge out the errors which had grown up within her, without forfeiting her claim to her property. She has never lost her identity, though she has undergone a reformatory process. Sir, this is a mere play upon words, falsified by all the known facts of Irish history. When did the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland, to whom these revenues were given and bequeathed, reform herself? At what period did she change her views and become Protestant? Never! No, Sir, she was ejected—forcibly, ruthlessly ejected by the State, and another tenant put in. She was thrust forth without ceremony, and her inheritance given to a stranger. There never was a grosser perversion of historical fact than that which represents the Church of Ireland before the Reformation, and the Church of Ireland after the Reformation, as one and the same body. The one was indigenous—the other was an importation. The only semblance of identity between the two was, that the Protestant Church took possession of the title and the property of which the Catholic Church had been in previous possession.

The only title, then, which the Protestant Church of Ireland has to her revenues is to be found in the will of the State—a good and valid title, in my opinion, so long as it lasts. Apart from the will of the State she has no proprietary rights.

The Church of the Thirty-nine Articles, the Church of the Common Prayer-book, the Church of the Protestant Episcopal hierarchy,

never had a being in Ireland apart from the Legislature. It was the civil power that said, "Let it be"! and it was. It never had an independent existence. It was, I may say, born a State-Church—it did not become so. State policy was its parent, and, apart from State policy, it never had and never can have, a claim to its revenues. And so the State has ever dealt with it—most constitutionally and most justly, Parliament has imposed the conditions under which the Church of Ireland should enjoy her property, has freely regulated the distribution of it, and within the last thirty years, as I have shown, the State surrendered and extinguished not less than a fourth of the entire income with a view to the easier collection of the remainder.

To the anticipated objection that any interference with the Established Church in Ireland, would be a dangerous precedent as regards that Church in England, he replied by denying any necessary connexion between the two cases—asserting that, on the contrary, the former was condemned by almost every one of the arguments by which the churchman in England would uphold his Church. The Protestant Church in Ireland is *not* the Church of the majority. In England it is. The Protestant Church in Ireland is not the instructress of the poor—has no hold upon the minds of the people—no historical associations connected with it in their memories—in England the same Church is, or assumes to be, the instructress and guide of the people, is bound up with all that the compilers of school-books and popular literature allow them to know of history, and is represented to them to be, as it were, the Palladium of their liberties. Mr. Miall did not exactly say all this, but such were the general features of the contrast which he drew.

He considered himself next bound to defend his proposition from the charge that it was directly calculated and intended to inflict (to use the often quoted and celebrated words of the late Lord Melbourne), "a heavy blow and a sore discouragement upon Protestantism," at least in Ireland. His view of the matter was that a wide distinction existed between Protestantism as a spiritual principle, and Protestantism as a religious institution. Wealth does not constitute religion, nor the strength of religion. The very reverse he believed to be the case, and that wealth, especially when unjustly obtained, as he contended had been the case with the temporalities of the Protestant Church in Ireland, was really a cause and source of weakness and decay. He accused those who advocated the maintenance of her establishment in this country of being her real enemies, while professing to be her friends. She had "been sent on a mission of love, in a garb of exclusiveness,

insolence, and enmity." She had been made odious to the population, whom it was her proclaimed object, her duty, and her pressing interest, to have endeavored to conciliate, and to win over to her fold. He himself retained full faith in her principles, her clergy, her members; but had "no faith in the preposterous arrangements in her behalf" subsisting in Ireland. Well, indeed, might she cry out and pray to be "saved from the folly of her own friends!"

The peroration of his speech embraced a statement, or sketch of the plan by which he proposed to work out the "principle of impartial disendowment."

And now, Sir, although I am conscious of having trespassed upon the patience of the House at too great length—(cheers)—I feel myself bound to present a rough sketch of the plan by which I conceive the principle of impartial disendowment might be reduced to practice. The House will allow me, I hope, for the sake of shewing the entire extent of that plan, to suppose that I am free to deal with all existing State endowments of religion in Ireland. I am aware that such is not the case at the present moment, the abolition of Ministers' Money having been negatived by a vote of the House during the present session, and the Maynooth Endowment having been taken out of my hands by the bill of the honourable member for North Warwickshire. Still, for the sake of unity I will assume that I have to make provision for carrying into effect the policy of disendowment in all the directions in which Parliament can now apply it. Well, Sir, I would suggest with a view to this, the constitution of a special court—for a limited term—analogueous to the present Encumbered Estates Court—"hear, hear," and laughter)—having at once the power of an executive Commission, and also of a Court of Equity. I would vest in that court the fee simple, if I may so call it, of all state Ecclesiastical Endowments in Ireland. It would take possession at once of the fund standing in the name of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in Ireland, and to it would be annually paid the sum charged upon the Consolidated Fund for the Endowment of Maynooth College, and the grants voted by this House for Belfast Professors and Nonconforming ministers. But in the case of the endowments and property of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with the exception I have already named, it would come into possession only upon the decease of each existing beneficiary. The first claimants upon the funds thus accruing would be those clergymen who, in case of the abolition of Ministers' Money, the repeal of the Maynooth Endowment Act, and the discontinuance of the *Regium Donum*, are entitled to receive whatever they now receive from the State during the remainder of life. This list, of course, would be gradually cleared off by the death of the recipients. The second class of claimants would be the private patrons of livings, who have a right to expect full compensation for the anomalous property which State policy would extinguish. (Hear.) They, however, do not number in Ireland

above 300 altogether. The third class of claimants would be Protestant congregations, who have voluntarily expended their own money in the improvement of the Church property of their respective parishes. I suggest that the Court should act as a Court of Equity in determining the validity and amount of such claims, subject to appeal, if it be wished, to a superior tribunal, and that it should be authorized to pay over to individual claimants or to trustees on behalf of Protestant congregations such compensation as may be legally awarded. The property left in the hands of the Court for the benefit of the Irish public would comprise Church edifices, glebe houses, lands, rents, rent-charges, &c. With respect to sacred edifices, I think perhaps the most satisfactory arrangement would be to leave Protestant Episcopalian congregations in undisturbed possession of them, and in respect of lands and glebes the Court would have the power of sale. The rent-charges would constitute the main difficulty, because if left in their present shape, it would be necessary to maintain an extensive and costly machinery for their collection. I would suggest that power be given to the landowners to redeem them at, say ten or twelve years' purchase. Well, Sir, the whole of the nett property thus accruing in the proposed Court, by the falling-in of life interests, ought, I think, in common fairness, to be expended in Ireland. I propose that this property should be made available in the first place to the founding and supporting of infirmaries, hospitals, lunatic asylums, and reformatories—and that what is not required for these objects should be laid out, under the direction of a Board of Works, in the construction of piers, harbours, light-houses and quays—("hear, hear," and laughter)—in providing arterial drainage, in deepening rivers, and in such other public undertakings as would best develop the great natural resources of the country. Sir, having thus submitted a rude outline of the plan which I should recommend as the fittest for carrying the policy of impartial dis-endowment into effect, I am most anxious that the House should understand that I do not ask the House to pronounce any opinion on that plan, by the vote which it will give to-night. But it would hardly be candid to conceal from the House the resolutions I should propose in committee, if the House should consent to resolve itself into one. I have no need to include the question of Maynooth—a bill on that subject being already before the House. I cannot, in accordance with the forms of the House, embrace the abolition of Ministers' Money—that matter having been decided by an adverse vote of the House this session. The three resolutions I should propose would be the following—

1. That it is expedient to make provision for the application to other than ecclesiastical uses, of all sites, glebes, tithes, rent-charges, and estates, at present enjoyed or received by any clerical person of the Protestant Episcopal Communion in Ireland, for the support of Divine worship according to the rites of the said communion—but so as not to affect in any manner existing life interests, and to pay due regard to any equitable claims which may arise out of the secularization of such property.

2. That it is expedient to exclude from the Estimates annually

presented to this House on account of the grant commonly called the *Regium Donum*, all sums an account of new congregations—and also to reduce the said grant, and the grant now annually made for the Professorships of the Belfast College, according as the lives fall in, of any persons at present in the receipt of any monies out of either of such grants.

3. That the Chairman ask leave to bring in a bill to carry these resolutions into effect.

And now, Sir, my whole proposition is before the House. I cannot adequately express my gratitude for having been permitted to make it, and for the patience with which I have been listened to. (Hear, hear.) I will not further abuse that patience by making any appeal. What I ask for is, in one word, *justice*—justice to a people whose long endurance of wrong entitles them to this reparation. (Hear, hear.) And I venture to add the expression of my belief that in doing justice to Ireland, you will at the same time gain the respect, and subserve the best interests, of the people of England. Sir, I move the resolution I have placed in your hands: “That this House resolve itself into Committee to consider the temporalities of the Irish Church, and other pecuniary provisions made by law for religious teaching and worship in Ireland.” (Loud and continued cheers.)

That the motion and speech we have been discussing should have been displeasing to the church party, high and low, was of course to be expected: but there were others who considered that they had grounds for being dissatisfied with it. A large proportion of the representatives for Ireland, nearly the whole in fact of those popularly elected, held the opinion that whatever might be the professions or intentions of Mr. Miall and his English supporters, the tendency of his motion and its most immediate effect—perhaps its only effect—would be to strengthen the hands of Messrs. Spooner and Newdegate in their attacks upon the Maynooth grant. A cover and shield was provided by it for every pretended friend of religious liberty, but real bigot, while those who in all honesty and equity of purpose had hitherto voted for the Maynooth grant, as some small compensation to their Catholic fellow subjects for the large sums they were plundered of to support the Protestant Church, would have the disfavor they had already incurred by their votes with their prejudiced constituencies much and still more unfairly increased, if they hesitated to support the specious proposition of immediate disendowment.

But besides the liberal Irish members, the extreme reform party had a ground of quarrel with the proposition, inasmuch as its present range was to be limited to Ireland; whereas



they thought that disendowment of ecclesiastical bodies should be general throughout the United Kingdom and its dependencies; and they utterly repudiated the position, even though taken up only for the sake of argument, that the Established Church in England was in any way the Church of the poor, and questioned if where dissent was so rife, multiform, and wide spread, it could be considered as the Church even of a *bare majority*. Neither the Irish members, however, nor the extreme advocates of what is called the "voluntary principle" took part in the debate on this occasion, preferring to leave the field to the uncompromising opponents of all change and all reform in matters ecclesiastical.

The van of the opposition to Mr. Miall's motion was led by Mr. Kirk, the Presbyterian representative for the town of Newry. Spare the "*Regium Donum*" in any case, and at any rate, was the burden of his speech, as might be expected from the "foremost man" in the House of the Northern Presbyterians. According to him it produced every good and was totally innocent of any evil, and to take it away would be to take away the mainstay of religion and morality, wherever its influence had existed! Seventy-five thousand pounds a year, we believe, is its present amount—a small sum to ensure the preservation of religion and morality, *if* those great blessings be, as he tried to persuade the House, dependent on that amount, and so rickety as not to be able to maintain themselves without a golden prop! Mr. Kirk's theory, however, in this regard was totally contravened and upset by the next speaker, Mr. Lindsay, the extensive ship-owner, Member for Tynemouth, who instanced the far greater efforts made in support of their Church by the Scotch Presbyterians, than those by the Irish, and the at least equally flourishing condition of religion and morality, although unsupported by any *Regium Donum*.

The abstract merits of the question being thus, at the very beginning of the debate upon it, lost sight of, the next speaker, Mr. Newdegate, M.P. for Warwickshire, improved upon the bad example, and partly to still further divert attention from their calm discussion, and partly to gratify his own offensive bigotry, and that of his supporters out of doors and in the House, commenced an attack on the Roman Catholics. The motion he stigmatized as a "Roman Catholic attack on the Church of Ireland," and its proposer as the "advocate of Roman Catholic views." "It was painful," he complained in

the very second sentence of his speech, "to hear members of the Roman Catholic persuasion, after the engagements they had contracted upon oath on their admission to the House, encouraging without scruple a Protestant to attack the Church."

The party, or section of a party, to which Mr. Newdegate belongs, have now for several years made it a part of their tactics to endeavor to frighten the Roman Catholic members by accusations, more or less direct, of disregard of their oaths, from proposing, supporting, or voting, for any measures regarding the Protestant Church. To a considerable extent they have been successful—over scrupulousness, actual timidity, or simple disinclination for squabbles, having from time to time deterred many from taking part in discussions of the nature just mentioned. But the bulk of the Roman Catholic members have wisely and firmly refused to be ensnared by this disreputable artifice, and repudiating either with very justifiable indignation, or calm contempt, these attacks more disgraceful to those who make them than to their objects, have used their rights as Members of the Imperial Parliament on this as on all other questions, fully, freely, and manfully.

There is no doubt however that the continual mooted of this point, and the manner in which it is urged, have created a difficulty in the way of the "Religious Liberty" movement in Parliament, by weakening the number of its supporters; and that as the point is one which refers itself to individual conscience, the amount of support derivable from the Roman Catholic members to the movement in question, must be always variable and uncertain. We do not of course dream that it has been reserved to us to pronounce *ex cathedra* upon the subject, compose all doubts and silence all objections. But it may be permitted to us, and it may be not altogether without use in the controversy, to review briefly its history and bring out the actual facts concerning it, leaving as before every person at liberty, of course, to draw their own conclusions, and form an act upon their own opinions.

The oath then which Mr. Newdegate and his *collaborateurs* would have the world to believe utterly and flagrantly violated by those Roman Catholic members who speak or vote for, or in any way forward or support, any motion respecting the Protestant Church, even though but for the re-arrangement of the smallest portion of her temporalities, is the oath prescribed by the "Emancipation act," or "Catholic Relief" measure of

1829, to be taken by Roman Catholic representatives, at the bar of the House before taking their seats therein, and runs as follows:—

“I, A. B. do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to — Majesty, and will defend — to the utmost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, which shall be made against — person, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to — Majesty, — heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which may be formed against — or them. And I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession to the Crown. Which succession, by an Act intituled, An Act for the further limitation of the Crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject, is, and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants, hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto any other person claiming or pretending a right to the Crown of this Realm. And I do further declare that it is not an article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any other authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any other person whatsoever. And I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm—I do swear, that I will defend to the utmost of my power, the settlement of property within this realm, as established by the laws; and I do hereby disclaim, disown, and solemnly abjure, any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment as settled by law, within this realm. And I do solemnly swear, that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant Religion or Protestant Government in the United Kingdom, and I do solemnly, in the Presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever— So help me, &c. &c.

The first and great question immediately suggesting itself, upon perusal of the foregoing is, what were the extent and meaning of its proposer in so wording it? Were Roman Catholic representatives, upon taking it, to understand that they were thenceforth tied up and restricted upon questions relating to the Protestant church—that the liberties of Parliament were for them curtailed and narrowed on such questions, and that in fact they were to be legislators only to a certain point and no farther? Mr. Newdegate, *cum suis*, loudly proclaims that this was the intent. But Mr. Newdegate was yet

in college when the Emancipation Act was passed, and, as he has always been its opponent and denunciator since he came into public life, we cannot accept him as its interpreter. The late Sir Robert Peel introduced it on the first occasion of his "honorable apostacy" ! He had the chief hand in framing the Act, and has, therefore, the right to be considered its author and father. What, then, did he say on the subject, what explanation did he give of his object in providing for the taking of the above oath by Catholic members of Parliament ?

During the earlier discussions upon the measure, while yet in its infant state, the late Sir Wilmot Horton made a motion in the House of Commons on the subject of the "securities," as they were called, which many politicians desired to see exacted from the future Roman Catholic members, for their good conduct when admitted to Parliament. In his brain, ever fertile in impracticable crotchets, he concocted some extraordinary form of assurance or engagement to be by them taken, and brought it before the House for formal discussion, and insertion in the "Catholic Relief Bill" if adopted. On this occasion Sir Robert Peel used the plain and significant words, that he never contemplated, and would not contemplate, the making the Roman Catholic representatives, members *by half* as it were ; but that they were to have powers and liberties as full as their Protestant fellow-legislators.

Twenty years afterwards—in the year 1849—the nature and meaning of this oath again came under discussion, as on many occasions during the intervening series of years. The particular occasion we refer to was distinguished from the others by the circumstance that Sir Robert Peel once again, and for the first time since 1829, went into something of a detailed statement of his views and intentions in proposing the Catholic Relief Bill of the latter year with the oath in question. The debate having arisen upon a rather sharp passage of words between Catholic members and their ultra-Protestant assailants, the right honorable Baronet was appealed to in the course of it to re-state once more his interpretation of that oath, and thus the controversy, at least in the minds of all reasonable and dispassionate men, whether in or out of Parliament, was ended.

Beginning his reply to the appeal just made with a not very maintainable protest against being called upon to explain and answer for the measure of 1829, and after endeavoring to make a stand upon the quibble that, as he took the form of oath from

a previous Act of Parliament, he was not in any way accountable for it when adopted and embodied in his own Act, he proceeded to make a species of counter-appeal to the Catholic members and the House in general, as to whether he did not stand innocent of having ever charged the Roman Catholic members of Parliament with perjury. .

From this he went on to read a considerable portion of his own speech (when proposing the "Relief Bill") in 1829, the purport of which was to repudiate the idea of limiting the functions or powers of Roman Catholics, when admitted to the Legislature as members thereof. The inexpediency, the *unconstitutionality*, and in fact the *impracticability* for any useful purpose of such restrictions or limitations were strongly brought out in this extract, and the conclusion he had come to on a full consideration of these and other points was all but plainly stated, and was certainly most plainly deducible from the premises thus laid down. That conclusion was against all restrictions or limitations, or at least against their enactment and compulsory imposition.

With reference to the actual debate, then going on, he used these words: "I leave that question (scil. the true meaning and purport of the Roman Catholic oath in the "*Relief*" Act) to be determined by each Roman Catholic member after mature reflection upon the terms. I believe his decision, whatsoever that decision may be, will be a conscientious one."

This was, on the whole, about as clear and distinct an exposition and declaration as there was any hope or possibility of eliciting from one so fond of circuitousness and diplomatic verbosity as Sir Robert Peel, when having to deal with any subject upon which it happened not to suit an immediate interest to speak plainly and briefly. A manlier and a fairer course was obvious; but although it is to be regretted that he should have temporized in such a matter at all, the fact is not the less clear, that his original and enduring intention was to act in accordance with the Constitution, and when compelled to admit Catholics to Parliament, to do so in the only manner the Constitution could recognize, namely, as having equal powers and rights with all other members, without which equal powers, privileges, and rights to them, their *constituencies* would in fact be disfranchised to the extent of the limitation, and thus the injury be to the community and not merely to the individuals.

The words of his which we have quoted in inverted commas in the second last paragraph, convey a species of hint to the Roman Catholic representatives to use tenderly the unlimited legislative powers given to them—in a word, to let expediency, or a consideration for, or dread of, the prejudices of others, influence their conduct, and induce them to abstain from much meddling, where the Protestant Church might be the subject of Parliamentary discussion. And this view of matters may be said on the whole to be that most in favor with the House of Commons, always excepting the ultra-bigots of it, who believe, or for party and sectarian purposes (and in "*all uncharitableness*," ) affect to believe, that the Relief Act *was* restrictive, and that Catholic M.P.'s have frequently perjured themselves since.

But such a rule of Parliamentary conduct as the observance of hints and indirectly intimated wishes would be as unconstitutional as unwise. No member of Parliament has a right to forego any of his powers. He may, in the exercise of his fair judgment and discretion, vote on one side or other in a contested debate, or on a particular occasion may abstain from voting, where the positive merits of either side of the question do not come out sufficiently distinctly to satisfy his judgment. But to abstain frequently and systematically from expressing any opinion, or taking any part upon one great class of questions, and questions materially affecting and touching both the interests and the feelings of his constituents, cannot be considered as otherwise than a positive and serious breach or abandonment of duty on his part, and an inexcusable abuse of the high trust committed to him. Of course, if he have a conscientious scruple on the vote, he is right in obeying the dictates of his conscience; but he ought, previous to the occasion arising, to forecast what was likely to happen, and distinctly to inform his constituents that on such and such a class of questions he cannot represent them, and leave it to them to decide whether, under such circumstances, they would continue him in his trust, or wish him to resign it to some one who could and would identify himself by speech and vote with their views upon those questions.

The present Duke of Norfolk, when in the lower House, (and his example was imitated by one or two other English Catholics there,) always walked out of the House on such occasions, declaring that he considered he had entered it as a

private gentleman does a *club*, subject to whatever regulations the club may have chosen to impose upon candidates for admission. The fallacy here was gross. In the first place he quite forgot that a private gentleman entering a club enters it as a private gentleman, representing only himself, and responsible only for and to himself; whereas a member of Parliament, as such, represents a multitude of other people, and is responsible to them for a full discharge of duty and full exercise of functions. In the next place the rules of a club bind all alike, whereas the restriction on voting on Church questions was pretended to be on Catholics, and on Catholics alone.

Other Catholic members abstained, and do still abstain, from such votes through an overscrupulousness. As we have before said, their course should be to consult their constituents, and not any longer to hold their seats unless their constituents consent to be thus *practically disfranchised* upon so great and vitally important a question as that of the Protestant Church in Ireland.

Again, another section of Catholic members hold a kind of *middle-term* doctrine, under which they say they are at liberty to vote on measures of Church *Reform*, and intended improvement of arrangement or distribution, provided such measures are brought forward by *Protestants*, and not originated by a Roman Catholic. The answer to this is simply, that if, as they believe in the case of their own religion, that rich endowments would be injurious to it, the same should hold good in the case of the Protestant religion; yet the objectors to their votes consider that the reduction for which they thus would vote, would be really a spoliation, and render them quite as obnoxious to the foul imputation of perjury as if they had moved for the total destruction, root and branch, of the Protestant Church. And as regards the originating of the motion, there is no valid distinction in morality between the author and the abettor of what may be an evil action.

The late Mr. O'Connell frequently challenged those who talked about perjury, to take a vote of the House as to what was, and should be taken as, the true sense and meaning of the Catholic oath. He referred to the declarations already quoted of Sir Robert Peel, the author of the Emancipation Act, and in accordance with the most distinct opinion uttered by that statesman, he considered he was left at liberty to judge

and act for himself as to the interpretation, until such time as Sir Robert Peel, or the House of Commons, or both, should distinctly and dogmatically define and limit out the powers of Roman Catholic members. At the same time he declared that in case of such definition and limitation he would resign his seat, not being willing either to be a consenting party to the outrage upon the Constitution of crippling the functions of a representative of the people, nor to the disgrace he would feel it to be on himself to retain his nominal position as such when thus crippled.

In the absence of the expressed limitation in question, he claimed and exercised the full rights and powers of a legislator, and as a lawyer practised in the law as well as in the constitution, denied that the actual words of the oath were to be or could be construed into a restriction. The rule of law is, that any penal or restrictive enactment is to be construed strictly and stringently, according to the plain and apparent meaning of the words, and not according to any assumption or inference. Taking then the words, "I abjure any intention to subvert the *present* Church Establishment *as settled* by law," Mr. O'Connell and the other Catholic lawyers in the House held that the very insertion of the expressions we have just italicized proved that a *temporary* state of things was contemplated and not a permanent, and that what "law" could "settle," law could unsettle and re-arrange;—otherwise all legislation would be at a stand still. The House itself had shewn that this was a just interpretation, by altering and altering again since 1800 the Church Establishment in Ireland, although "*fixed for ever*" by Article V. of the Union Act; and also by inviting the Catholic members to vote for these alterations in 1833-34 and 1837. He also contended that as he believed disendowment to have really strengthened his own religion, and that all state connexion was injurious to religion, he could not be accused of seeking to "disturb or weaken the Protestant Religion," unless Protestants would declare that "*Religion*" meant "*money*." As to the words "*Protestant Government*," neither he nor any one else knew what they signified.

When the "Incumbered Estates Act" was under discussion, the assailants of the Catholic M.P.'s were reminded that as the act in question confessedly and declaredly, as well as evidently, went to disturb "*the Settlement of Property as by law established*"—(which "property" included the greater portion of



the old "forfeited estates," for the security of which in the hands of their English or Protestant owners the Legislature had been active ever since 1691)—the Catholic members were quite as open to the charge of "perjury" for voting, as they were invited to do upon that act, as upon any question touching the succeeding branch of the oath, namely, the "*Protestant Church Establishment as settled by law.*" Yet these calumniators did not dare to bring forward in this instance their false and foolish and most uncharitable accusation.

We trust that no one amongst our readers will consider this review of the much agitated and vexatious question about the Catholic oath, to have been otherwise than a necessary part of our subject, when treating of the battle for complete Religious Liberty which is going on in Parliament. A point that involves not merely the votes of some thirty members or thereabouts, but the due representation of the feelings and wishes and convictions of the many hundreds of thousands who have returned them to Parliament to speak those feelings and wishes upon the monstrous anomaly and injustice of a Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland, as on all other matters, cannot be looked upon but as directly and intimately germane to the consideration of the subject of Mr. Miall's motion.

Mr. Pollard Urquhart, M.P., Weastmeath county, himself a Protestant of the Establishment, warmly supported the motion, saying amongst other things that "there could be no greater robbery than to spend the revenues derived from the people, not upon the people's education, but on that of a small sect." He was followed by Mr. George Alexander Hamilton, M.P. for Dublin University, who argued that the state had a great "Christian duty to perform, namely, to adopt a form of Religious worship!" He did not undertake the labor of shewing how it could be consistent with justice or reason, for the "State," which in our times is an aggregation of individuals of widely differing tenets and modes of worship, should select one particular set of those tenets or modes, and impose it, so far as pre-eminence and pecuniary maintenance are concerned, upon the holders and favorers of other forms of religion. His next argument was that which we have already discussed, namely, the asserted inviolability of the act of Union.

Mr. W. Fox, M.P. for Oldham—a great name amongst the dissenters of the United Kingdom, and at least *formerly* a rather famous preacher amongst those of his own denomination,

came next into action, and as a specimen of the opinions of the English Dissenters generally, (always excluding the Western Methodists and one or two other sects, who have lately been coquetting with the Established Church,) we sub-join a brief and compressed report of his speech :—

Mr. W. J. Fox, (Oldham), said, the honourable gentleman who had last spoken desired to place the endowment of the Church of Ireland on the high ground that the teaching of Christianity ought to be endowed. But how, if Christianity became divided into so many sects and so many opinions, that one form of establishment could not be maintained without injustice to others, ("Hear, hear," from Mr. Hadfield.) The omission of any mention of temporalities in the Act of Union was a very remarkable circumstance, and might be taken as a proof that the spirit of the union was intended for the benefit of both countries. The favoritism of the state was, he believed, the cause of apostacy in religion. (Hear.) But what said the honourable member for North Warwickshire? Why, he could not understand the Protestantism of the honourable member for Rochdale. He (Mr. Fox) thoroughly believed in the difficulty he experienced. (A laugh.) The Protestantism of the honourable member for North Warwickshire was bound up in forms, dogmas, and ecclesiastical corporations. The Protestantism of the hon. member for Rochdale was opposed to dominion over the conscience, and asserted the right to free inquiry. He (Mr. Fox,) denied that this motion had been brought on in any fear as to the result of the Maynooth Bill. It was equally desirable to strike at the endowment of the Roman Catholic religion. The explanation of the phenomena of Roman Catholics turning Protestants when they reached America, was to be found in the favorable aspect under which Protestantism was exhibited in America, as compared with its aspect in Ireland. The question now to be decided was—first, whether parliament had a right to deal with the so-called church property in Ireland? and, secondly, whether, if right, it was expedient to exercise it? (Hear, hear.) The right to deal with such property was made manifest, he thought, by the previous interference of parliament with such property. Parliament could deal with it just as it would deal with charitable bequests, if abused. The expediency of dealing with the property of the Establishment he founded on the failure of the Irish Church. It had no claim to nationality. It ought to have such a claim; it had not, and it never would have. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) As a mission the Irish Church was a confessed failure, considering the vast effort which had been resorted to to prop it up. He believed that the Irish Church Establishment would never cease to be a source of trouble and conflict in Ireland. Its very existence as an establishment was a standing insult to the Irish people; and so long as it was so regarded it could not be a beneficial teacher of its own form of Christianity to the people of Ireland. He should support the motion of his honourable friend, not having in his own mind any particular plan. The necessity of revising the distribution of monies devoted to religious teaching and worship in Ireland had become greater since the recent vote on the endowment of Maynooth.

Mr. Napier, the second member for Dublin University, and Lord Palmerston closed the debate. Mr. Napier's position was certainly a novel one, novel in the debate, and novel to the public outside, and as singular as novel. He asserted the right of the Protestant Church to Church property, because, according to him, the Church of Ireland was *originally Protestant*! "He spoke (he said) of a period *long before the Reformation, and before the English invasion, and consequently before the introduction of the Papacy!*" Leaving this *unique* bit of historical information to be digested as it may, we turn to his less transcendental arguments. The 5th article of the Union Act was again brought forward here, and hunted to the death. Then came the following extraordinary position:

"Under the present system every one, whether differing from, or agreeing with the principles of the Church, possessed the most perfect liberty of conscience, but the honorable gentlemen would strike at that liberty and deny to the Established Church those advantages which he himself enjoyed. Why should he want to deprive the Irish Protestants of the right of handing down to their children that Church unimpaired, whose blessings they had the happiness to live under?"

So far as the foregoing is distinctly intelligible, Mr. Napier considers that to deprive the Protestant Church of its overgrown wealth, would be to impair it—(the plain inference being that he considers there is a direct, immediate, and necessary connexion and relation between *money and religion!*)—and that to take from it this wealth which it at present possesses to the exclusion and at the cost of the members of every other form of religion in these kingdoms, would be to put it in a position of *inferiority and disadvantage* to those other religious bodies, although it is not proposed to endow them!

In short, the doing away with an unjust exclusive privilege, would be, according to him, the placing its late possessors in an unjustly disadvantageous position towards those who had not been sharers in it, but had suffered from its maintenance!

Lord Palmerston closed the debate. After some generalities as to the desirableness of seeing the different bodies of religionists throughout the Empire, contending in works of charity and not in polemics of any kind, he thus broached his arguments, beginning with that on the Act of Union.

I think that those who argue that that article has no reference to the temporalities of the Irish Church argue that the article has no

meaning at all (hear, hear); because if the article simply means that the doctrines of the Church are to be maintained in Ireland, that is a result which no act of parliament can enforce—an obligation upon opinions and consciences which it would be in vain for any legislative instrument or article of treaty to insist upon. And, therefore, if the article has any meaning according to the dictates of common sense, it must mean that the Church of Ireland, in harmony with the Church of England, was to be maintained. (Here, here.) I can attach no other possible signification to the article; and it appears to me to be only playing with words to contend for any other. (Renewed cries of "hear, hear.") On the other hand, I do not go so far as those who would argue that that article prevents you from dealing with the Irish Church. ("Hear, hear," from the ministerial benches.) To maintain that doctrine, you must go further, and say that parliament is precluded from dealing with the English Church. Nor was it deemed inconsistent with this article of the Union to effect great reductions in the Irish Established Church. But then you must deal with the Church, not for the purpose of destroying it, but for the purpose of rendering it more effectual for its objects. That was a purpose quite consistent with the article of the Act of Union. So far, therefore, as regards the article in question. But we are told by honourable gentlemen that these endowments have been diverted from the purpose for which they were granted, and that they are now possessed illegally, and contrary to the intentions of the founders by whom they were originally conferred. Why, Sir, that argument applies precisely as much to England as to Ireland, for the endowments of the Church of England were held when the Church was Catholic. Therefore, that argument appears to me to have no force. These endowments were given to the ministers of religion for the purpose of religious instruction, and if by the force of events the Church was made to change its creed, I hold that it is no perversion or misapplication of those endowments that they should be possessed by the ministers for the time being of that which is the Established Church. Still I do not go along with those who maintain that the property of the Church strictly belongs to the ministers of religion, and that Parliament cannot deal with it. (Hear, hear.) No doubt the property of the Church belongs to the State, and the State, represented by its proper organ, the legislature, has the power and the right to deal with that property according to the circumstances of the times (loud cries of "hear, hear"). The real question, however, between my honourable friend and those who differ from him has no reference to the Irish Church; for, although he directs his motion to Ireland, yet the whole course of his argument takes a much wider range, and brings under discussion the question of an Establishment or no Establishment. I, for one, am decidedly of opinion that a Church Establishment is a proper part of the organization of a civilized country (hear). If example is to be our guide, it is the invariable practice of all nations who have any regard for religion, with the single exception of the republican institutions of North America, to maintain an Established Church. I hold that an Established Church is essential for the well-being of the community. But

it is said that that Church ought to be the Church of the majority. Well, if that argument is good for anything, you can have no Established Church in the United Kingdom; because I apprehend that no section of the Christian community can absolutely affirm that it is in a decided majority in the United Kingdom. Take the Presbyterians and Catholics, and set them against those who belong to the Church of England; take the Church of England and Presbyterians, and set them against the Roman Catholics; or take the Roman Catholics and Church of England, and set them against the Presbyterians, and I apprehend that if you are to be bound by the exact rule of making the Established Church the Church of the actual majority of the population, you will find it very difficult upon that principle to found an Established Church in this country at all. I cannot, therefore, admit that the Established Church is to vary from time to time with the proportions of the different sects of the Christian community.

Well, I am now brought to consider the state in which things are. I find the Church of England to be the Established Church of Ireland, and I am called upon by the honourable member not so much in his motion as in his speech, to substitute for the Establishment the voluntary principle. I must say I cannot go with him to that end, and, therefore, I am not disposed to concur in the motion which leads to that result. As a general rule, it is much more easy for persons to object than to propose, and I must say my honourable friend has, without seeing his danger, run into a state of embarrassment by launching into a proposal as to what he would substitute for the Establishment. He purposes to take from the Church of Ireland its resources—and if that were done in Ireland, the same principle must be adopted in this country—and to establish a board which would be invested with all that property, being prepared at the same time to adopt such conciliatory arrangements as would make his plan acceptable to a variety of interests. Thus, the landlord would be afforded the opportunity of redeeming his tithes at ten years' purchase—a very advantageous offer, no doubt, and one which my honourable friend the member for Northamptonshire, as a large landed proprietor, would cheerfully agree to (laughter). Then he proposes to counties the construction of bridges, of lunatic asylums and gaols, besides works of arterial drainage, and that the lights of the Church should be converted into lights of navigation (renewed laughter). I must say, however, that a proposal of that sort is hardly likely to be seriously entertained, and if Parliament is ever brought to contemplate the abolition of the Church Establishment in this kingdom, and the substitution of voluntary contributions, instead of the endowments which now exist, I think it probable that some better and more fitting application of those great revenues would be discovered than that which my honourable friend suggests. Sir, I purpose to avoid going into those other topics connected with religious differences which it is most desirable, if possible, to avoid in discussions of this house. But being of that opinion, and having a deep conviction that a Church Establishment is essential in every country in which it is desirable that religion should be diffused and inculcated in the minds of the population; being, therefore, perfectly

determined never to agree to the substitution of the voluntary system for the system of an Establishment, and seeing that the motion of my honourable friend goes directly to the point which I am anxious to avoid ; and believing also, that with reference to that part of the motion which has regard to Ireland, that it is at variance with the engagements contracted between the two countries at the period of the union, I feel compelled to give my vote against the proposal now before the house. (Hear, hear.)

It is said that the great endeavor of a minister having to prepare a speech for the sovereign to deliver at the opening of Parliament is, that it shall really mean *nothing*. The ministerial speech we have just quoted, may be said to be in the opposite extreme, and to mean everything or anything ! No doubt in the difficult position of a minister in these shifting times, that is a great point to attain. But to see how much (or *how little*) of sound principle and manful assertion of the right there is in it, let us shortly set out the points, divested of their cloud of words.

1st.—The Act of Union (Article V.) *either has no meaning at all, or provides for the maintenance "in full force for ever, as the same were then, (1800) established for England, of the temporalities, as well as the doctrine, worship, &c., &c., of the Protestant Church in Ireland."*

2nd.—But Lord Palmerston does not think that precludes "*great reductions*" in the Irish Established Church, (*although those reductions be not made in the English.*) What then becomes of the "*maintenance in full force for ever as then established in England.*" &c., &c., &c.

3rdly.—He considers that the perversion of ancient Catholic endowments to Protestant purposes is no misapplication, where "*by the force of events the Church was made to change its creed.*" Yet the Catholic Church in Ireland did *not* change its creed.

4thly.—At the same time he denies that the "endowments" or "temporalities" belong to the ministers of Religion, and that Parliament cannot deal with them "*according to the circumstances of the times.*" This declaration was hailed with loud cheers by the advocates of Mr. Miall's motion.

5thly.—Considering the question to be really "*Establishment*" or no "*Establishment*," he declares for the former, as "*essential to the well-being of a country,*" although "*not the church of the majority*"—there being, according to him, no section of the Christian community in the United Kingdom,

that can affirm itself a majority. Why the Establishment and temporal pre-eminence of a particular church *not* being the church of a majority, and therefore being thus pre-eminent and "established" to the exclusion and disadvantage of *the majority*, should be essential to the well-being of a "country," he did not attempt to explain.

6thly.—He objected to the mode of *distribution* of the Church Revenues after disendowment—proposed by Mr. Miall, and finally for all these "*reasons*" (!) he "felt compelled to give his vote against the proposal now before the House!"—the word "now" being a significant reservation, which taken in conjunction with the diplomacy and incongruity of other portions of this characteristic speech, intimates that at a future time, under other circumstances, entire religious freedom may not meet a very deadly enemy in a statesman who has so long observed and conformed himself to the current of events and the fluctuations of public opinion—anything (as the lawyers say) in the Act of Union, or any other "*Treaty*" or arrangement to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding!

The motion was then negatived on a division by 163 to 93—or taking into account "Pairs" and "Tellers," by 191 to 121.

These relative numbers are held to be significant, and undoubtedly are so, of the advance of the question in popular estimation. The minority in favor of it is much stronger than the lists of former divisions on the same subject have ever exhibited, and the whole number voting, pairs included, is also greater than ever before known, and clearly demonstrates the large increase of interest and importance attached to it of late in the minds of Members of Parliament themselves.

To our thinking the speech of the Prime Minister is a symptom of quite equal, if not of greater significance, of the progress that Religious Liberty—in the sense of universal disendowment and voluntarism as regards contributions for ecclesiastical purposes—is making in the public mind. One who so narrowly watches as he does, and conforms himself so carefully to the bents and changes of that mind, would not have given us the valuable confession that the Protestant Church is *not* that of a *majority*, did he not clearly see that its prestige is gone, and that the truth may at length be spoken about it plainly, preparatory to the plain dealing it has ere long to expect. And although objecting to Mr. Miall's

motion and opposing it, he was yet, as we have seen, careful to make it understood that he only resisted the proposal "now" before the House, and not by any means that he was hostile to some other plan of their conversion to civil objects and purposes. The very weakness and utter worthlessness, too, of the pretended *arguments*, on which he rested his *present* desire to uphold a Church Establishment, were significant of his consciousness that it has no sound support, and that its ultimate abolition is less a matter of argument than a matter of time.

Meanwhile, that which should be the united body of its supporters had become divided into parties and sections, differing amongst themselves widely and increasingly upon points of discipline, of government, and even on those of doctrine, and with difficulty got to make a show of uniting for some such passing and really valueless demonstration as the majority on Mr. Miall's motion. With doctrinal differences it is not our province, and most certainly not our inclination, to deal in this paper, or in any public mode of controversy or discussion. But we may touch lightly upon some of the evidences of other differences of less intrinsic gravity, though of serious importance and significance as regards outward things.

The following is from the "Record," an ultra defender of the Church Establishment:—

It is our duty to raise our voice in respectful remonstrance to many of our Bishops, and earnestly to call attention to the fact that the position they hold in public opinion is neither honourable to themselves nor safe to the Church. . . . We say not a word now of the scandals which, from time to time, have arisen in the Church, making it a bye-word among men of the world, from the worldliness of one, or the untruthfulness of another, or the covetousness of a third ; from evil ambition, from insincerity, from partial nepotism, or oppressive tyranny. We have no wish to rip up these old sores again, for we are fully persuaded that it is impossible for us to mourn over them more profoundly, perhaps not so profoundly, as many of the Bishops themselves have done and do. In a worldly scale, it would be difficult, perhaps, to find a body of men morally more respectable than the men who have occupied the English Bench. But this is poor praise to bestow upon those who ought to stand in the van of the great Christian warfare ; the guides and the examples of that branch of Christ's Church which, with all her faults, is still one of the purest and most evangelical upon earth. The fact over which we mourn is still broader in its effects than any merely personal inconsistencies can be ; it is that *the Bishops do not rise to the necessities of their great position ; that they are behind their age, instead*



*of leading it; following doubtfully in the wake of the great religious movements which now agitate the world for good or evil, instead of standing boldly forward, surpassing the holy in their spirituality, the wise in their forethought, and the fervent in their zeal.*

The position of the Church at the present time is eminently anomalous. The one great fact which stands forward in frightful prominence is, the spiritual destitution of thousands of immortal souls, who live and die nominally within her pale and within sound of her Sabbath bells, in a state of utter heathenism, not surpassed by the horrors of Hindoo idolatry, or the deep, unbroken barbarism which still broods over the heart of populous Africa. \* \* \* Now we bless God that the great characteristic of the religious feeling of the present day is a profound appreciation of this awful fact. The anxious and almost feverish efforts put forth on all sides and in all directions for the evangelization of our people, are the unanswerable proof, how deeply this feeling has taken hold of the heart and mind of our English Christianity.

There does not exist a single layman in the Church of England, now engaged in the Lord's work, who would not rejoice to have the frank and hearty support of the Bishops, instead of that *tardy, timid, and doubting aid which needs to be sought and solicited over and over again*; or who would not, in such a case, willingly submit in points of detail to their counsel and direction. But the reverse is unhappily the case. *Instead of encouraging, our Bishops stand aloof in suspicious fear at this activity of lay zeal.*

"LET US SAVE SOULS, IF WE CAN DO IT CONSISTENTLY WITH ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER," APPEARS TO BE THE FEELING, "BUT IF NOT, LET THEM PERISH." \* \* \* We unhesitatingly assert that the *limb of Christian zeal in the Church of England are fettered by restrictions, and tied by a timid fear of change, such as never existed in the days of primitive Christianity, and which primitive Christianity would never for a moment have tolerated.*

To the squabbings, as at Torrington in the diocese of the well known Dr. Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, and at other places in England, on the necessity or otherwise of episcopal consecration of burial grounds—to the unseemly, and not unfrequently riotous, proceedings in the same country whenever and wherever church rates come under parochial discussion—and above all to those still more unseemly and often far more violently riotous proceedings that have been, and are, of almost daily occurrence on the vexed questions as to the proper times for a clergyman to robe himself in black and in white—the amount and quality of the ornaments to be placed on or around the communion table, and the lawfulness or unlawfulness of bowings and genuflexions during Divine Service—to all these and the like incidents having relation to church matters, we shall no further advert than to remark that they

are all necessarily tending to weaken more and more the authority and influence of the Established Church, to lower its dignity, and diminish popular respect, and to familiarize men's minds with the ideas of lay interference in ecclesiastical changes, and to the exercise and practice of it, at first partially and locally, then more generally and progressively, and at length universally, and to the ultimate extent of abolition of the Establishment.

But this last result, though assuredly upon the cards, and casting its shadow before with rapidly growing distinctness, is ignored in the most transcendental manner by the extreme High Churchmen, and by not a few others upon ordinary points not agreeing with the former. The very highest ground is at once boldly taken by these persons for the maintenance of a Church Establishment. They support it as a divine ordinance, and considering the Protestant Church Establishment of these countries to be the Institution most fitted to carry out the designs of Providence in this regard, busy themselves with interminable and most hair-splitting researches and disquisitions upon the just limits respectively of authority, civil, ecclesiastical, and spiritual, to the entire neglect of the war raging around them against any and all establishments, and seem to take no thought nor heed of the "Free-Trade Religionists" thundering at their gates!

"We have in England at the present time," say these respectable enthusiasts, (or mixture of respectable enthusiasts with overweening pretenders and arrogant intolerants,)—"the difficult task of discovering what are the proper limits of that Legislation which the State may upon sound principles and with useful result, exercise over those *National Priests* whom it has taken from among the Ministers and organs of the Church of God, the mystical body of Christ.

We assume the following positions: That the State by its Executive, has a right to maintain outward order and decency in all parts of its own constitution, and therefore in its National Priesthood. Also, that the Church is a body which has not only spiritual life and organic action as well as power to minister to the spiritual wants of her own members, but also has Divine authority to support and maintain in them a high order of holiness, the marked characteristic of true Christianity.

All men, however, in a nation do not from the heart believe, nor from the conscience obey. The disobedient, therefore, both of the national priesthood and of the laity, when their enormities exceed the sufferance of civilised life, must be restrained by suitable laws. But since it has been customary among civilised nations, Heathen or Chris-

tian, to require in the national teachers of their religion an example of superior order and morality, a peculiar class of laws, called 'the King's ecclesiastical laws,' are found on the statute books for the discipline of the clergy, but only in the peculiar capacity of a national priesthood. If, moreover, at any time, or in any kingdom, the spiritual discipline which ought to be administered by the organs of Christ's body be in abeyance, inoperative or lethargic, these laws have appeared the more imperatively necessary, and ecclesiastical statutes have been multiplied to save the national priesthood from contempt.

It cannot, however, for one instant be supposed that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Prince can take the place or perform the service of the spiritual discipline of the body mystical, so as to render the revival of spiritual discipline, when in abeyance, neither desirable nor necessary. The sphere in which discipline statutes and spiritual discipline operate is not the same.

Possibly there are few of our readers who will hesitate to admit that an ecclesiastical statute, to secure the outward decency of the national priesthood, ought in its action to be considerate of, if not subordinate to, the higher and more spiritual discipline."

After a very long and laborious disquisition (accompanied by citations of authorities ancient and modern) into the origin, progress, and history, of jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and spiritual, the "Church Discipline Bill" of the last Session is made the theme of examination and suggestion:—

"If a clerk in holy orders be degraded by Archbishop or Bishop he may, by clause 42, have an appeal to the Privy Council . . . who may order him to resume the cure of souls. . . . We propose the amendment that spiritual persons be deposed only by the sentence of the Bishop and twelve synodical *judices* in the organic Synod of the Diocese . . . and that if the accused appeal to Her Majesty in council, and that Her Majesty refer back the sentence to the organic synod of the province, and receive back a confirmed or amended judgment and sentence.

"The various amendments we propose will not interfere with, but *promote* the object of the Bill, and assist in putting away all doubts, heart-burnings, and conscientious scruples attending on the decision of spiritual questions by the officers of an earthly sovereign. This evil could not be remedied by any other means than the revival of organic Synods, for even if all the Privy Council were *Bishops*, there could be no trust placed in their spiritual decisions, inasmuch as they would be assembled by, and be subject to the will of princes.

We solemnly call upon the Members of the Privy Council and Government, unless they have a Divine commission, or Revelation from Heaven, *not to presume to meddle* with those things which are under the ordering of that Person, of the ever-blessed Trinity, who descended upon earth, and who now abides below to care for the souls

of men, by means of the organs which He makes in the body from time to time to guide and lead them into all truth!"—*The 'SYNODICON,' Nos. IX. & X. April, 1856. Thompson, Publisher, 3, Burlington-street, Strand, London.*

Enough is quoted above to shew the spirit and tenor of this publication, and how complete and high-handed is the assumption that the Establishment of the Protestant Church is to be maintained and perpetuated—the only question with the writers appearing to be to what extent, *if at all*, the Civil Power, which supports and feeds that Establishment, *shall be permitted* to express even an opinion upon its arrangements and management!

In taking leave of the uncompromising "*Synodicon*," we will only further extract the following short paragraph, which, whatever the intention with which it was written, or the connexion with the rest of the subject, seems to give rather a vantage ground to those who hold that a Church can and ought to stand and prosper totally unconnected with the State:

No rules nor directions are discoverable in Holy Writ concerning a national priesthood, nor that Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction which presides over its order and decencies. The Holy Ghost has made no revelation on the subject: neither the Apostles nor the Ministers of Christ are ever spoken of as being *entangled* with the duties of national priests. . . . The Redeemer warned the organs of his body to "beware of surfeiting and drunkenness," and "*the cares of this life*" in the latter days! It is a fact that the organs of his body served the empire of Rome as an Imperial Priesthood for five centuries *without being enrolled in the Imperial Constitution.*—*The SYNODICON, No. IX., Appendix to Chapter VI.*

If the Church in early times thus so well performed the work of its Divine Founder without state connexion;—if in those five centuries the great work of christianising mankind was so extensively and effectively carried out without any help from the State, is not the argument a fair one, that a Church which in these later days shall dispense with all that tends towards "surfeiting and drunkenness, and the cares of this life"—in a word, with the dangerous attribute of wealth, and yet continue zealous and effective in its ministrations, will thereby give the best evidence and proof of its possessing the truth.

Zealots, and pretenders to zeal, alike may speculate and theorize, may assume to dictate, and put forth dogmas with most oracular solemnity, but nothing that they can say or do can

arrest the gradual but irresistible progress of the "Voluntary Principle" in Church-matters throughout these kingdoms. They are even hastening, to a certain degree, that progress themselves by the extreme tenacity of their resistance to suggestions and measures of reform, and the not a little arrogant tone which they adopt towards, not merely the old and avowed enemies of the Protestant Church-Establishment, but towards those who, attached as themselves to that Establishment, have allowed their common sense to act, and carefully scanning and considering the signs of the age, have recognized that timely reforms and concessions offer the only chance of long preserving the temporal ascendancy of their Church.

Advantage is further given to the "Voluntaries" by the very inconsistent approbation somewhat enthusiastically given by the extreme Church party to the sweeping measures of so-called reform, but real confiscation and deprivation, passed by the Parliament of the kingdom of Sardinia at the instigation of the reckless Cavour, for the Church of that befooled and conceited little State. If those measures be good for Sardinia, is it possible they should be bad for Great Britain and Ireland? If the voluntary gifts of their congregations in the hands of religious orders and secular chapters, and canonries of the Sardinian Church be fair objects of plunder by the State, and if those orders and ecclesiastical bodies are legitimately dispersed and deprived in Sardinia, what delicacy should there be about resuming from the State-Church in these countries the donations given to it by the State, and in suppressing benefices and canonries where the work done bears so small a proportion to the wealth enjoyed, as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have so frequently reported to be the case in many localities throughout the United Kingdom.

This example—preceded by the equally violent and equally lauded instances of Church Robbery in Spain and Switzerland, as well as in some of the wretched little South American Republics, and minor German states,—is extremely contagious; and those who pretend to read aright the signs of the coming time, are beginning to prophesy that the Established Church has before it only the choice of either accepting, with a good grace and speedily, large reforms and retrenchments proposed, and to be carried out in a peaceable and not altogether inconsiderate manner, or of having, at no very protracted period, to submit to rude and far more sweeping change—change

perhaps going directly and without delay to the full extent of the abolition of temporalities. The maintenance very much longer of anything like the present *status quo*, does not seem to be within the list of possibilities, much less within that of what is probable. The danger to Church Establishments is not merely from popular agitation. Kings and princes and governments are, here and there, and with increasing frequency, giving manifestation of a desire to deal a little in the style of Henry the Eighth of England, with ecclesiastical possessions within their respective dominions. A very main article of those documents prolific of *discord*, which are known by the designation of "concordats" with the Pope, has always been the reserved right of the temporal power to put its fingers into the Ecclesiastical purse. And the Greek church in Russia, the Luther-Calvinistic or "Evangelical" Church in Prussia, and the various forms of Protestantism in other parts of Europe, as in Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Wirtemberg, Saxony, &c., all can attest the lovingness of the state for their coffers, to at least as full an extent as its attachment to their dogmas. And in order to secure a power over Church Revenues of all kinds, interferences of the gravest character with Church arrangements of an internal character, and with ministerial appointments, &c., are becoming general.

One of the Evangelical periodicals of London has recently published a letter in which the writer calls attention to an address to the King of the Netherlands from a very large number of his subjects, professing Protestantism according to the form established in that country, in which they most movingly appeal against "the fearful state of despotism" in which they say their Church is held by his government. The address is too long and goes into too much minutiae of detail to be quoted here, but it is enough to say, that it exposes throughout, a system of governmental interference, especially in points bearing upon the collection and management of *revenues* and endowments, which rather forcibly reminds one of the famous *equivoque* in the case of George the First, when he announced to his people that he had come for "all their *goods*!" In Prussia the poor liberty of complaint is denied, and therefore, there is no such outspoken declaration as that of the Dutch churchmen; and of course in the Russian Empire there is a similar enforced silence. But in both those states the absolute bondage of the Established Churches, and the unlimited power

of the temporal governments over ecclesiastical monies, are well known facts. It is then for those who are sincere and devoted in their attachment to the Established Church, to take thought in time, and endeavor to make up not only their own minds, but those of the clergy of their church, to the inevitably coming changes. From their clergy the opposition is at present strongest and most compact, although that body would be guaranteed (by the proviso for securing life-interests) from any loss of income in the present generation. This assured security has not in any way abated their opposition to reform in matters ecclesiastical, and we are quite willing to believe that their opposition proceeds from conscientious motives; in particular from the idea, so natural to the clerical mind, of its being against their duty and beyond their power to consent to any alienation from the church. But natural, or reasonable, or well grounded, or otherwise, as their, or the opposition of any other body may be, events will march notwithstanding, and the public will and the demands of the public voice must be conceded. Reform has made wide and large inroads and changes in matters political. It has totally, or nearly totally, changed the face of things in municipal affairs. It has invaded the long snugly-closed and guarded demeane of the Civil Administration, and even already has worked a wondrous revolution there, and opened wide the way for more to be done. It is idle then, and worse than idle, to think of shutting it out in matters ecclesiastical, and as the coming change neither *can* in these times be, nor is it desired to be, in the direction of a closer and more intimate state connexion or state dependance, true wisdom would dictate a making of terms in time, and a cheerful concession of a part to conciliate public and popular opinion, and thereby render the more safe and secure what remains.

At all events, if the Church Establishment advocates and partizans will not be up and doing, their opponents most certainly will. Mr. Miall and his friends are determined to go on, and many sections of the community, who do not agree in his plans and particular propositions, are yet with him in principle, and as determined as he is, that Reform ecclesiastical shall progress, and progress in earnest. "It is my intention," writes Mr. Miall, (to the secretaries of the recent public meeting at Clonakilty in the County of Cork, to petition against the Established Church), "at an early part of the next Session, to bring the question again before

the House, and I will renew my efforts session after session.  
 . . . The grievance I have assailed is so unsusceptible of  
 any valid defence, that it must fall before enlightened public  
 opinion. \* \* \*

“As I have not taken up the matter in a light spirit, nor  
 with any view to personal or party ends, so I trust I shall not  
 be found to abandon it, nor suffer it in my hands to be dis-  
 posed of by any unworthy compromise.”

We had intended ere concluding this Article to have gone  
 into an exposition of the state and position, in so far as tem-  
 poralities are concerned, of the Roman Catholic Church in  
 Ireland, to show of what wonders voluntarism is capable, and  
 the little reason there is to fear for the temporal maintenance  
 of any Church that is well seated in the affections of its flock.  
 In this country, the poorest in Europe, a complete hierarchy of  
 four archbishops and twenty-eight bishops, and a second order  
 of clergy and religious communities, comprising altogether over  
 4,000 persons, are maintained in the fullest efficiency, and  
 religious edifices of great size, and frequently of much archi-  
 tectural merit, are upraised in every direction by voluntary  
 contributions, without the slightest aid from the state, and  
 assuredly the wealthy congregations of the Established Church  
 —comprising, as it does, such a vast proportion of the  
 upper classes within its fold,—could, and would, readily  
 do at least as much for their own Church as the poor laboring  
 Catholic does for his. We are restricted by the necessity of  
 concluding the present paper from going into details, but the  
 facts we have alluded to are notorious, and the inference from  
 them appears to be irresistible.

In fine, we wish well to Mr. Miall in his undertaking, al-  
 though if we had to choose, a better and more suitable ex-  
 ponent of Irish popular views of this great question might  
 perhaps be found. Still, the combination of energy and capa-  
 city with sincerity is not so frequent that their concurrence in  
 his case should not be welcomed, and his exertions be duly  
 lauded and supported. No one is deceived as to the motives  
 of some of those who vote with him. They hope to make use  
 of him so far as to get the House of Commons to do away  
 with the paltry “*endowment*,” as it is called, of Maynooth  
 College, and mean to stop there, and cease their efforts when  
 that object shall be accomplished. But the stream into which  
 they have thrown themselves has a strength they little wot of



while swimming with it, and the moment they seek to turn it, will sweep them away, or cast them by, useless upon the shore. Common sense and reason have already shewn themselves too powerful for prejudice and privilege in other departments of legislation and state-business, and they now are gathering their forces for a grand assault upon the last remaining fortress of antiquated injustice. The demonstration of the Session just gone by, was of good and cheering omen, and if the friends of religious liberty will only bestir themselves during the months yet to run, of the usual Parliamentary Recess, the beginning of the Session of 1857, may witness a manifestation of sound public opinion and determination on the subject, before which it will be impossible for the most fanatical, or the wildest and ablest of the partizans of the Church Establishment, to maintain their ground.

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We trust we shall be able to induce the writer of this valuable paper to return to the subject in our December number, and to shew, as no man in these Kingdoms could so well shew, the position, political and religious, of the Catholic Church in Ireland.—ED.



NUMBER of SCHOOLS and SCHOLARS in ENGLAND and WALES, at several periods, with the proportion of Scholars to the Population.

Date	DAY SCHOOLS.			SUNDAY SCHOOLS.		
	Schools.	Scholars.	Proportion of Scholars to Population.	Schools.	Scholars.	Proportion of Scholars to Population.
1818	19,230	674,983	One in 17.25	5,463	477,325	One in 24.40
1833	38,971	1,276,947	11.27	16,838	1,547,890	9.28
1851	46,048	2,144,378	8.86	24,514	2,407,842	7.45

NUMBER of SCHOOLS and SCHOLARS in SCOTLAND in 1851.

	Number of Schools.	Scholars on the day of the Census.
Public Day Schools, . . . . .	3,349	231,442
Private Day Schools, . . . . .	1,893	78,009
Sabbath Schools, . . . . .	5,803	230,024

The following passages are worthy of notice :—

A SMALL CONGREGATION.—The *Northern Ensign* says:—"In one of the parishes on the east coast of Sutherland, where the congregation was composed of two families, it happens that one of these families—a late importation from about Dunnet Head—had gone over to the Free Church; the other, two elderly maiden ladies, remaining as the *flock* of the parish minister. But the minister, in addressing the congregation thus *femininely* constituted, still uses the words 'brethren,' and 'my brethren,' much to the chagrin of these worthy persons, who feel insulted at their being thus *masculinized*. Would it not be more courteous, and indeed more in accordance with the fact, that the gentleman should use the term 'sisters?' If some such change of expression does not take place, we fear it will soon be seen that these birds will also leave their nest and fly away."

A CONTRAST.—A dissenting minister in Wales, who is threatened with a seizure for church rates, writes—"I preach every Sabbath to eight or nine hundred colliers, miners, and labourers, and they willingly contribute about one hundred pounds a year towards my support. The rector reads a sermon to some ten or fifteen persons every Sabbath, and receives six or seven hundred pounds a year for his services, and yet it seems that I must be prosecuted for not supporting his cause. This is rather a hard case!"—*Liberator*.

We insert the following Leaders from "*The Times*" and "*Morning Herald*," as a suitable Appendix to the foregoing Article :—

From "*The Times*," September 8th.

The Church of England enjoys the reputation of being the richest in the world. No doubt, that reputation, like the credit of a mercantile house, is itself a valuable property. On the strength of comfortable livings and splendid dignities, thousands of parents are continually sending their most promising sons through public school and college, in hope of a share in these prizes. Thus, the mere calculation, whether doomed to be realized or not, brings into the ministry of the church a large proportion of men with good connexions and a place in society. It has been argued by men with much wisdom of the world, that this is a state of things which particularly suits the British people; that the pay of the church is all the more seductive for being a lottery, and that the many who get only the blanks share the social consideration which accrues from the prizes. Arguments like these, and very much worse than these, are capable of a showy exposition, especially in that gay and airy style usual in successful dignitaries. But there remains the fact that, to most clergymen, the church is not only a disappointment, which may be said of many other things—not only a bad commercial speculation, which may seem only a just penalty on secular motives—but a grinding, degrading, and paralyzing poverty. To half of the clergy, including a large proportion of hardworking and meritorious men, our boasted establishment, so far from being the richest, is practically the poorest in the world. Not only is it poor—it is even impoverishing. Putting together school, college, and perhaps also private tuition and special preparation for orders, they have each had nearly £2,000 invested in this speculation, as it is admitted to be; and the interest of that sum at four per cent. is, by act of Parliament, the ordinary pay of a curate charged with the entire care of a parish. In some cases Parliament prescribes a higher rate, but £80 a-year is all that a clergyman, a highly-educated man of any standing and any personal qualification, may require, and is likely to obtain for the entire charge of a considerable parish, in any situation, good or bad. This is the Parliamentary provision for a working clergyman in a Church called the wealthiest in the world. It is all that any clergyman can be said to reckon upon; and it is for this, this only certainty, that provident English parents deny themselves, and rob their other sons and daughters, to give one son an education which must cost £1,200 or £1,500, and may cost twice as much. Yet even this pittance, this four per cent. on the money invested, is not quite a certainty. There prevails in the English Church a most serious amount of what we may call contraband dealing between incumbents and curate, to defeat the parliamentary enactment for the latter. Out of the cupidity of the one class and the necessity of the other there arise numerous underhand bargains, in which the curate binds himself to accept less than the parliamentary stipend. We should only have to open our columns to cases of clerical destitution, and we should soon present such a picture of educated misery as is not to be found elsewhere in the world. But it has already been brought before us in various ways. One correspondent lately instanced a list of thirty advertisements from clergy-

men in search of curates. Out of this number one only offered £100 a year, one £90, one or two £80, and the rest rapidly fell from £70 down to £56, with a small furnished house, the rector being non-resident. One incumbent offered £50 a year, with the use of rectory-house, the curate to buy the furniture at a valuation of £360. Another offered £70 in a parish of nearly 6,000, where there was daily service. Some appealed to wealthy clergymen for gratuitous assistance. Several offered £50 a year, or the pay of a schoolmaster. These figures speak for themselves, and illustrate the relation of incumbent and curate in our Church. Every gentleman knows the position in which an incumbent stands, as a matter of course, to those whose entire services he has secured for £70, or £50, or £56 a year, particularly when they and he have condescended to evade the law in order to fix so low a sum.

That such a position, and a bearing in harmony with it, are only too general there is abundant evidence. We have lately an instance in the demeanor of an English incumbent, resident in Ireland, to his unfortunate curate, doing the duty of a large parish for £80 a year and a few surplice fees. No sooner was the unfortunate gentleman laid up with an illness arising from the insalubrity of his parish than he received a virtual dismissal. The cost for supplying the poor man's place was, of course, to be deducted from his pittance, and would inevitably soon eat it up. The generosity of the public has interposed between this curate and his employer, but the pecuniary figures of the case, the certain consequences of illness, and the summary nature of the ejection, are common to thousands of cases. Such are the scanty pittance, the precarious tenure, the impending calamities, and the social position of several thousand men who are humorously told to bask in the splendours of a wealthy establishment, and to rejoice in the light of golden canons and episcopal millionaires. Such are the men who have to govern parishes, to conduct themselves with ease and dignity towards squires and manufacturers, to relieve the burdens and share the anxieties of the poorer flocks—in fact, to be the mainstay of our social system. They have to be diligent, and therefore strong; wise, and free from excessive care; gentle, and therefore without much harass. They are always to be in good condition for their duties, which, well discharged, are laborious and trying enough. There is no situation, indeed, which so much requires the health of body and mind and ease of outward condition, as that of the man who appears among a number of ordinary people as the ambassador of Heaven—the representative of a Redeemer—the man to show the way to Heaven—immense pretensions, that can never be worthily maintained, and are too often miserably belied.

Of course, there is another side of the question, as incumbents take care to inform us. Curates are represented as an inferior race of men, otherwise they would not still be curates. Whatever their duties, they, in fact, do very little, getting over their parochial work very lightly, preaching indifferent sermons, and even reading mechanically. They are drudges, it is said; there are plenty of them, as there is of drudges in every department, and it is needless to pay more than the market price for an article of trade with which the market is overstocked. As to the alleged inferiority of the class, it should be considered that in this sublunary sphere it is not easy for any one to maintain a high tone, a dignified manner, or the other components of greatness, on £80 a-year, especially when a family has to be maintained at the same time. Poverty is very depressing, in so much that few have passed through that ordeal even for a brief period without retaining traces of it for the

rest of their lives. But it is the permanent condition, the life's long trial, of the curate class, and when "a poor creature," as saucy young ladies and gentlemen calls him, gets up in the reading-desk, drones out the prayers, and hammers through an old sermon, few know how often it may be said that he once had genius, sentiment, learning, and zeal, but that

" Chill penury repressed his noble rage,  
And froze the genial current of the soul."

It is all very well to talk of the labour of love, and to expect a man to be all the more open to the sublimest motives because he can have no other. Such, however, is the language of bishops and archdeacons, who are always the most eloquent in recommending "counsels of perfection." The truth is that nineteen men out of twenty—to be on the safe side—will be sure to do their work ill if they are paid for it ill, and they will make no effort to improve it if no improvement whatever be rewarded. Of the general class of curates few have the least chance of a living, even if they did their duty ever so well; and every head of a mercantile establishment knows how he would be served, if the best salary he could give his best men was one hundred pounds a year, without the chance of improvement. A curate need only take his allotted part in the services of the Church, show himself a little in his parish, call occasionally on a parishioner, and drop in now and then upon the school, and he will pass muster with the enthusiast who spends ten hours a-day in teaching, praying, exhorting, consoling, revealing, and other spiritual labours. They both stand the same in the eyes of the Church of England. The record of their labours is the same. If the devotee has a patron, or a wealthy friend, or £5,000 to spare in his own pocket, he may, if he pleases, solicit his patron, or invest his money, and acquire a more important, or more dignified, or more agreeable position in the Church. Otherwise, he not only may, but most probably will, remain all his life what he is—a curate, or small incumbent, on his £100 a-year. Being a devotee, however, he is much more likely to spend his money in charity, in church-building, in education, in answers to appeals, and he will probably remain what he is all his days. No doubt, it is better for him that he should. No doubt, he has treasure "elsewhere." No doubt, in that "elsewhere" piety, simplicity, and zeal are recognized even in the humble form of a curate. In the Church of England they are not. Whether its preferments are in private or official hands, or simply on the market, they are very rarely indeed administered on any such consideration. This state of things will not only be admitted, it will even be defended by most zealous Churchmen. In the gross violation of common sense which characterizes the state of our ecclesiastical endowments, "zealous Churchmen" see a trace of the supernatural. There must be something heavenly about it, for it defies all earthly consideration. If the salaries and promotions of any department of State, of an army, or a navy, or a mercantile house, were left on such a footing, everything would go to rack and ruin. But spiritual facts are not in their nature so palpable and obtrusive as material: while a department in confusion, an Exchequer in default, a foundered fleet, a Crimean campaign, or a bankrupt bank addresses itself to the most "carnal" apprehensions, a spiritual chaos can be discerned only by those who really care about such things.

From "*The Morning Herald*," September 8th.

The *Press* endeavours to escape under cover of "a feigned issue." It says:—

"There is only one substantial point in dispute between the *Herald* and ourselves. It is simply as to whether Maynooth was ever a test of Conservative Protestantism between 1835 and 1841."

What have we been discussing with the *Press* for the last three weeks? The Maynooth question. And what is the Maynooth question? It is, whether or not the act of 1845 shall be repealed? Now, what can speeches made in 1835 or 1841, long before the Maynooth Endowment Bill was framed, have to do with that question? Clearly, nothing. We ourselves introduced the years 1835-1841 into the discussion. But how? We stated that Sir Robert Peel built up the Conservative party on Protestant professions, and ruined the Conservative party by proving a traitor to those principles. And we warned the Conservatives of the present day against the blindness, the madness of treading in his steps. That he did so rear up a party on Protestant professions we proved by Dr. Buchanan's memorandum, confirmed by Mr. Pringle's evidence, and still more confirmed by Sir Robert's own wretched plea of *non mi ricordo*. We proved it still further by Sir James Graham's speeches of 1838-1839, 1840, made while he sat by Sir Robert Peel's side.

"But did he say nothing about Maynooth?"

No, he did not say anything about Maynooth—nor about the Wiseman aggression, nor about Mr. Chambers's Bill for Conventual Visitation. The reason may be found in the *Critic*—

"The Spanish fleet thou canst not see, because 'tis not in sight."

So much for Sir James Graham's speeches. Lastly, we are again reminded of Lord George Bentinck.

"The important fact, that the lamented Lord George Bentinck was not only opposed to insulting the Roman Catholics of Ireland, by revoking grants to them, over which time has cast the shield of prescription, but that he was actually in favour of endowing the Roman Catholic priesthood, a project which we never recommended."

It is said, "the *Herald* thought it better to keep silent on this important fact." We kept silence, because we thought it a fact of no importance whatever. Lord George Bentinck spoke and voted in favour of the Romanists, as he spoke and voted in favour of the Jews; and might, probably, if he had been asked, have spoken and voted in favour of the Socinians, or of the Mormonites. But what then? Lord George Bentinck was a great man on two or three particular questions, to which he had devoted much attention. On these his opinion was valuable. But there were other questions, and questions of importance, respecting which he was profoundly ignorant. In the present case, if we were to be struck to the earth by the mere mention of his name, as approving Maynooth, we might reckon on being next called upon to "emancipate the Jews," because that was his vote. But the plain truth is, that both on the Maynooth question and the Jewish question, at least 99 out of every 100 of the Conservative party hold Lord George Bentinck to have been altogether in the wrong. And hence, to cite his opinion on the question now before us, is of as little use as to cite the opinion of Mr. Thomas Moore or my Lord Palmerston himself.

ART. VIII.—PEEL'S MEMOIRS—THE PHILOSOPHY  
OF AGITATION.

*Memoirs by the Right Honorable Sir Robert Peel, Bart.,  
M.P., &c.*—Published by the Trustees of his Papers, Lord  
Mahon, now Earl Stanhope, and the Right Honorable  
Edward Cardwell, M.P.—Part I. Roman Catholic Question.  
London : John Murray. 1856.

Most of the critical journals have noticed Sir Robert Peel's memoirs, and join in the expression of some disappointment at the dryness of the first volume. So far, however, from regarding the justification disclosed by its pages as incomplete, they seem of a mind to consider it superfluous. What the public expectation required was either more amplitude or more anatomy, a warmer pencil, or a more vigorous scalpel. Although the correspondence, of which the book is principally made up, purports to be, and is, in strictness confidential, it retains for the most part a severely official character. There is hardly any freedom, any unreserve, anything unguarded, that may serve to mark the stages or break the abruptness of a change, which we take to have been less sudden than it seems, rather on Sir Robert Peel's credit than on the evidence of his memoirs. The outline, too, of events and circumstances, by which the letters stand connected and explained, is thin although distinct. It is in the nature of a ground plan, where we find everything correct, symmetrical, and intelligible, but without beauty or interest. We must look elsewhere for the philosophy of consistency or change ; for any large or abstract principles of statesmanship ; for any gloss upon that most difficult chapter of constitutional history for which these memoirs supply materials. Still more hopeless is the prospect of anecdotes, or sketches of character, or smart sayings, or scandal, or sentiment, or anything that constitutes the vulgar merit of memoirs. These things have their own place and fitness, but if the public expected them of Sir Robert Peel, the public has no reason to complain of disappointment. Sir Robert Peel was never more accurately himself than in the compilation of this book. Calculating, but not speculative ; regardful of things as he was incurious of ideas ; not so nice about a name as studious of a result ; governed, but not overawed, by his responsibility ; treating politics as a pursuit, while too many



regard it as a game ; and the commonwealth as a trust, though it is the high breeding of party to use it as a counter ; ambitious yet scrupulous ; benevolent without the forms of benevolence ; self-sacrificing without the externals of heroism ; bold, but not imaginative, and sagacious though not ingenious ; he seems exactly the man to have written the book before us from a sense of duty, not as a labour of love, even of self-love ; and to have composed his history as he performed his part, for the ease of his conscience and the service of the state.

The book might easily have been rendered more attractive, whether by the author or the editors, but in that case it must have been less characteristic. It might have made been more welcome to the drawing-room, and that without any decrease of value ; but its present place is in the closet, and in the hands of the advanced student who can dispense with notes and scholia. The philosophy to be learned in its pages has never been symbolized ; it is nowhere to be met in axioms or formulas ; it lies at considerable depth beneath the surface ; but it will reward the inquirer with some of the most important truths in the ethics of the constitution. "The origin of party may be traced," writes Lord Brougham, "by fond theorists and sanguine votaries of the system to a radical difference of opinion and principle, to the '*idem sentire de republicâ*,' which at all times marshalled men in combinations and split them in opposition ; but it is pretty plain to any person of ordinary understanding that a far less romantic ground of union and of operation has for the most part excited the individual interests of the parties ; the '*idem velle atque idem nolle*,' the desire of power and of plunder which, as all cannot share, each is desirous of snatching and holding. The history of English party is as certainly that of a few great men and powerful families on the one hand, contending for place and power, with a few other on the opposite quarter, as it is the history of the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts. There is nothing more untrue than to represent principle as at the bottom of it—Interest is at the bottom, and the opposition of principles is subservient to the opposition of interest. Accordingly, the result has been that unless, perhaps, where a dynasty was changed, as in 1688 and for some time afterwards, and excepting on questions connected with this change, the very same conduct was held and the same

principles professed by both parties when in office, and by both when in opposition. Of this we have seen sufficiently marked instances in the course of the foregoing pages. The Whig in opposition was for retrenchment and for peace; transplant him into office, he cares little for either. Bills of coercion, suspensions of the constitution, were his abhorrence when propounded by Tories; in place he propounded them himself. Acts of indemnity and of attainder were the favorites of the Tory in power, the Tory in opposition was the enemy of both. The gravest charge ever brought by the Whig against his adversary was the personal proscription of an exalted individual to please a king; the worst charge that the Tory can level against the Whig is the support of a proscription still less justifiable to please a viceroy.

"It cannot surely in these circumstances be deemed extraordinary that plain men uninitiated in the aristocratic mysteries whereof a rigid devotion to party, forms one of the most sacred, should be apt to see a very different connexion between principle and faction, from the one usually put forward, and that without at all denying a relation between the two things, they discern the account generally given by party men, and suspect them of taking up principles in order to marshal themselves in alliances, and hostilities for their own interests, instead of engaging in these contests because of their conflicting principles—In a word there seems some reason to suppose that interest having really divided them into bands, principles are professed for the purpose of better compassing their objects in maintaining a character and gaining the support of the people."\*

This statement, for it is something more than theory, so broadly presented by Lord Brougham, though true to a great extent, is, perhaps, not so universal in its application as even our own experience might lead us to suppose; nor do the facts themselves inevitably lead to the conclusions that have been drawn from them or involve the moral offence imputed in the passage. Many men of vigorous intellect, and incorruptible virtue, having been rocked and dandled into statemanship, connect the well-being of the state as a matter of course with the power of their party; and look upon their own advancement as a happy accident, nay, rather a necessary condition of prosperous government. The weight of authority the sacredness of tradition, the spell of association, accompany them from be-

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\* Historical sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III. vol. I., p. 137.

ginning to end, perhaps narrowing the mind but not necessarily corrupting the heart. Much of what Lord Brougham describes is inherent in human nature—much, perhaps, inseparable from our system of government; a great deal of it the small price of incalculable advantages. But after making every possible allowance, after straining indulgence to its limit, and trimming Lord Brougham's generalities with probably too critical a knife, there yet remain sufficient meanness and sufficient bad faith in party politics to make his averments substantially true. The small ambitions, the sordid interests, the obscene avidities, the ravening claims, hungry in proportion to their emptiness, and clamorous in the degree of their immorality, the vigilance eager to be lulled, and the virtue that waits to be deflowered, are too familiar as the offspring of party in its most repulsive aspect, not to be easily recognized even when limned by a less skilful hand than that of Brougham. The instances of men in power who have sacrificed conviction and the empire to office, to party, to weakness, or to cowardice, are too numerous. You have no occasion to look for them. There is scarce a great name since the Revolution that does not represent delinquency such as we have been describing. Lord North's administration perhaps is the most signal as well as the most disastrous instance of adherence to a policy condemned by reason and conscience, in deference to the requirements of party or at least of a king. The adoption of the war policy by Pitt in 1793 mainly with a view to the monopoly of office; the abandonment of the Catholic claims and the repudiation of his own pledges by the same minister in 1804; the tenderness of Canning and Lord Castlereagh for the conscience of George IV. a tenderness which so completely seared their own; the bad system of open questions by which dishonesty was perpetuated under the style of compromise, as ladies of uncertain reputation, not only get the brevet rank of honest women, but a safe and protected range of license, by a change of name; the intimate conviction impressed upon the minds of statesmen that office is essential to usefulness, a conviction fortified by the belief that *they* are essential to office, and gliding smoothly into the persuasion that office is its own reward: these, with other and innumerable proofs in later years, which we forbear to mention as they are still the proper matter of party comment, afford sufficient evidence that the morality of party stands in need of a reform; and that the reform requires to be deep and

wide. Perhaps, indeed, the present disorganized state of parties is the precursor of some such change, but it has not taken that shape, or given itself out as such. On the contrary, the last general election furnished the most pregnant example of party spirit in quest of a principle, and taking up with a cry. Weary in its chace after even a phantom of protection, it crimped "No Popery," a more villanous and disreputable spectre still ; and, after wandering in dry places through its term of probation, it came back to the swept and garnished house from which it had been expelled, not with new doctrines or purer principles, but with other spirits more wicked than itself.

But if the boundaries of party have been at all confused, and whether the confusion be for in good or in evil, Sir Robert Peel was certainly the man who, by his adoption of the Catholic claims, unsettled the allegiance of men to party, even although, like him, they may not have transferred it to duty. It would be quite wroug to consider Sir Robert Peel, at least up to a certain period, as a patron of religious freedom. Lord Grenville was undoubtedly a confessor of the Catholic claims, and sealed his confession with much sacrifice. Were it not for his adherence to these claims, and to the principle of the claims, he might, as Lord Brougham very truly observes, have held the first place in the councils of the state. Sir Robert Peel was never, or at least not till a very late period, a convert to the principle of religious liberty. He had certain interests very much at heart ; these interests he believed to be the most precious in and to the state ; he came, in the course of his experience, to believe these interests compromised by the continuance of Catholic disabilities ; and, having once arrived at this conclusion, he resolved to assert the dignity, liberty, and duty of the statesman in upholding, at whatever cost to himself and to his party, the interest best approved to his reason and nearest to his conscience. The fume of his self sacrifice might have been very agreeable to those interests, but his sacrifice alone could not have secured them ; it was his part to save them first and then sacrifice himself. He yielded the Catholic claims, not because he considered them just, nor did he resist them because he thought them unreasonable. For the purpose of our inquiry *x* or *y* may be substituted for emancipation or the repeal of the corn laws. Our concern is with the minister elevated to office by his party, and promoting in that same office an object of national interest, to the discom-

future, disarray, and all but extinction of the party he was supposed to represent.

It is in this colder and less amiable light that Sir Robert Peel has chosen to hold himself out in his memoirs, but to the political philosopher it does not alter his position in the least. As friends of religious freedom we should be glad to claim so distinguished a convert, although it has never been made clear to us that he held a very different theory of religious liberty from that maintained by the friends of emancipation; but throughout these memoirs, in vindicating his change of conduct, he rests his defence upon no change of abstract principle, but upon grounds purely political, and deals with the entire question as one of danger and expediency. This is very clearly put by himself, in a letter to the late Bishop Jebb, an inexorable opponent of concession, and in the closing pages of the volume, which recapitulate the motives that urged him to undertake the adjustment of the Catholic Question.

Mr. PEEL, to the Bishop of LIMERICK.

Whitehall, February 8, 1829.

MY DEAR LORD—I beg to assure you with perfect sincerity, that no opinions that you can express to me, and no course of public conduct that you may feel yourself called on to take, can diminish the gratification that I shall have in hearing your sentiments, and still less my unaffected respect for your unblemished name and great acquirements.

I am the last person to express surprise that you should apprehend danger from concession to the Roman Catholics; but I entreat you dispassionately to consider the facts I am about to recall to your notice, the prospect which there is of being enabled to maintain permanent resistance to concession, and the danger that concession may be forced upon us under circumstances much more unfavourable than the present.

In the first place there has been a division between the House of Lords and the House of Commons on this subject that has now endured sixteen years.

Secondly, It has been found necessary, in carrying on the Government of this country for the last twenty five years, not to exclude from the councils of the King such men as Mr. Pitt, the late Lord Melville, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning. Their exclusion from the Government in times of pressing difficulty was impossible. Their admission into it produced disunion in the Cabinet, and tended to advance Roman Catholic interests. Their inability immediately to carry their views into effect made them probably more decided in their language as to the necessity of ultimately adopting those views.

Thirdly, The opinions of the young men who are now entering into public life, and who are likely to distinguish themselves, are, with scarcely an exception, if with one, in favour of an adjustment of the question.

Fourthly, In the course of the last six months. England being at peace with the whole world, has had five-sixths of the infantry force of the United Kingdom occupied in maintaining the peace and in police duties in Ireland. I consider the state of things which requires such an application of military force much worse than open rebellion.

Fifthly, There has been established an intimate union between the Roman Catholic laity and the Roman Catholic priesthood; in consequence of that union the representation of the counties of Waterford, Monaghan, Clare, and Louth, has been wrested from the hands of the natural aristocracy of those counties; and if the present state of things is to continue, if parties in Parliament are to remain so nicely balanced that each can paralyse the other, that one can prevent concession, the other can prevent restraint and control, we must make up our minds to see sixty or seventy Radicals sent from Ireland when a General Election shall take place.

Sixthly, The state of society in Ireland will soon become perfectly incompatible with trial by jury in any political cases. The Roman Catholics have discovered their strength in respect to the elective franchise. Let us beware that we do not teach them how easy it will be to paralyse the Government and the law, unless we are prepared to substitute some other system of criminal jurisprudence for the present system.

If this be the state of things at present, let me implore you to consider what would be the condition of England in the event of war.

Would an English Parliament tolerate for one moment a state of things in Ireland which would compel the appropriation of half her military force to protect or rather to control that exposed part of the Empire?

Can we forget, in reviewing the history of Ireland, what happened in 1782, what happened in 1793? It is easy to blame the concessions that were then made, but they were not made without an intimate conviction of their absolute necessity in order to prevent greater dangers.

My first impression is that, unless an united Government takes the whole condition of Ireland into its consideration, and attempts to settle the Catholic Question, we must be prepared for the necessity of settling it at some future period in a manner neither safe to Protestant establishments, nor consistent with the dignity of the Crown of England.

Remove the differences as to civil disabilities, and I think the Protestant mind will be united against Popery in a ten times greater degree than it is at present.

Excuse the haste in which I am obliged to write on a subject of such vast importance.

Believe me, &c.,

ROBERT PEEL.

Bishop of LIMERICK to Mr. PEAR.

February 11, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR—I have reconsidered (for they were not new to me) all the arguments in your letter with the utmost calmness and deliberation in my power. The result has been an increased conviction, if possible, that infinitely more difficulties and dangers will attach to concession than to uncompromising resistance.

That our state is most awful I cannot, if I would, conceal from myself. The Papists of Ireland indeed know their strength; but their chief strength lies, and they know that too, in the weakness of our Government. After a long period of misrule, with an appalling military force in the country, no substantive measure has been taken within the last six months of total anarchy against the agitators and against treason worse than open rebellion. On the contrary, the friends of the Constitution have been discountenanced almost as enemies,—its enemies encouraged altogether as friends: and, humanly speaking, under such a system nothing can save us.

But my ultimate reliance is placed, where it cannot be shaken, in Divine Providence. I trust that all will yet be right; but, in the mean time, in defence of all that is dear to British Protestants, I am cheerfully prepared, if necessary, as others of my Order have formerly done to lay down life itself.

With every feeling of personal kindness,

I have, &c.,

JOHN LIMERICK."

Of opponents of another class equally determined with the Bishop to resist the measure of relief, but less charitably disposed towards its author, there were abundant examples among the constituent body whose confidence I had the misfortune to forfeit.

If it had been alleged against me that the sudden adoption of a different policy had proved the want of early sagacity and foresight on my part—if the charge had been that I had adhered with too much pertinacity to a hopeless cause—that I had permitted for too long a period the engagements of party or undue deference to the wishes of constituents to outweigh the accumulating evidence of an approaching necessity—if this had been the accusation against me, I might find it more difficult to give it a complete and decisive refutation.

But the charge preferred by those whose favour and goodwill I had forfeited was the opposite of this; it was that I had without any sufficient reason, nay that I had from pusillanimous and unworthy motives, counselled the abandonment of resistance, which it would have been easy, as well as wise, to continue unabated.

I must leave it to others to determine, after weighing the evidence which I have adduced, and that additional evidence to which the lapse of time will no doubt give access, whether, at the period that concession was determined on, the reasons in favour of conces-

sion as opposed to continued and uncompromising resistance did or did not preponderate.

Of my own motives and intentions I may be allowed to speak.

Pusillanimity—the want of moral courage—would have prompted a very different course from that which I pursued, If I had been swayed by any unworthy fears—the fear of obloquy—the fear of responsibility—the fear of Parliamentary conflict—I might have concealed my real opinion—might have sheltered myself under the dishonest plea of a false consistency, and have gained the hollow applause which is lavished upon those who inflexibly adhere to an opinion once pronounced, though altered circumstances may justify and demand the modification or abandonment of it.

If I had been stimulated by personal ambition—that sort of ambition, I mean, which is content with the lead of a political party, and the possession of official power—I might have encouraged and deferred to the scruples of the Sovereign, and might have appealed to the religious feelings of the country to rally round the Throne for the maintainance of the Protestant religion, and the protection of the Royal conscience.

From the imputation of other motives still more unworthy, the documents I now produce will, I trust, suffice to protect my memory, I can with truth affirm, as I do solemnly affirm in the presence of Almighty God, “to whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid,” that in advising and promoting the measures of 1829 I was awayed by no fear except the fear of public calamity, and that I acted throughout on a deep conviction that those measures were not only conducive to the general welfare, but that they had become imperatively necessary in order to avert from interests which had a special claim upon my support—the interests of the Church and of institutions connected with the Church—an imminent and increasing danger.

It may be that I was unconsciously influenced by motives less perfectly pure and disinterested—by the secret satisfaction of being,

“———when the waves went high,  
A daring pilot in extremity.”

But at any rate it was no ignoble ambition which prompted me to bear the brunt of a desperate conflict, and at the same time to submit to the sacrifice of everything dear to a public man, excepting the approval of his own conscience, and the hope of ultimate justice.

#### ROBERT PEEL.

Many Roman Catholics from the date of Emancipation, and nearly the entire body at a later period, conceived an exalted idea of the services of Sir Robert Peel. The feeling warmed into admiration, or even into something like enthusiasm, during the papal aggression ferment in 1851, when the only statesmen, with one or two distinguished exceptions, who opposed



the popular movement, were those who had remained to the last under the leadership and cherished the memory of Sir Robert Peel. The warmth of these sentiments, it is evident, has suffered some abatement since the publication of the *Memoirs*, and no one could be altogether unprepared for the disappointment expressed by many at the somewhat chilly doctrine in the extract just quoted. The reason, however, of this feeling is not very solid—Sir Robert Peel never that we are aware embodied in words any opinion, or set of opinions, with which these last are at variance, and he is no more to be held accountable for the fancies of his admirers than for those of his traducers. Still it cannot, but be interesting to compare the estimate formed of Sir Robert Peel by the more thoughtful and educated Roman Catholics a few years back, with the impression apparently communicated to them by the present volume, and for this purpose their well known organ, the *Dublin Review*, may be taken to represent their opinions with tolerable accuracy. Accordingly, in a paper upon Edmund Burke (No. LXVII., April, 1853), we find the following certainly not unwilling tribute to Sir Robert Peel, in which his merits are thrown into considerable relief by the reflections of the essayist upon a living statesman.

But in noticing some of the revolutions of opinion, whether supposed or actual, in public men, it would hardly be forgiven in us Catholics, if we were to neglect a passing allusion to those connected with the honoured name of Peel. There is little in common between Burke and him, nor do there exist, that we know of, any of those salient points of difference that furnish matter for an historical parallel. Burke had to repel the charge of inconsistency, while Peel as frankly confessed to change; and whatever name that change may take, we owe his memory a worship for it, which it never could be ours to deny or stint. His motives are not to be curiously or irreverently scanned, for though he may not have had for our faith the same tender, respectful, and almost filial reverence as Burke, he looked upon ourselves as countrymen, and brethren in right; as children of the same great empire and gracious sovereign. We have so lately suffered from far different changes of conduct and opinion, that we are in a proper tone of mind to study his, and we might propose the *manner*, even if not the substance, of them to all who contemplate a change or foresee its probability. It was no part of his changes to discharge splenetic insults on those he had left, or what he had uttered without dignity, to retract without grace. He flung no smoky firebrands to burn himself in the attempt to stamp them out, or surrounded abortive projects of vexation, with misty threats; exaggerating to the dimensions of persecution the petty deformities of annoyance. If he had to work a change, he spurned any tricky expedients for doing

it, and along with the pedantry of his school, rejected all ministerial sleight of hand. His course may have been eccentric, it was not erratic; let him steer where he might, he always anchored where he ought; let public clamour and public fanaticism bear down upon him as they would, he neither defied their power with proud words, nor conjured their rage with muttered spells; he flung no chains into the surge, he laid no stripes upon it, but neither did he propitiate it with libations, or appease it with despairing vows. He relied upon himself, met it full upon his prow, steered right on, broke it, and rode through. His were changes we could scarce barter for a consistency less glorious than that of Burke.

We next quote from a paper on the *Peel Memoirs* in the last number of the same journal, in which the feeling of disappointment to which we have adverted is expressed, not ungracefully it is true, nor in a cavilling spirit, but with a good deal of positiveness and decision. The reviewer, after copying the last pages of the volume, goes on to say—

It is hard to refuse to sympathise with an avowal so open and so direct from the heart. It is still more difficult to do so, when we carry our thoughts back to the angry and excited period, the still painful recollections of which no doubt inspired the tone of indignant earnestness which characterises this appeal—when we recall the charges of “imbecility, pusillanimity, and irreligion” from which even men like Southey could not forbear, when we see what was done under the most honorable motives openly described as “a deceiving of friends and a betrayal of the constitution;” above all, when we recollect that the very plea of necessity, by which alone the ministry sought to vindicate their change of policy, was broadly stigmatized as a plea of their own creation—a plea arising out of a danger, the growth of which they had themselves knowingly, wilfully, and even treacherously, tolerated, or rather fostered.

And yet while, viewing his conduct under these relations, it would be ungracious and ungenerous to withhold our sympathy from one who, with a full knowledge of the obloquy to which he exposed himself, had the courage to brave it in our cause, we doubt whether there be any Catholic who, with all his admiration, and gratitude for the author of these *Memoirs*, will not rise from their perusal with a feeling of vague disappointment, if not of absolute regret. It cannot fail to strike him painfully that, although there is not, from the beginning to the end of the volume, an unfriendly sentiment or a disrespectful phrase in reference to the Catholic Church, yet neither is there a single word or phrase from which it would be possible to infer, that the course taken by Mr. Peel on the Catholic Question arose from a higher motive than that of political expediency, or perhaps it might better be said, of political necessity. Not a word occurs—whether in his correspondence at the time, or in the observations and communications by which it is now accompanied, or in the general narrative in which the course of events is reviewed—

which can be construed into a retraction of those opinions on the abstract justice of the case which he had professed throughout his earlier career;—not a word of real sympathy with the Catholic struggle for equality, or of regret, much less of indignation, at the long course of intolerant exclusion of which they had been the victims. The author of this Memoir never once rises beyond the level of a politician, we had almost said a partisan; nor is there a single principle brought forward, whether in the many discussions which took place between him and his colleagues, or in the various state papers submitted to the King, to the cabinet, or to his private friends, which could be dignified with the name of political philosophy. In no phase of his life does Sir Robert Peel appear more unmistakably as **THE STATESMAN OF EXPEDIENCY**, than in the records which he himself has left of the settlement of the Catholic Question.

But, on the other hand, it is only due in justice as well as in gratitude, to confess, that, having once, from whatever motive, taken a decided course on this momentous topic, his after conduct was marked by the highest principles of honour, and by the most graceful and generous frankness. If his papers exhibit no evidence of avowed sympathy with Catholics, neither do they bear a trace of secret hostility, or what would be worse, of insidious friendship. If there be in them no show of a desire to favour, yet neither is there any show of a disposition to undermine. Sir Robert Peel had the good sense and the manliness to abandon the petty devices, by which, under the name of *securities*, former legislators, even those most favorable to Catholics, had sought to mar the benefit which they offered, and to fetter the liberty which they conferred. There is abundant evidence that the few restrictive provisions by which his measure of relief was accompanied, were meant to remain a dead letter; and were rather intended to disarm the opposition of the antagonists of Catholic liberties, than to restrict these liberties, or to limit the fulness of their exercise. If his measure of concession was tardy, it was, when it came at last, generous, graceful, comprehensive, beyond the dreams of former emancipators, and we may add, beyond the hopes of many among the most sanguine of Catholics themselves.

There is much truth in the last paragraph especially of this extract. As was the case in all Sir Robert Peel's political (distinguishing them from his politico-fiscal) measures, the conception was outdone by the execution, and in view of this fact at least, Catholics have no reason to cancel a line or recall a word in the expression of their gratitude. The securities with which even the original friends of concession proposed to confine and stunt it, in the hope of conciliating opposition, would have gone farther to demoralize the Catholic emancipated than his disabilities had degraded him unrelieved. He should have purchased the being free or being not half free of the city at

a great price indeed. Outside the constitution he had been an object partly of pity and partly of dread ; within he must have been sacred to contempt. It would have been left for him either to preserve his dignity by keeping aloof, or forfeit his pride and independence the moment he approached. Fetters are at all events more respectable for a man than leading strings, and Prometheus under the beak of the vulture is greater than Hercules under the discipline of the slipper. Thus, it was proposed to make the admission of Catholics depend upon a yearly vote ; or to give them only a few years' trial in the first instance ; or, to limit their numbers in Parliament ; or to restrict their privileges ; or confine them to neutral ground, by excluding them from the discussion of certain questions ; or to interfere in the election of bishops and intercourse of ecclesiastics with Rome, by establishing an inspection of bulls and rescripts. The idea was even entertained of applying to the body politic one of those little ingenuities of torture, one of those perpetual blisters that act with such wonderful vigour in Baden or Wurtemberg, a board of direction for ecclesiastical matters composed of lay Catholics, to mediate between the Protestant sovereign and Roman Catholic hierarchy ; and to keep up that agonizing itching and luxurious scratching which it is the delight of German pedantry to contrive for the unhappy states subjected to its practice. But Sir Robert Peel was above the policy of governing by an Irish row. He of course knew that in carrying his measure he might be enabled to destroy the credit of half a dozen of laymen, perhaps to bring a notable portion of the clergy into suspicion—to maintain a chronic fever, not fatal to life, but destructive of enjoyment—to keep a few traitors in pay, and a whole nation of malcontents in anger, powerless against the state and useless for its service—yet he saw no condition of security in disorder ; for he felt that to weaken conscience is not to strengthen loyalty, and that you cannot have public virtue if you humble public spirit. Under this impression he discarded the securities, and gave as permanent a character to the relief measure as perhaps was possible under the circumstances. The two or three restrictions embodied in the bill were intended and contrived more for effect than use (as was well known at the time), and as the event has proved. It is quite evident that the measure, as it stands, is provisional and incomplete, and we have reason to believe that its author himself looked upon it in that light. The

The endowment of Maynooth was nothing more or less than a complement to the relief act ; and though it had the appearance of a bribe to the prevailing agitation, there is now little doubt of its having been one of a projected series of well considered measures, which Sir Robert Peel could certainly have properly carried had time and opportunity been given to him. In his speech as a minister of the crown, he stated his deliberation, after sixteen years' experience of the relief act, that a full equality should be established in Ireland between Catholic and Protestant ; thereby affirming, in the first place, that his own measure had not created that desirable result ; and secondly, giving his successors to understand that they were to expect his countenance and aid in the furtherance of such measures as they might propose to Parliament for the rectification of the position of Roman Catholics in regard to the Established Church and to the state.

From all this it is not unreasonable to infer that Sir Robert Peel in office was prepared to deal with Irish politics as they came before him, and that it has not entered into the hearts of other statesmen to conceive. Since his retirement, not an effort, not a step, not a hope, has been contributed by men in power towards the satisfaction of claims that all admitted were up to the mark of unsatisfied. The distinguished statesman who succeeded him explained and justified Irish discontent, in the sixteenth year after the emancipation act, by an illustration from prison. "You cannot," he said, "require a prisoner to acquiesce in his captivity, because you have enlarged his window and increased his sun-light." He was undoubtedly right. A man acting on behalf of others can take an instalment of rights, but not of all demands ; and, when a nation is in question, it is criminal to compound for justice than to compound for it. Yet it is humiliating to think that neither the ministers who spoke these words in opposition, nor the men who advocated the most radical and comprehensive changes, have ever repudiated their pledge of their belief since their accession to power. On the other hand, the representatives of a great party in Ireland, in appeal to passions they are predetermined not to be guided by, encourage cries they never can appease, and throw up to the air for Maynooth in Ireland, while they rail at it in England. Their consistency is never impeached, they go boldly to the front and thank Heaven they are not like other men, paltering with faith, traitors to their party, keepers of evil company.

Peel ; on the contrary, their morals, they say, are pure, and have purged their club ; they quote the right authors ten a day, and they give the right dinners at the proper place ; entitling themselves on every score to the praise of honesty and truth. But these things are the vulgarities of political life, they are the stock in trade of parliamentary jesters, and are not tempted to pursue the subject much farther. In our only mistaken view, Sir Robert Peel's political morality is severe, and approaches more nearly to perfection, than any which constitutional history takes notice, and we can afford to rest this conviction without going into the niceties of a detail which applies itself to every matter of accusation, and which has led him to have regulated his public conduct by the code of private honor, unlike so many whose private worth has been a traint upon political unworthiness.

And here we close this branch of the subject with an extract which goes to show that Sir Robert Peel in abandoning the old securities, was prompted to that course not merely by a sense of the weakness of any such guarantees, but by a confidence in the generosity and right feeling of those he sought to enfranchise.

There were three different classes of "security" that might be considered. The first and the chief security was in the abolition of the distinctions between Protestant and Roman Catholic which had bred suspicion and distrust in the loyalty, and fidelity, and civil obedience of the Roman Catholic, in the opening to him of all the avenues to honour and political power, in the consequent discouragement of hostile designs and irregular ambition, in the breaking up of the combinations dangerous to the State that then were of so frequent recurrence in Ireland, and owed their origin and their strength to the sympathies awakened and confirmed by a common oppression.

There was a moral as distinguished from a legislative security. There was a security founded on a generous confidence in the loyalty of the Roman Catholic, and on the hope that he would have new reasons for attachment to a Constitution from none of the privileges which he was to be hereafter debarred.

It was possible no doubt to suggest other securities, securities founded by law, against the abuse of power by the Roman Catholic ; but there was necessity for great caution lest such securities, instead of being of any real value in themselves, should, by implying a continuance of suspicion and distrust, detract from the efficacy of the moral security to which I have referred.

The more I considered the subject, the more I was disposed to banish all thought of legislative securities, of imposing restrictions,

for instance, on the number of Roman Catholics admissible in Parliament, or of maintaining distinctions of any kind in respect of capacity for power, or the exercise of power, legislative or executive, between Protestant and Roman Catholic.

There is no more striking feature in the character of Sir Robert Peel than the devotedness with which his friends adhered to him in the great crisis of his life, notwithstanding the absence of all impulsiveness or warmth in his eloquence; notwithstanding the perfectly unimpassioned reasoning which seems to have guided him in his conduct, and led others to adopt them, it does not appear that any one who came within the reach of his influence escaped the fascination of his noble character. The power of his deep attachment is, if not an argument, a very usual concomitant of genius, and, when those who conceive the attachment are men of honor, the object of it can hardly be without virtue. Nothing could be warmer, more touching, more affectionate, than the zeal and sympathy which his friends displayed for Sir Robert Peel in the moment of trial, when the storm which he and they so clearly foresaw was darkening its gloom and intensifying its rage, they gathered round him with eager and anticipative solicitude, and challenged him to his obloquy like a portion of their inheritance. Lord B. the Bishop of Oxford, at the time actively engaged in promoting Peel's return for the University of Oxford, wrote to him—"Send me word of anything that tends to alleviate your difficulties and mitigate your struggles." Mr. Vernon's course of a letter expressive throughout of the warmest admiration, says—"I did not think I should ever have been concerned myself with Oxford politics, but believing in the interests, and those of the Church Establishment, to be taken out of your hands without detriment as well as to ourselves, I entreat you to authorise your friends to support you again, and I proffer a zealous cooperation with your wishes." Dr. Marsham, the Warden of Merton, Lord Bathurst, and Mr. Berners, all wrote in a similar spirit. (Dr. Marsham had already expressed his opinion that the University would disgrace itself if it failed to return Peel, and the result of their labors, though not what they had calculated upon, is recorded by Sir Robert Peel with great pride. "I find," he says, "this paper giving an account of the minority which supported me. 'Mr. Peel po



less than Sir Robert Inglis, and had twice as many first men, 14 out of 20 professors, and 24 out of 28 prize the 24 prize men having gained 36 prizes. Of Christ ch (the College of both candidates) Mr. Peel had 39 first men, his opponent only 8; he had also all the noblemen voted, 4 deans out of 5, and 333 clergymen, as an argument for the *No Popery* and *Church in danger* men.'"

though it does not appear for the present to drop in with current of our observations, we offer no apology for using Sir Robert Peel's description of the last spasm of France, in the darkest and therefore most appropriate cell the worst heart in England. It is now well known that no, nor even Jacobite family, not Balmerino, Mar nor Lovat, cordially detested the principles of the revolution, than the y to which it gave the crown. Never sat four more ough-paced despots on the throne of England than the four ges. Without the boldness of the Tudors, or happily for selves the infatuation of the Stuarts, they were as tyrannas either, and as untaught as the latter, though more prunor perhaps more timid. Hallam says, in a tone rather too nphphant for a professing friend of conscience, that many of family of the Princess Sophia "had been a little wavering our Act of Settlement became a settlement of their faith;" his was true of the family of Brunswick in their political more than their religious creed. Despots in all the conation of their German littleness, the family of Brunswick the glorious revolution, sat frowning upon each other like h and Sin, in the allegory. The one "the likeness of a ly crown" had on, not the regular legitimate sort of thing its full suit of prerogative jewels, but a may-fair business inchbeck and paste, while the other, threatened by the unral appetite of the wearer, had reason to say, and often did n substance if not in terms—

"Before mine eyes in opposition sits  
Grim death my son, and foe

\* \* \* \* \*

And me his parent would full soon devour,

\* \* But that he knows

His end with mine involved, and knows that I

Should prove a bitter morsel and his bane.

the reigns of the four Georges were a succession of intrigues  
nst the bill of rights, and anything in the form of right or



liberty. The Third of them organized a band of satrap the King's friends, that overrode his own ministers, administration and opposition equally at defiance. For devouring the revolution he dismembered the empire, and, as we shall see, was prepared to stake Ireland on the chance of war on the very eve of the revolution of 1801, with all her wrongs unredressed, and the public mind open to lessons as might be learned from France, Belgium, and Spain, and Ireland herself, just then entering upon the struggle for which was only conceded to the fear of revolution.

I took my seat on Tuesday the 3rd of March. We had our deliberations in Cabinet up to that time, and had agreed with perfect unanimity on the general outline, and indeed on the details of the several measures to be proposed to Parliament. Under the impression that we had the sanction (the reluctance, but still the complete sanction) of the King for our proceedings. Being anxious that there should not be a momentary delay, I gave notice on the 3rd of March that I would on Thursday the 5th call the attention of the House of Commons to that part of the Speech from the Throne which related to the Catholic Question, and the removal of the civil disabilities under which Roman Catholics laboured.

In the interim circumstances wholly unforeseen occurred which appeared for a time to oppose an insuperable barrier to any progress with the measures of which the actual notice had thus been given.

On the evening of Tuesday, the 3rd of March, the King, the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor, and myself attended His Majesty at Windsor at an early hour on the following day. We went there accordingly, and on our arrival were surprised by the presence of the King, who received us with his usual cordiality.

He was grave and apparently labouring under some uneasiness.

His Majesty said that we must be fully aware that it had cost him the greatest pain to give his assent to the proposal made to him by his Cabinet, that they should be at liberty to tender collective advice on the Catholic Question, and still greater pain to feel that he had no alternative but to act upon the advice which he had received.

His Majesty then observed, that as the question was now brought forward in Parliament, he wished to have a personal conference with those of his Ministers whom he had invited on this occasion to attend him, and whom he must regard as responsible for the advice tendered to him. He said that he would receive from us a more complete and detailed explanation of the manner in which we proposed to effect the object we had in view.

Upon this requisition from His Majesty, being probably familiar with the details of the measure which I had to submit,

of Commons on the following day, I proceeded to explain to the King. I observed to His Majesty that the chief impediment to the enjoyment of complete civil privileges by his Roman Catholic subjects was the obligation to make the Declaration against Transubstantiation, and to take the Oath of Supremacy as qualification for such privileges—that we proposed to repeal altogether the Declaration against Transubstantiation, and to modify in the case of Roman Catholics that part of the Oath of Supremacy which relates to spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and superiority of the

King in reference to the Oath of Supremacy, the King seemed surprised and said rapidly and earnestly, "What is this? you do not mean to alter the ancient Oath of Supremacy!" He referred to each of his Ministers on the point. We explained to His Majesty that we proposed that to all his subjects, excepting the Roman Catholics, the Oath should be administered in its present form, and that the Roman Catholic should be required to declare his belief that no foreign Prince or Prelate hath any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or preeminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm. We added, that if the Roman Catholic was still required, before his admission to office in Parliament, to declare his belief that no foreign Prelate hath any right to have any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, power, or preeminence within the realm, the measure of relief would be complete; that an effectual impediment to the enjoyment of civil privileges would remain unremoved.

The King observed, that be that as it might, he could not possibly consent to any alteration of the ancient Oath of Supremacy—that he was exceedingly sorry that there had been any misunderstanding on an essential point—that he did not blame us on account of that misunderstanding—that he did not mean to imply that in the explanation which we had previously given to him in writing there had been any concealment or reserve on this point: still the undoubted fact was that he had given his sanction to our proceedings under a misapprehension with regard to one particular point, and that a very important one, namely, the alteration of the Oath of Supremacy. He felt assured that our opinions would be in concurrence with his own—that a sanction so given ought not to be binding upon the Sovereign, and that His Majesty had no alternative but to withhold his consent, if the measure to which it had been given under a misapprehension were *bonâ fide* disapproved of by his deliberate and conscientious judgment.

In answer to this appeal we expressed our deep concern that there had been any misunderstanding on so important a matter, but we retired acquiescent in the King's opinion that His Majesty ought not to be bound by a consent unwarily given to important public measures under a misapprehension of their real character and importance. After a short lapse of time, His Majesty then said, "But this explanation of my feelings what course do you propose to take by my Ministers?" He observed that notice had been given of the proceedings in the House of Commons for the following day; and

addressing himself particularly to me, who had charge of proceedings, said, "Now, Mr. Peel, tell me what course you take to-morrow." I replied that, with all deference and to His Majesty, I could not have a moment's hesitation of course—that the Speech from the Throne had justified the expectation that the Government intended to propose me the complete relief of the Roman Catholics from civil incumbrances that I had vacated the seat for Oxford on the assumption that measures would be proposed—that the consent of the House of Commons had been given to the Bill for the Suppression of the Catholic Association, if not on the express assurance, at least on the full understanding, that the measure of coercion would be immediately followed by the measure of relief—that I must therefore entreat His Majesty at once to accept my resignation of office to permit me on the following day to inform the House of Commons of that unforeseen impediments, which would be hereafter likely to prevent the King's servants from proposing to Parliament measures that had been announced—that I no longer held office of the Home Department, and that it was my painful duty to draw the notice which had been given in my name.

The King put a similar question to the Duke of Wellington, who replied that he desired to be permitted by His Majesty to resign office, and to make to the House of Lords an announcement to the same effect with that which I wished to make to the House of Commons.

The Chancellor intimated his entire acquiescence in the course which the Duke of Wellington and I proposed to pursue.

His Majesty was pleased to express his deep regret that he could not remain in his service consistently with our sense of his public duty. His Majesty said moreover that he could not be surprised at our decision, or blame us for the conclusion at which we had arrived.

Our interview with His Majesty lasted for the long period of several hours: there was unintermitted conversation during the whole time, but nothing material passed excepting that the Duke of Wellington, which I have faithfully reported. At the close of the interview the King took leave of us with great composure and great courtesy, and gave to each of us a salute on each cheek, and accepted our resignation of office, frequently expressing his sincere regret at the termination of the interview which compelled us to retire from his service.

The following passages, having reference to this interview, are extracted from the Memoranda left by Lord Eldon of the interview which he had with His Majesty a few weeks subsequent to our conference with the King.

Lord Eldon saw the King on the 28th of March and on the 1st of April. In the account of the conversation of the first of the following passages.

#### LORD ELDON'S MEMORANDA.

"The King complained that he had never seen the Bills of the Government, and that he was in the state of a person with a pistol pressed

that he had nothing to fall back upon, that his Ministers had ened (I think he said twice at the time of my seeing him) to re- the measures were not proceeded in, and that he had said to 'Go on,' when he knew not how to relieve himself from the state h he was placed, and that in one of these meetings, when resig- was threatened, he was urged to the sort of consent he gave at passed in the interview between him and his Ministers, till interview and talk had brought him into such a state that he knew what he was about, when he, after several hours said n."—See 510, vol. vii. *Campbell's Chancellors*.

Speaking of his interview with the King on the second day, Eldon observes:—

his led to the King's mentioning again what he had to say to ent. In the former interview it had been represented that, uch conversation twice with his Ministers, or such as had down, he had said 'Go on;' and upon the latter of those two ns, after many hours' fatigue and exhaustion by the fatigue of sation, he had said 'Go on.' He now produced two papers, he represented as copies of what he had written to them, in he assents to their proceedings and going on with the Bill, certainly in each, as he read them, very strong expressions pain and misery the proceedings gave him."—*Campbell's Chan-* vol. vii. p. 512.

and Eldon must have misunderstood the account which he re- from His Majesty of our interview with the King. In the lace there was only one interview such as that to which I referred—one interview, I mean between His Majesty and his ers in which the offer of resignation was made. In the sec- lace His Majesty did not give at the close of the interview sion to "Go on." His Majesty accepted from each of us the of resignation, and we returned to London under the full sion that the Government was dissolved—at least that we in- ally were no longer in the service of the Crown. On our re- to London we joined our colleagues who were assembled at a et dinner (I think at Lord Bathurst's), and announced to their e astonishment that we had ceased to be members of the nment.

udden change, however, took place in the King's intentions. ate hour on the evening of the 4th of March the King wrote r to the Duke of Wellington, informing him that His Majesty oated so much difficulty in the attempt to form another ad- ration, that he could not dispense with our services; that he herefore desire us to withdraw our resignation, and that we at liberty to proceed with the measures of which notice had iven in Parliament.

e Duke of Wellington sent immediately this letter to me: I o copy of it, and am giving from memory the purport of this he following communications with the King on the same t.

her the Duke of Wellington observed in sending this letter to r I suggested to the Duke in returning it, that after what had d in the morning, the mere permission by His Majesty to pro-

ceed with the measures was not sufficient authority ; and ought to make a further reference to the King for the purpose of ascertaining distinctly whether we were authorized to assume the measure in contemplation were proposed by the entire consent and sanction of His Majesty.

Accordingly a reference to this effect was made to His Majesty in the course of the night, and an answer was received from His Majesty, giving us full authority to proceed with the measure in question.

For the purpose of silencing all cavil on this subject, in the course of those measures on the following day in the House of Commons I commenced my speech in this manner :—

“ I rise as a Minister of the King, and sustained by the authority which belongs to that character, to vindicate the measures given to His Majesty by an united Cabinet,” &c., &c.

We have allowed ourselves this rather lengthy extract from the philosophy of agitation, it would be a great mistake to leave out of view the conscience of the King, even of such a King as George IV., not the conscience which is supposed to reside in the keeping of the Lord Chancellor, but the conscience of the King, considered, however erroneously, to reside in the Royal person. The scruples of George IV., in relation to the Catholic question, would be perfectly unexplained phenomena in present times. A bad life, did we not constantly find the most decided bigots dividing the same breast with the most unbounded intolerance. Louis XIV. and James II. are sufficiently striking examples of this strange union to place the fact itself beyond controversy, though it may yet be a question from what source the scruples of George IV. proceeded. His father, it is not unlikely, had a conscience, uninformed, stupid, and obstinate as it was, but he seemed as if the son borrowed it for the occasion, or got it from something like it. At one juncture we find the Prince of Wales writing that “ he owes it to the truth and sincerity of character, which he trusts will appear in every action of his life, in every situation placed, to declare that the irresistible impulse of duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father led him to dread that any act of the regent might in the smallest degree have the effect of interfering with the progress of the Sovereign’s authority.”\* The composition of the letter is ascribed by tradition to Buckingham, from whose book we have borrowed the letter to Sheridan, but the sentiments were adopted by George IV. certainly is difficult to suppose that the author of that letter was the man and the son that he was, could ever have had

\* Memoirs of the Court of England during the Regency, by John B. Buckinghams and Chandos, vol. 1. p. 32.

science of his own, or seriously appropriated another man's even for a time.\* Hence the gravest argument against his conscience having suffered violence in the settlement of the Catholic question, is his appeal to the sentiments of his "excellent and revered parent." We leave out of consideration for the present his former leaning towards the Catholics, because an expression of friendship or attachment on his part at once raises a presumption of hypocrisy very difficult to repel. If there was anything real, or conscientious in his proceedings, it was his opposition to the Catholic claims. Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning acted on the assumption that his conscience was not to be forced in this particular; and being constitutional ministers, they were right in the assumption, as a rule of action: but, on the other hand, they committed the error of forcing their own conscience to acquiesce in a state of things which they know not only to be incurably vicious, but to grow more unmanageable by delay. Had they taken the same means to enlighten the King's conscience as were adopted by Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues—had they resolutely withheld their services until he came to distinguish between conscience and inclination, the same success would have attended them that attended him, and the country should never have witnessed political agitation reduced to an art; and conducted under great disadvantages, upon legal and scientific principles, to triumphant issue; begetting other agitations like itself, destined to be equally successful and effecting revolutions, that otherwise never could have been accomplished permanently, or without waste of blood.

We are not concerned for the present to show that this result of the pusillanimity or erring judgment of Castlereagh and Canning was an advantage to the state or the reverse. Agitation is no doubt a dangerous science, and those who take it up as a profession are not the most reputable practitioners; but Sir Robert Peel certainly brought out to the satisfaction of the people, that a king cannot be indulged with the possession of a privy conscience in matters of state, and that the country never will acknowledge its existence. It is impossible to apply force to

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\* "If we were together," writes one of the Grenvilles to the Duke of Buckingham, under date, "Whitehall, December 21, 1788," "I could tell you some particulars of the Prince of Wales' behaviour towards the King and her [the Queen], that would make your blood run cold; but I dare not commit them to paper because of my informant."—*Memoirs of the Court and Cabinet of George III.*, from original family documents, by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. Vol. II., p. 68.



the conscience of any man, and at the worst, a king or a minister has often to choose between his conscience and his crown. The constitutional theory of the "liberum veto" is untouched, as it is to be hoped it will always remain, and competent for the king to say to the houses of Parliament any morning of his life, "*le Roi s'avise*," but in the temper of the British people, and notwithstanding love and worship of Royalty, it is difficult to conceive a more hazardous experiment, or one in which the sovereign would have greater need of the deliberation implied in the form of refusal, than the exercise of his constitutional prerogative in opposing the wishes of the nation constitutionally expressed. When the Duke of York, at one period of the succession to the crown, thought it becoming to declare an oath he never would give his sanction to a settlement of Catholic claims; that declaration was met by Sheil, in a manner to be considered a most constitutional spirit, by a counter oath taken up by the entire body of Catholics in as solemn a sacramental a way, as the former oath had been uttered by the Prince; and although it cannot be doubted that the numerical majority of his subjects would have supported the Duke against parliamentary majorities, in the exclusion of the Catholics from equal rights; it is equally true that the victory would have been dangerous to the prerogative, the encouragement of its exercise at a later period; and it would have led to secret conspiracies between king and minister, and perhaps between King and opposition, to betray and outwit the people. It is well known, for example, that the king desired a person in his confidence to inform the peers of his household, it was his desire they should vote against a measure, although he had already promised his assent: and can it be doubted that the same king would, under other circumstances, encourage dishonest men to save their popularity by voting against a measure with the understanding that it was to be vetoed by the king? We should then have the sovereign incurring the odium that so often falls upon the House of Peers when it refuses its consent to measures favoured by the count of the Court, not demanded with that sternness which deprives the king of all the grace of concession. Not only has Sir Robert Peel secured to agitation the confident assurance that the sovereign will not be an obstacle to the desires of the people, properly ascertained, but he has saved the crown from the

ger of a bad precedent, and the balance of the constitution from certain derangement, immediate or remote.

The *Edinburgh Review*, in its last number, while acknowledging that in this conjuncture Sir Robert Peel deserved well of the country, confesses to a good deal of perplexity in the attempt to account for his previous conduct upon the Catholic question without referring it to personal ambition, and is only induced to give up this interpretation by the positive certainty that no personal motive controlled or even influenced his course in 1829. His entire conduct, however, taken as a whole, is affirmed to have resulted in evils hardly to be atoned for by his services and sacrifices. In the opinion of the Reviewer, Sir Robert Peel's errors and their reparation concurred in bringing about a state of things, the evil consequences of which will make themselves felt to unborn generations, as they not only loosened or broke the ties of party, an evil of great magnitude in the eyes of the essayist, but exhibited to the world violence and intimidation successful pleaders when right and justice had never been allowed a hearing, and was fertile in examples of inconsistency which has lowered the character of public men, and bewildered the country in its choice of servants.

These observations, it appears to us, are rather wanting in fairness to Sir Robert Peel's memory, and to a still greater extent, though this of course is open to question, do they seem to us deficient in sound philosophy. Not to go through them one by one, as we have no particular interest in Sir Robert Peel's defence, it seems a rather harsh procedure to make him responsible for the denial of justice to the Catholic claims before his own time, and piecing that denial with the share he himself took in their adjustment, to impute to him the evil consequences resulting from the tardy concession of what it is assumed could no longer be withheld. In the first place, Sir Robert Peel is not chargeable with opposition to the Catholic claims put forward under the protection of reason and principle alone. He was thrown into the conflict of Irish politics, into that scene of violence and intimidation, to which it is complained he yielded, fresh from "an old Tory College," a boy in years, and although a man in sense, not more than a man; and without a man's experience. Of course he brought with him to the Irish office all the crudities of his Tory politics, and all the venerable fallacies of the place he came from. The time for appeals to reason had gone by long before his day. The question had been taken out of the guardian.



ship of the few Catholic peers and gentlemen who used to be pale at their own whispers, and never ventured upon the petition of the most drearily legal description, with morseful suspicion of treason, or misprision of treason, very least. The Catholics had gone through their votaries of salaaming and prostration, and had promised never to turn to it, before Sir Robert Peel had passed his "Bill," and if they been taught to believe that the constitution of heaven, suffered violence, and that the violent alone could take it off, Sir Robert Peel, though he may have contributed for a while to strengthen the impression, certainly has done nothing to originate it. A vulgar mind would have shrunk from the reproach of yielding to intimidation, but, with the ingenuity of self love, would most probably have framed the very argument against concession with which he has to deal; and we think the great glory of this state of affairs to have encountered in the discharge of duty, with the courage, the imputation of moral cowardice, the imputation of all others most abhorrent from his character; and yet so plausible in pretence, that even those he more immediately concerned, and in whose favour the obloquy was to be incurred, for a time at least, be the sincerest and most devoted believers in the scandal.

The first few pages of this Article will have sufficiently shown that we do not consider the breaking up of political combinations ascribed to the part taken by Sir Robert Peel upon the Repeal Question, the positive evil it has been regarded by some as. On the point of fact the dissolution of party dates from the repeal of the corn laws, and not from the Emancipation measure. The Conservative party were never so powerful, so uniformly disciplined, and never owed a more willing allegiance to a leader, than in 1843. But whatever lessons may have been taken and may yet be taken by statesmen from the events of the year, the people were not slow to profit by the experience acquired; and every great measure passed since 1842 was the result of popular agitation, controlled and directed by the confederacies of the O'Connell type. Nor would it be worth omit noticing one other association under the management of the same great master, which, although professedly directed to the attainment of what most men consider an impracticable object, the Repeal of the Act of Union; was undoubtedly instrumental in the promotion of at least three important measures, the result of yet unexhausted controversy, popularly known as

quests' Act, the Provincial Colleges' Act, and the Maynooth Endowment. Of this association, too, it must be said that its history is incomplete for philosophical purposes, in as much as causes beyond the range of human calculation, and which it would be impossible for any statesman to combine, namely, the death of its great founder, and the four years of the Irish famine, not to speak of the revolutionary spirit in the association itself, united to work its dissolution. But even although this be the case as to actual results, it would not the less be matter of grave and not unprofitable speculation, to compute the amount of power which that body might have retained upon the very lowest estimate, had O'Connell lived and the famine been delayed till after the revolutions of 1848. We may therefore suppose that reaction, and the constant adjournment of success, the frequent recurrence of May day without the promised Repeal, the impossibility of providing and applying continual stimulants, and whatever other elements of weakness that and every other voluntary body must contain, had reduced the association to its working staff, its organization and its leader; nevertheless, to any one knowing of what materials these were composed, and who understands how easily a popular body cleverly organized is set in motion, it cannot be matter of doubt that the revolutions of that period would have revived and re-energized the Repeal association, so as to have made action of some kind inevitable. Nothing can be more probable than that many of the acknowledged grievances of this country would have been redressed, or else a civil war, more terrible than that which Peel and Wellington shrunk from the responsibility of provoking, although with the certainty of speedy victory for the government, must have deluged the country with blood for a time and with tears for a century.

This then is a feature in popular associations of a permanent character or regular organisation, of which statesmen or popular leaders will not fail to take account: that however unpromising the agitation may appear at the moment, it is impossible to deny that any moment may bring forward a contingency to make its power irresistible; and neither the sagacious leader, nor the sagacious minister, if the question be one of tactics merely, will rely solely upon a Fabian policy; the one will never look upon the voluntary confederacy as below contempt, nor the other as beyond hope. It is a different question whether a good minister, after striking a balance between the dishonesty and honesty of the movement, will not put him-

self into a proper frame of mind for estimating his d  
garding the agitation if upon a grand scale, as raising a  
tion at least, of something that requires remedy. Russell, in his life of his ancestor, the Lord William  
lays down the broad proposition, that general disco  
sufficient ground for revolution. We are far from  
a doctrine of such pungency but after reducing it  
to what may be considered wholesome, it cannot  
that it is in the breast of the minister alone who li  
with a general agitation, especially if it assume a c  
perseverance and system; to inquire, whether its bare  
apart from the men who govern or influence it,  
evidence of suffering and wrong, and an argument fo

It would indeed seem that two elements of su  
necessary to any political agitation—real wrong, o  
or suffering, however much they may be overcol  
distorted; and a man of real genius to organize the  
Without taking up the common-places that are  
written about agitation, we cannot but say it is  
that these circumstances must concur to make a  
agitation successful; otherwise it would be in the  
every declaimer to change the face of the state fro  
year. Since O'Connell's death, Ireland has seen a  
associations framed upon the most approved prin  
cluding that which he left behind, but they have all di  
only languish for want of genius to invigorate and gu  
Yet it is not that Ireland is free from real suffering  
out substantial grievances. For the present the ma  
ing, but while the suffering and the wrong exist th  
should never be unprepared for the coming of the m  
the closest and most careful induction, there is no p  
more clearly deducible from all history than that th  
produces its man. Cæsar was not the destroyer o  
liberty, nor Bonaparte the creator of the French  
The court of St. Louis could not have produced th  
of the maxims, nor De Joinville have written squib  
great ladies of the Fronde. It would therefore be  
rely upon the tranquillity prevalent in Ireland as lik  
the present circumstances to become the normal sta  
country, or to build hopes upon the apathy of the popu  
its alleged devotion to purely material interests, or t  
produced by the traffic in popular enthusiasm for pri

more open and unabashed in Ireland than elsewhere. All these things have no doubt co-operated to produce the present tranquillity of Ireland, and undoubtedly it is happy they have done so: but we have not the slightest guarantee for its continuance so long as substantial grounds of discontent are present to encourage agitation. It was early seen that the concessions made by Sir Robert Peel, although conceived in the most liberal spirit, introduced an order of things purely provisional, and that Ireland with the most anomalous institutions in the world, would certainly try to right herself, however ungainly or violent might be her efforts. Accordingly, in the lapse of twenty years we find the country passing through every stage of agitation, from the effervescence of rose water to the spilling of blood; nor do we find in any instance an attempt to bring the provisional government of Ireland to a close, and establish a settled and regular condition for her like that of England and Scotland. Sedatives and palliatives were freely applied. The feelings of the people were soothed, and their confidence gained by a free admission to the privileges which had been secured to them by the measure of 1829. Places of honour and trust were as liberally and as gracefully bestowed as circumstances admitted; and whenever the popular party was in power, men who were endeared to the people by their virtues, and their services, administered the law, such as it was, and with a gentle and steady hand. But the law was often such as no good man could administer, and as in the case of the tithe system, scarce anything short of insurrection could procure its repeal or modification. Here again the remedy was palliative, and the amelioration provisional, for the Church question has been allowed to remain as sore, and as smarting as ever. The injustice was somewhat diminished at the time, the lash was applied to a less sensitive part of the nation, but the slight and humiliation were suffered to continue. The badge of conquest was not removed or covered, but adjusted merely; for Ireland must be exceptionally treated, not in reference to the position she ought to occupy as the second member of the British Confederation, but in reference to the false position she is forced to hold, by the unwillingness of statesmen to accept the responsibility which lies on them of providing for the future as for the present. The measures of municipal and electoral reform accorded to Ireland were founded upon the same principle, that of averting the evil day, of holding by the provisional, of sacrificing the na-

tion to the institution ; the principle that man was the Sabbath, and not the Sabbath for man : and the effect of every measure of relief was lessened by its spirit, and new and ample standing room left for plans of agitation.

In the year 1840, a conservative reaction gave the party adopted that name a firm hold of power under the leadership of Sir Robert Peel, and we soon find O'Connell, bringing his second great association with whose history is so familiar, and for which the three Irish measures of Peel's government have been claimed as results. But more we are met by the same unfortunate spirit of Legislation. The provincial Colleges which now compose Queen's University were stated to be founded on the pattern of the University of London, but their establishment proceeded on the very false assumption that the Roman Catholics stand in the same position as the Dissenting body in England, and that the supremacy of dignity, if not of power, was served to the University of the favoured religion. They were at the choice of the contrivers of that measure, which would have provoked a syllable of comment from the Roman Catholic clergy, or involved an appeal to Rome. The scholarships of Trinity College Dublin, might to some extent have been opened to Catholic and Dissenter, or a second College, as part of the University of Dublin, could have been founded on liberal principles. That the former at least of these might have been followed without remonstrance and with approval from the Catholic Clergy, is now proved by the scholarships and even some professorships, have been granted to Catholics for months past without eliciting an expression of dissatisfaction from a member of their body. But the spirit of Irish legislation prevailed ; the whole question of the Maynooth endowment was opened up to controversy ; and, as might have been expected, the controversy did not linger ; a measure of conciliation was changed into a measure of exasperation ; and the cup is not full. The Maynooth endowment, on the contrary, was a measure which gave unmingled satisfaction to the Roman Catholics, and had the merit of a permanent character ; but in our view it was principally valuable in its relation to the measures of conciliation undoubtedly was intended to begin a series ; for it was expected to conciliate the entire clergy of a country by being granted generously, and even royally, for their education, with

thing is done that can be done to lower their status the moment they enter the world, no hope could be more futile or better deserve to be disappointed. Upon leaving college they find their episcopacy disowned, called spurious, suspected, guarded against, treated with hurtful rudeness or more hurtful courtesy. They themselves are brow-beaten by small officials, drawn into unseemly contests by Poor-law Guardians, regarded half-caste by country gentlemen; and it is expected after all, that they should be everything their best friends could wish. Maynooth had not once renewed itself after the passing of the Endowment Act, when the whole nation, or a considerable portion of it, went mad upon the miserable question of ecclesiastical titles; and more reputations founded upon years of merit and sacrifice, were immolated to the ugly Juggernaut usurping the name of Protestant opinion, than as many years again of merit and sacrifice can revive. Under circumstances of such exasperating a character as were involved in the extension, (gratuitous to say the least) of that measure to Ireland, it could not be expected that the endowment of Maynooth, almost without political value as a single and unrelated measure, should have an effect upon the temper of the clergy educated there.

If that same measure alone was expected to have any effect upon the political action of the priesthood, the disappointment was deserved; and we venture to predict, that as long as the political and social condition of the class from which the priesthood must be recruited continues what it is, Sir Robert Peel's measure will be a failure in this respect. While the Roman Catholic clergy stand in no definite relation, or if in any, in a relation of hostility to the government; and until there be established relations, not of salary or dependance, but of courtesy, confidence, and good understanding, that will make intercourse honorable, safe and easy, the interference of the clergy in politics will be no other than it is. It avails nothing to say that the opinions and feelings of all who value good government, whether of the nation by its rulers, or of the flock by its pastor, are opposed to the active pursuit of politics by the clergy of any denomination. It is not disputed that the most discreet use of a political influence derived from a religious character, is attended with dangers which the peculiar circumstances of Ireland are not calculated to diminish. There is nothing to be gained by dwelling upon the precise nature of those dangers, but Maynooth alone, under our provisional government, can no



more influence them than the synod of Saint Paul. While the human mind is constituted as at present, while the actual relations between the members of the family are maintained as now, the political action of the clergy flows as naturally from these relations as their most obvious consequences. In other countries where the clergy take a part in politics, it is effective and prominent, because there is no play for that intense language, and but little to provoke that bitterness which have been made the subject of reproach to the Catholic clergy in Ireland. In such places questions of political, or even religious interest, will be discussed with earnestness, perhaps with acrimony, but they are never of that organic kind that will admit of no parley, no compromise, present the sternest alternatives, challenge the most sagacious, probe the most angry prejudices, and absorb all the hopes of either party. This character have been the questions agitated for the last thirty years, constantly preserving their force by their import, and the pregnancy of their consequences.

In Ireland, since O'Connell's death, his co-religionists had no political leader, although they have had political *tales quales*. Some of her representatives not deficient in want character, others possessing character have no ability, and some who unite character and ability are entirely without influence. We could lay our finger upon at least one, a member of an ancient house, and member for an historic county, a rich man, once of uncommon promise, who having attained the position of ground that other men would give twenty years of life, is oftener to be found in the coffee room than the study; and loves better to discuss a devilled bone, than a question that would be worth an immortality to Burke. If he were to propose to resign, were he to say, I find myself unequal to the weight of my name and the duties of my place—

“Un mese e poco piu prova Io come,

Pese 'l gran manto a chi dal fango 'l gua-

the people would be nothing better off, for his successor probably be less clever and equally indolent. It is not therefore that under the circumstances, the priest should be politically as well as morally the heart of the nation, rising and sinking to the play of national excitement, and the current of national blood, and sympathetic to the

national suffering. But then it will be said the priesthood form the heart of another system, so different from any civil constitution, and the life it has to diffuse through the mystic members of which it is the centre, is something so unlike the spirits that circulate through the body politic, that it seems difficult for the one principle to animate two organizations so dissimilar. In reply, the most ardent clerical politician will admit that such a state of things is not quite wholesome or natural, but he will challenge you, and it is to be feared unanswerably, to provide a remedy. The priesthood is recruited almost exclusively from the emphatic people, and the *Times* Newspaper, which professes to be as familiar with the physiology and habits of the Irish landlord, as with what it considers the analogous instincts of wolves and tigers, attributes the misery and humiliation of Ireland, in a great measure, to its landlords. Before the young student leaves his family for Maynooth, his knowledge of an Irish landlord is somewhat more accurate than that of the *Times*. He has been exposed to influences which no subsequent training can ever wholly counteract. His mind has taken its shape and become rigid to any other formation. He was a close observer of the ejection process before he heard of Bellarmin and Thomas of Aquinas, and he was familiar with bailiffs and drivers before he knew of Dean or Bedell. We perhaps look drowsily and not very often over a paragraph in the morning paper, to the effect that the under-sheriff, Mr. John Noakes, proceeded with a detachment of constabulary to execute an "habere" at the suit of Thomas Styles, Esq. on his Manor of Dale, and levelled or unroofed so many houses. Perhaps we do not even glance at the letter of a clerical correspondent, under the heading of "wholesale evictions in the county of Mayo." We read, or omit to read all this as if it were as far from us in time and place, as the proscription of the second triumvirate, or the massacres of Timour the Tartar. Not so the student of Maynooth. He has been a witness, possibly a sufferer. The iron has entered his soul and burned the scenes into his memory. In vain may such a man go to Maynooth—in vain shall he subject intellect and will to the discipline of the place—in vain shall he leave politics at the door, and as vainly shall the jealous rule visit with expulsion the second offence of reading a newspaper. To little purpose will he set a guard over his heart, chastise every feeling of resentment, and believe he has succeeded in repressing it. Let the restraint once be removed, restore the student to the light



and movement of the world; and the fire that slumbers at its first contact with the air, and the flood of memories pour in faster and more furious than if they had been excluded. "Our soul hath passed through" perhaps our soul had passed through a water insupportable.

The new priest will not at first admit all this to himself, but the example of his seniors in the ministry will aid the reaction of his old feelings. He now stands under an influence which it is scarce possible to exaggerate in a simple and primitive family. He sees it without any of coherence within, and with no friendly pressure from without to induce coherence, unless what he and his brethren may direct that strength. He owes it to his flock, from whom his own support is supplied, and that of rival parishes, to wring. The mutual relations of protection and guidance between the love of kindred, class, and religion animates him. The political opponents are the enemies of all three, and triumph unopposed unless the priests oppose. As Ireland is governed provisionally Maynooth can do but little, and in that little there is no prospect of increase.

Yet in this, the principal Irish measure of the time, two subordinate measures of halting and doubtful consequence to which we have alluded, and in the Repeal agitation all its heartburnings and vanities, the Irish government of Robert Peel was consumed. The free trade administration of Lord John Russell was even more barren of results than a measure of a political or social character, was abandoned in the presence of the famine—unless perhaps the bill for enabling the Queen to renew diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome, which resulted in an Act disabling the Court of Rome from renewing diplomatic relations with the Queen. But to describe the picture presented by Ireland during that period, or who will charge upon any government of the time, the dead putrified in the haunts of life, and the living ghastliness were more spectral than the dead; when the brawn of the strong man and the bosom of the stout woman collapsed in a week, and hung loose and shrivelled up like starting bones; when shapes of the stature of infancy, famine, follies of disease, reeled along the roads, as Silenus, not with the fumes of the grape but with the

of decomposition ; when auxiliary work houses rose like exhalations from the rotting fields, and the fever hospitals daily discharged their choking wards into the common pit, daily to renew them ; as the now empty churches had been used to renew their congregations for successive Masses ?

If anything could have moved wild laughter in the throat of death, Ireland would have laughed to see her own appearance after the extraordinary presentment sessions of this period had done their work. Here were new roads half finished, and old roads more than half destroyed—here an artificial defile or costly precipice, and there a highway stopping short at the perpendicular section of a hill—designs so strangely adopted and so suddenly abandoned, that Mr. Mitchell claimed them with great show of reason as a providential arrangement for his intended guerilla. Scenes like these must haunt the dreams of a defaulting railway contractor, when even in slumber he finds himself, amid half pierced tunnels, abortive cuttings, crumbling embankments, and creditors, as was actually the case in the government works, pouncing upon his wheel barrows and picks. Was it then to be expected that amid the din and whirl of rival theories, of chemical nostrums for the cure of the diseased root, of culinary efforts to provide a substitute, of economical quackery for the entire crisis, of mills for the preparation of starch out of the potato, and receipts, for the manufacture of soup out of nothing—in the confusion and vexation of a hundred experiments and a hundred failures, with millions gasping for food as ravenous as young wolves, as helpless as unfledged linnets, was it to be expected that ministers should find time for political and social legislation ?

In the early part of this interval O'Connell died, and all aid or embarrassment from him, his organization or his doctrines was at an end. In a few weeks he was followed by the Earl of Bessborough, the excellent Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; and under the succeeding administration of Lord Clarendon, a nobleman of much experience, undoubted ability, and good intentions, a season of great difficulty and great opportunities ensued. The difficulties to some extent were overcome ; others, the growth of that period, hold their ground, but one and all they devoured the opportunity, and everything done or attempted in Ireland during that period was provisional. Lord Clarendon made some attempts to establish a proper and dignified intercourse with the Roman Catholic prelates, but each attempt was defeated, partly by the

misfortune of Lord Clarendon's antecedents, for all of which he hardly consider him responsible; partly by the spirit of which he was in Ireland to administer. His name was first place mixed up that of the notorious Mr. Borro, subsequently stood in disagreeable neighbourhood of Mr. Birch. There was, moreover, a suspicion of a subtle odour of diplomacy, supposed to pervade his simplest most straight-forward movements, that could not fail to be hurtful to his influence. People smiled at the idea of being to reach the depth of Clarendon's words, their very confidence was an argument of doubt and despair, for men that could give any variety of meanings for an official common-place, aided by a clear and pertinent expression of opinion. The native fancy was unable to realize the idea of Lord Clarendon's ante-diplomatic period. It was said he required no more than the infant Mercury, that his very nurses were transferred into attachés, and the nursery into a "salle des conférences" where, while retaining the usual preference of infants for the third person, he avoided the ungrammatical use of "I" and always lisped himself "the undersigned." Nay, it was believed that "he availed himself of an opportunity" to coax a horse for a pony; that having done so, he drew up a protocol for a conference, which was even then a model; and that in some of his riper years he never negotiated a transfer of taffy at a distance, or without assuring the other parties of "his distinct consideration." He was looked upon and approached as a man of Rajah Brooke, partly governor and partly diplomatist, of a dependent republic under the tropics, not of Heaven or of a European faction, and that he was sent there to wheedle, to bribe, to intimidate, to keep quiet, to keep down, anything but to govern a country whose constitution, liberties, and laws, were settled upon a solid and assured foundation.

We are not sponsors for this class of opinions, or for the charges which impeach the sincerity of Lord Clarendon's action during the brief interval between the commencement of his administration and the revolution of 1848. The government of that day was not free from sufficiency of real faults, and neglected opportunities, for which it must answer for, without overloading its responsibility with failures: but no matter how fair the intentions of Lord Clarendon, or how large the discretion allowed him by his government, the spirit and policy of the law, by which all governments must in some degree be influenced, were such as to make him most powerless. The spirit and policy of the law are hard

ter of surprise. Our code, if code it can be called, is the growth of an age when the rights of conscience were no where understood, and the reigning intolerance of these kingdoms persecuted Ireland after a style compared to which the massacres of Alba were a mercy, and St. Bartholomew's eve a midsummer's night dream. We are prepared to find the laws redolent of the spirit of these years, and to hope for, rather than expect it's exorcism ; but it is time for ministers who live in other days, when the light and warmth of tolerance have beautified the face of society, to act upon a policy different from that of the laws. As a dry question of government they ought to do so. In dealing with the Catholic people, and more especially with the Catholic clergy, suspicion has always been the starting point, or rather, as a German would say, the stand-point of the government ; and then, with a singular inconsistency, they seem to expect that distrust should not beget distrust, and that any project whatever, emanating from the government, should not be looked upon with the deepest suspicion. In the arrangement of measures in which the concurrence of the Roman Catholic clergy might seem desirable, it seems never once to be admitted, even for argument's sake, or as part of the charities of discussion, that their course is dictated by conscience. Pride, that vulgar vice of Churchmen, the lust of power, the foreign oppression of their consciences, and in short, every supposition injurious to their character as men and Christians and Christian ministers, is adopted, before having recourse to a presumption of good faith as the basis of negotiations. The most liberal-minded statesman becomes a doctrinaire, the moment Ireland is in question : he applies his square, drops his plummet, and will not be driven an inch from the perpendicular. Some rigid theory is then set up, acceptance of it in every essential point is adopted as a standard of moderation and honesty ; it is given to the Clergy in a " take it or leave it " style ; perhaps they are forced to take it, and it seems a more coveted result to create a little bad blood between clergy and laity, than to secure the co-operation of both in the success of the measure.

The state of Roman Catholic charities is another instance of this spirit of suspicion, reciprocated by the clergy with an intensity that certainly is not realized by men in power. The policy of the law was formerly to confiscate Catholic charities ; the policy of law and government alike now seems to aim at preventing their revival. The reformation found the Catholics in the possession of Churches, Convents, Monasteries, and Schools,

sufficient for their wants. That movement handed over a large portion of them to the professors of the new religion ; a larger portion still is to be seen in ruins, and on the descendant Catholics who provided all these has been thrown the burden of building the church, of keeping up the fabric, of supporting the clergy, of endowing schools, convents, colleges, hospitals ; all which they do upon a scale of astonishing proportions. If the law mean to defeat or obstruct this movement, has law been more completely or ignominiously defeated than this ? It is intended to act as a small engine of annoyance, of vexation, of mistrust ; to be a perpetual thorn and a reminder of days more evil still, the law is abundantly successful. It is perfectly certain that not one shilling has been diverted from its legitimate purposes for the last hundred years in consequence of any obstruction created by the law, to Catholic charities as such ; unless perhaps in the case of larger fees to the contriver of new conveyancing, except occasionally, it is true, in a small charity, say for the support of a little school, the bulk is eaten away by the expense of employing new trustees, while a Protestant charity of like character administered unexpensively for centuries by reason of the corporate character of the Protestant Bishop ; but surely a more pitiable triumph to be bought at such a price. This is the result of mortmain laws ; and if it were, the youngest man present under the bar, that has given common attention to history, can evade the most stringent of them : it has been the case of the most justifiable, the most indispensable charities to exist ; and so long as the law regarding Catholic Charities remains as it is, the clergy of that Church must by the rigour and necessity of the case live in alienation from the Government, the law as it stands, undeserving of respect and unable to command obedience although powerful to effect annoyance, is a source of legislative torture, it is dilettante practice at the expense of vexation to beget vexation, and if any one expects better results he will do well to get rid of the delusion at his own convenience.

So far then, Lord Clarendon like every other Lord of the Council, tenant was at a disadvantage ; and in the second place it hardly fail to be admitted, that the revolutionary party of 1848 gave him and the Government sufficient occupation of mind that few governments would have chosen that precise time for the application of remedial measures or the introduction of a new state of things. Again, for we are anxious to state our views, the interval between the suppression

clubs and the unhappy ecclesiastical titles movement, was perhaps too narrow, and the recollections of the period just traversed too recent, to admit of measures as extensive in their character as the condition of Ireland might seem to require. And with regard to the ecclesiastical titles Act itself,—the motives that induced ministers to extend its provisions to Ireland, are so completely out of the range of calculation with reference to that particular crisis, that we are disposed to refer it to some inscrutable dispensation of Providence that was never dreamed of in Ireland, and that public opinion never called for in England. But surely no infatuation could go so far as to say that it established a normal or suitable state of things in Ireland, one likely to promote good citizenship or one which the people of that country will endure beyond the continuance of their inability to set it aside.

This was the last Irish measure of the Russell administration; the Establishment of the Incumbered Estates Court was its best; for though temporary in duration, its influence was destined to be lasting, and it soon became felt that its machinery would not be broken up, but removed “with all the modern improvements” to another place for the perpetual advantage of the country.

The brief administration of Lord Derby supplied one only lesson in the philosophy of agitation, the necessity of leadership. The people, or the large majority, had in view a scheme of Tenant-right, exciting and plausible: many men of respectable abilities, and at least three, of talent approaching to genius were committed to the measure, but from want of discipline one week demoralized the Irish vote; and what might have been a power courted and conciliated for some one purpose or another, disappeared in the course of a month from party calculations. The Irish members were drawn into Irish rows, they were third-rate actors, their colleagues spectators, they ranted and the audience hissed. Passing over the administration of Lord St. Germans, uneventful as far as Ireland merely is concerned, we at length reach our own times, when earth and sky seem to have exchanged tokens of reconciliation; and the gloom that brooded over present and future, rolls back to show us pleasant pastures at hand and bright summits not too far off. Under its mysterious canopy great things were accomplished, and great things in progress, of which we took no note. Town gave its hand to town, and sea to sea across the island. Experience took



its last and inexperience its first and every other lesson in discipline of a new school. The soil had been wrested from a dead and corrupt but unrelaxing hand of insolvency, and handed over to those who could apply and reward industry and commerce, finding new issues, discovered new resting places, and enterprise won victories unlooked for on new fields. We have lived to see children twine their hair with field flowers by the roadside, where their fathers had browsed upon nettles; we have seen a marriage feast, a revived tradition where hunger had reigned, ceased by the liver of an ass. We have seen the ruin of society, so lately thinned by death and desertion, re-people itself, and giving promise to the country of wisdom, and fortitude beyond its former experience. We have been witnesses of a revolution at once more daring and more conservative than party ever fought for, a revolution which has proposed to mere mind and unprotected power prizes whose patronage enabled Dundas to hold an empire in the hollow of his hand, and which even yet requires any amount of servile mediocrity, or servile genius to be appreciable still.

The government of Ireland moreover has been confided to a man whose person is in still greater respect than belongs to a man, and yet whose favour with the people it would be incorrect to ascribe as popularity, according to the more aggravated notions of the distemper. We have seen no dusty terrace, no weedy garden, nor any other suburban or marine impertinence, called "Carlisle." The "Eglinton" shirt, we believe, has not been deposited; nor has the cruel ingenuity of Hyam or MacLennan taxed for new deformities of costume, whether cape, coat, or mantle, to issue under the viceregal auspices. The expression of the people, however, is not wanting in strength, and is not unnecessarily sober, if we may be allowed to judge from the addresses presented to Lord Carlisle, and the manner of his reception on the occasion of his visits to various parts of the country to inaugurate great or useful undertakings. The singular fortune of his administration is the accord of all parties to acknowledge in Lord Carlisle the social and intellectual qualities, which party spirit more especially in Ireland affects to ignore, or at least endeavours to disparage. There is no one that does not recognize in the Lord Lieutenant the friend of all the classes, the master of all the courtesies of life. No one capable of being insensible to the charm of his familiar speech, which is not a treasure in the mine nor a hoard in the treasury, but a jewel on the breast and riches in flow and cir-

or which, perhaps we are wrong in comparing to an ornament or a dress, when it is rather a complexion, an emanation, an undefined grace of manner: or, say, the same to the style that the stream is to the landscape, sometimes sparkling through remote, sometimes heard though unseen, sometimes heard and seen, but whether neither or both, to be traced in the depth of verdure and luxuriance of fertility that mark its path.

There is not an editor that ever let off article, nor a Brunswicker that ever aimed bottle at Lord Lieutenant, unwilling to see the Earl of Carlisle seek acquaintance with the hospitals and charity schools of Dublin. No one refuses applause to his patronage of art: to his zeal in promoting every institution whether new or old, of a civilizing and educational tendency: to the kind word of encouragement or assistance of a different kind so liberally given to the humble and the timid; or the duly weighed approval accorded to success. He seems to have received an indemnity for acts and appointments of a party character, which in other times must have provoked endless controversy; or at worst they have been noticed by way of protest, as a safe formality, and in order to avoid the creation of a precedent. Perhaps indeed his clearly ascertained position and decided political connexions have been rather favourable than otherwise, to the influence we have attempted to describe, as arguments of earnestness and sincerity. Perhaps too the tacit agreement of men to interrupt for a while those political conflicts whose violence providentially works its own surcease, has had an effect in inducing them to attribute less of a party significance to the appointment of Lord Carlisle than to any other in the choice of his government. The University of Dublin itself in its complimentary address, a piece of writing more remarkable for proper feeling than pure latinity, expressed the belief of the academic body, which to all intents is that of the Conservative party, that the Lord Lieutenant would redeem the pledge of good government which had been taken from the Chief Secretary: a sentiment repeated in various forms as often as a portion of the public has had an opportunity of addressing his Excellency. As truly as it was virtue in the king of France to forget the quarrels of the duke of Orleans, the people seem to think it would be virtue in Carlisle to remember the well-doing of Morpeth. And lastly, we believe that the country is pleased to recognize in its governor not only an undegenerate, but, we might almost say, a regenerate peer; a man who has not only kept his hereditary honours, but minted honors of a new stamp, preserving that



real nobility, according to the notion of Euripides, though transmissible, cannot always be sustained, wealth is not inconsistent with decent mediocrity, but when it falls upon the truly worthy, is always in process always on the increase.

Δυνὸς χαρακτὴρ καὶ πλοῦτος ἐν βροτοῖς,  
Εὐθλῶν γινέσθαι καὶ πῖ μῦζον ἔρχεται,  
Τῆς εὐγενείας ὄνομα τοῖσιν ἀξίως.

And this being so, now that the storm of popular passion is overblown, and men's minds intent upon the triumph of industry and enterprise have become disgusted with the error and dishonesty of politics; now that the people have begun to understand their substantial interests, and to value those only which it is impossible to confiscate, because they are in every man's breast and in every man's arm; when the government is committed to hands, so gentle and yet so sure; when the sun withal appears to smile, and the face of the earth to be rejoyced when we are without one element of discontent, or one cause for comment in the philosophy of agitation—is this a time when will be asked, to speak of wrongs and rights, in terms which no meaning is lost, if they ever had a serious meaning? Why then to forgotten recollections, which should best remain for the past? why teach lessons that are only good to be unlearned? Why the monster meetings so incombustible, was Conciliation so regular an institution, or its rival the Confederation so irregular an amusement, or the tithe riots a rustic game, that we should exchange our peace, or at least our truce, our prosperity for the advancement for the worse than sterile excitement of the form and the club? Why call our present condition provoking? Might we not all say, if we thought proper, here shall we be because we have chosen it, in the increase of our fields, in the increase of our flocks, in the increase of our coin, in the advancement of our station, in the enlightenment, strength, and splendour we are acquiring? Can any other than the general discontent repress the gladness that should be inspired by the picture we have been drawn? can any one but the most intractable malignant find fault with the acknowledged happiness and repose of the country, or rather, are we not entitled to believe that this very repose is the object of his dislike? it is peculiarly at this improvement he repines, that he is not happy in the very happiness?

*Virque tenet lacrymas quia nil lacrymabile cernit*

There would be some truth in this style of reasoning if it were proposed to revive a specific agitation, or even to recommend agitation of any kind whatever at this particular juncture. Every thing has its fitness and its reason of existence, even agitation ; neither is it virtuous or safe to encourage reactionary dislikes, and arguments from the abuse to the disuse, for they are always obstinate, unintelligent, and blind. Agitation never can be the normal condition of any state, unless perhaps of Spain and the South American republics ; but neither can absolute inaction and dead level be the perpetual condition of a constitutional empire like ours. All our adventures cannot be by the fire-side, nor all our migrations from the blue bed to the brown ; although we do not pretend it can be salutary, or even safe, for the state to be continually shaken and dislocated by the discussion of organic questions such as we have noticed in the early pages of this Article, some of which have been set at rest, and too many allowed to remain open in Ireland. But without especially referring to any portion of the United Kingdom, it neither is nor can be the natural or befitting condition of a society like ours, with such a variety of ambitions, and such often conflicting interests, with a system involving such combination and such opposition of forces to remain long unmoved by some question of great if not vital import. That wonderful something, not quite an abstraction nor altogether a reality, called the State ; which is neither Cæsar nor the Commonwealth, nor yet has an existence separate from both, unless, as suggested by Lord Brougham, it can be resolved into certain great families who govern for governing sake ; is sometimes paralysed, and the medicinal spring beside which it lies for cure, must be agitated before the bath can be salutary, although the commotion may require anything but an angelic hand. It is, perhaps, more necessary to the morality of our institutions than to their mechanical working that there should be some commotion from time to time in the spirit of the nation ; that there should be distinct and clearly marked party divisions ; that there should be the belief in a principle if nothing more, to prevent mere place and mere plunder from being openly and shamelessly proposed and coveted as the sole reward and the sole object of political service. Our public virtue requires the discipline of its own palaestra, and the emulation of its own stadium, or its nerves relax, and its spirit becomes enfeebled. We require a licensed theatre for ambition, and we should miss in

popular agitation a school of great qualities, though not counter-balanced, by some disadvantages. Butler observes, in his *Analogy of Religion*, with respect to the virtues of fortitude and generosity; which belong to a more perfect state, and yet find their place in the economy of creation as a necessary consequence of its imperfections. The proprietary of a railway company may be abusive, and sarcastic; the members of a literary association may be smart, vigorous, and even slashing in style and manner; meetings, so pleasantly called religious, may furnish a variety of uncharitableness that can acidulate the meek temper of the most intense bitterness that can dash a Christian's spirit; gall; but these are not the schools where the youth of the empire are to learn virtue, statesmanship, or eloquence. The House of Commons itself requires some wholesome agitation to obtain a sufficiently close approximation to the country which it obtains for it the confidence of those it is supposed to represent. "It must," says Burke, "be made to bear some state of opposition to the people at large, for it would be a more natural and less evil that the House should be infected with every kind of frenzy of the people, as this would indicate some connection and sympathy of nature with their constituents, than that it should in all cases be wholly untouched by the opinions and feelings of the people out of doors."

According to the well known aphorism of Sir Robert Peel, the registries are the battle field of the Constitution. When the people are appealed to, whether by means of a petition of right, or by a bill of opposition, that the peer and commoner are made to stand on equal ground, and take their trial before that public tribunal, which is more ostentatiously worshipped, if not better understood, in this country than in any other; and to put forth all the strength and ingenuity of trained and developed mind, to defend themselves right before the country, and secure the acquiescence of their friends. Great principles will often require to be advocated perhaps at great risk—accounts due in praise of the government be paid in obloquy—the enmity of the powerful must be provoked, the defamation of the press must be encountered, the most corrupt passions must be set under foot, the most powerful be destroyed or subjugated. The man who does this with all his strength, of whatever party or what religion he is, is noble, while he who by his energy of spirit and

shoulder can achieve it, is prince of nobles,\* but to do this his sinews must have lost their delicacy and his arm be yellow with the sand of the arena. These very struggles are the life of party, as it is understood by those who regret the alleged dissolution of party by Sir Robert Peel, for it is not the less fit that party should exist because it may occasionally be necessary for great minds to break loose from its associations when they impose restraints upon duty. And if, as in the instance under notice, circumstances lead to the breaking up of a political connexion, it is not necessarily destroyed, although it must of course be recast. If its principles have degenerated into watch words, it must be right to give them up and trust to time for new ones that are likely to wear as well. We are bound to advance not guided or deterred by old enmities, however faithfully we may adhere to old attachments; always remembering that our highest duty is to the people; and well convinced that wherever the future of the country requires our presence, there, and not elsewhere, we are obliged to take our stand. "*Quod si idem sum in Republicâ qui semper fui, tu libertatem requires meam quam tu ponis in eo si semper cum iis quibuscum aliquando contendimus depugnemus: quod longe est secus stare enim debemus tanquam in orbe aliquo Republicæ qui quoniam versetur eam deligere partem debemus ad quam nos illius utilitas et salus converterint.*"†

And to return to Ireland; Sir Robert Peel long spoke of the measure of 1829, as a compact, and as a final settlement, but he had ceased, as we know, to regard it in that light long before his death. We too, although far from desiring a renewal of the agitations that have convulsed this part of the empire for so many years, look forward to the adjustment of the questions which he left unsettled. Nay more, we should augur ill for the country if we thought, its acquiescence in the existing order of things could be of long duration. Without entering minutely into the degrees of inequality which constitute the difference between Ireland and the other members of the British Confederation, we shall only say that it is sound policy as well as mere justice to elevate Ireland to an equality in every particular with England and Scotland. The tranquillity and the industrial tendencies of the latter country have been often contrasted unfa-

\* Hæc qui pro virili parte defendunt optimates sunt cujuscunque sint ordinis qui autem præcipue suis serviciis tanta munia atque rempublicam sustinent ii semper habiti sunt optimatum principes. Cic. pro P. Sextio.

† Cic pro Cneio Plancio.

vorably with the turbulence and misery of Ireland, but been left or been kept out of sight, that the honour of the land, the national pride and the national prejudices have respected, have been even fostered; that it was her right to be governed in her independence by a line of princes and descendants yet hold the sceptre; and that all her greatness is derived from that same independence which merged in the union was not lost in the union of the crowns. It is a mistake to humble the pride and to destroy the self-respect of a nation without destroying even the vestiges of freedom. The vices of the individual are often meritorious in the people; what is selfishness in the one, is patriotism in the other; what is pride in the man, is well-becoming pride in the nation. We would accept of tenfold the wrong to be rid of the disease of inequality, and we predict that until the perfect, substantial equality of which Sir Robert Peel spoke be established between the members of the British family, men's minds will not be permanently turned to indifferent pursuits, and the welfare of the empire at large. We protest against the doctrine that man or nation is to live by bread alone, and that bread made from corn at sixty shillings a barrel. If our blessing is only in the fatness of the earth and the dew from heaven, it is the portion of the disinherited, and Lord Elgin said that it might one day fare ill with England to intercept or refused to share the more honourable part of the common inheritance. Appended to the poorer blessing to the lot of Esau, was a prophecy something like the prediction of which in the case of Ireland, Lord Elgin seems to have had before his mind in uttering the memorable words to him some months ago.

"I think the comparison of the results which have attended the connexion of England and Scotland and England and Ireland, will go very far to show how little a nation gains by succeeds in forcing its foreign laws, foreign institutions, foreign religion, upon a reluctant and high-spirited people. Oh, gentlemen, I fear, I greatly fear, that we have not learned that most valuable but most painful lesson to its children, to rely upon it, that if ever a collision takes place between the two great branches of the Anglo Saxon family, which dwell on the opposite shores of the Atlantic, that calamity, that disaster, that grievous that can befall either country, will be attributed to the humiliations which in bye-gone times England has attempted to impose upon Ireland."

Ireland has doubtless, in the words of inspiration, lived

sword and been the servant of her sister, and although never did the period seem more remote when the prophecy to which we have alluded might have its fulfilment, it would be wisdom in England to defeat its very possibility by obliterating every trace of legal inequality—every distinction of privilege between classes of Irish citizens, beyond that which their own deserts and the favour of the sovereign legitimately conferred might establish. We hope we may yet live to see the time when all vain pretensions upon this score shall be silenced, and all jealous heats allayed; when we shall have no insolent superiority upon the one side, or angry retort upon the other; when doctrines will be suffered to try title on the merits, when Catholics will have no cause of complaint, or Protestants of alarm; and when the grand characteristic of Christianity, so often missing in both, the love of each other, may be expected to appear. It is not probable that any statesman of the present time can have reached the height of this argument—nor even had he done so, is there likelihood of his being able to carry out so grand a scheme, but the career of Sir Robert Peel has taught us, and it is a lesson well worthy of note, that a great man who has made himself necessary to the people of England, can do anything. We cannot think that the man will always be wanting. Some one, encouraged by the example of Sir Robert Peel, and reassured by the justice now rendered to his policy, and to his motives, will be found to undertake the cause of the future, whether unpleaded and unprotected, or aided by the not unwelcome pressure of existing necessity; who, without neglecting the claims of friendship and the duties of political connexion, will set the interests of the country in the highest place; who will save the character of parliament from the pettiness of faction, though the faction be his own; who will relinquish small though immediate, profit for future and enduring gain; who doing what is right will be confident he has done best; hopeful of means but abiding consequences; and most valuing his mortal greatness as the title to immortal though it may be tardy gratitude. “*Quare imitemur nostros Brutos, Camillos, Ahalas, Decios \* \* amemus patriam, pareamus Senatui, consulamus bonis, presentes fructus negligamus, posteritati et gloriæ serviamus; id esse optimum putemus quod erit rectissimum; speremus quæ volumus sed quod acciderit feramus; cogitemus denique corpus virorum fortium magnorumque hominum esse mortale; animi vero motus et virtutis gloriam sempiternum.*”

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\* Cic. pro P. Sextio.

## ART. IX.—THE SMITHFIELD (DUBLIN) REFORMATORY

### *Captain Crofton's Letter to the Recorder of Birmingham*

In our paper in the present number of this Review we have entered at considerable length into a disquisition on the merits of the admirable Refuge for Exemplary Prisoners founded by Captain Crofton, the Chairman of the Directors of the Convict Prisons in Ireland; but we cannot allow the opportunity to pass, of at once placing before our readers Captain Crofton's excellent and thoughtful Letter, addressed to the Recorder of Birmingham, and read by him at the Meeting of The National Reformatory Union, a full copy of which we have inserted in our QUARTERLY RECORD.

Captain Crofton was, from pressure of public business, unable to attend the Meeting, and thus placed his views on Reformation before the members of the Union :—

*The Castle, Dublin, August 16, 1855*

My dear Sir,

I regret very much that a pressure of public business prevented the possibility of my attending the approaching meeting of the National Reformatory Union at Bristol. I was anxious to have stated to you the views which has attended the application of the Reformatory system in this country previous to the discharge of Government Prisoners on this subject is so intimately connected with the one the Union met to discuss (the majority of the convicts of to-day being juveniles who acted "sans discernement" yesterday) that I refrain from mentioning by letter a few circumstances and details which, unimportant as they may appear at first sight, contribute to establish the soundness of a principle big with important results affecting our colonies and ourselves, and at the present time calling for no ordinary exertion on the part of those interested in adult and juvenile Reformation. First, our plan is, for some time previous to the release of a well conducted Prisoner on Liberty, to train and prepare him for the world with which he is about to mix. This is effected, by removing him from the Prison to a Government Establishment, where by means of lectures on useful subjects; religious, moral, and industrial training, placing him in situations of trust, likely to engender self-respect, and the duties of messengers, &c., and I am glad to state, that



the Prisoners have been on this duty for some months, necessitating their walking through the streets of Dublin with money in their pockets, not one instance has as yet taken place of any irregularity ; every proper safeguard against abuse is of course provided, such as noting the time and departure of messenger from each place he has to call, but at the same time if he has the *will* he has the *power* to do evil. It is by such demonstrations as these that objections to the employment of Criminals on discharge may be overcome ; we have abundant evidence of the well doing of the Prisoners who have been released after this probation, and the demand for their labor is quite equal to our supply, indeed at times exceeds it,—a large number having found employment in Dublin, opportunity has been afforded of judging of the practical working of the system. A loan fund instituted by the lecturer (Mr. Organ), affords a good test of the permanency of resolutions made in the Institution, and there are many traits of character brought forth by it, which prove that self-respect has been really restored.

Records are kept at the Smithfield Dépôt in Dublin, and abundant evidence afforded to satisfy any enquirer who may need information. Although it is to be expected that many may yet fail who will pass through this course, facts will prove that the principle is sound, and that the *majority* of Prisoners may be returned as useful members to society. So much for the Reformation, now for the economical part. A much greater quantity of work is performed than in the Prisons, with far less supervision and cost ; I have seen enough to shew me that able-bodied Prisoners so situated can be made self-supporting.

The interest taken by Lord Carlisle in this Institution has averted many difficulties that would otherwise have arisen, and has created a stimulus to both officers and Prisoners which has borne favorable fruits throughout the Prison service.

We are now *training* officers at Smithfield, so that when we pitch our tents for Public Works, the first of which will be the erection of a Juvenile Penal Reformatory, a well qualified staff will be ready.

I should now wish to apply this principle to the only colony open to us, "Western Australia," and will endeavor to shew that by so doing the present difficulties attending secondary punishments may be ameliorated, and the cause of "Reformation of adults, and juveniles" much forwarded. There can be no question that, whatever may be the efforts at home, we must have an outlet in the colonies ; it is a



principal element in the Reformatory system that there should be a large and new field with a paucity of labor.

The colonists, however, judging of the Criminal classes they have known under the former system of Transportation all in the same category, and will not now receive them unless as demonstrated at home, and in the only colony we are able to experiment (Western Australia), that there are those who may safely be employed as the usual class of emigrants who leave their shores. Experience, which is in this country removing the difficulties must before long overcome it in countries where there is a scarcity of labor, and it is not too much to expect, that at no distant time the Colonists generally, will receive a reformed class of Criminals. Western Australia is reported as only being able to absorb a few convicts annually, but if this class of prisoners alone is taken into consideration, the number can be so increased as to make the deportation of Criminals a valuable asset to the United Kingdom. There is no doubt that, from time to time, (as the conditional pardon men have done before them) the prisoners will move on to fields which offer greater advantages to the settler, and thus indirectly the whole Colony of Australia will be still open to a class of Reformed Prisoners, no injustice being done to the colonists at the same time. When their objections vanish, as soon they assuredly will, what a field is at once opened up for the furtherance of our Juvenile Reformatories, Refuges, &c., &c. To invite to the experiment, a public meeting has been recently held in Western Australia, forwarding resolutions to the Government, highly approving the Reformatory system of treating Criminals. There is no doubt that much labor on the part of the Government and Governor will be required, but the stake for this cause is great, and must not be trifled with; the question directly affecting the social well-being.

Many may consider the circumstance of getting rid of Criminals as of paramount importance, but it is a short-sighted view that will redound at a future day to our discomfort. To deal with and punish this class of Criminals, we have sufficient Prisons and Penal Works at Gibraltar, Bermuda and at home, with an efficient staff to control them when their sentences have expired; but there is a more numerous class which, although not so innately bad, is more troublesome in this country, and constantly re-convicted, who are more susceptible of Reformatory influences, and in a new field, where associations severed, become, after a proper course of treatment,

home, reformed members of the community. Those accustomed to criminals will at once recognize the class I allude to, as one which, from bad training as children, and evil companions, have at last found their way to the Convict Establishments, and now form the great majority of the inmates.

Any person who reads the latest accounts from Western Australia, will observe that, though it does not present equal advantages with many other Colonies which are barred to our criminals, there are yet sufficient to answer the purpose required, and is capable of unlimited extension at a comparatively small increase of expense. The foundation of a new Colony and its consequent outlay, can apparently only serve to re-enact the old system of Transportation. Reformation and absorption without a community is impossible, the formation of one no easy task. Energy and a proper system thrown into "Western Australia," where already much money has been spent, will demonstrate to Moreton Bay which hesitates, and the other Colonies that refuse to receive Convicts, what we have lately learnt ourselves, that by classification and selection, a majority of Criminals may be profitably restored to society.

I can only add that our system (such as it is) is open to the inspection of those interested; details can be seen at the Smithfield Institution, amply corroborating what has been adduced, and although experience shews each month something to add or subtract, still the great principle remains untouched, viz., that a very large percentage of Criminals can, by a system of Reformatory training, introduced towards the termination of their sentences, be restored to the society they have outraged, as industrious and useful members, and that during the prosecution of such system they may be more profitably employed for the public service than in any other way yet suggested.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

WALTER CROFTON.

M. D. HILL, Esq., &c.

This admirable letter is of the very chiefest importance, and we believe that there is not one student of the great and difficult questions connected with Secondary Punishments and Prison Discipline, that will not thank Captain Crofton for the assistance his communication affords.

We have read this letter with mingled feelings of satisfaction and of anxiety. Of satisfaction, that something is at last

done to prove that we can bless our colonies, not curse them, by sending out those who have been in Prison; of anxiety, lest the chance may be lost by permitting the transportation from England, of the old class of convicts, unreformed, untaught, and more deeply vitiated by unenlightened or careless systems of prison management.

West Australia is now our only colony to which convicts can be sent; why should the convict be sent, why not send the reformed man who has proved his reformation in such prisons as the Mountjoy, at such public works as Spike Island, in such Refuges as Smithfield?

Those men have made characters; they know that colonial life means work; they know that deportation to Australia is a boon; they know that in that new land there is "bread and work for all;" they have gone through the bitter pains of work, that brought no reward until reformation had been proved; they have experienced the full benefit of that silent separation, with which the life of the convict is wisely commenced, and in which reflection is made inevitable; they have been taught the first steps of knowledge, and of self-knowledge; their minds have been enlarged by the Smithfield lectures; they have been humanized, and taught self-respect in Smithfield; they have been dressed in ordinary clothes; they have seen the faces of those who can sympathize with them, and understand them; they have been tested and taught self-dependence by being sent out into the city as messengers, with money in their pockets,—they have, in a word, been taught that they are MEN, and that a convict can be an honest man if he desires to remake himself.

Such men as these are a boon to a Colony—they are just the patient, enduring, suffering-taught men who make the bone and muscle of a young nation. They are not as the raff of idlers, scapegraces, and often rogues, who throng the Colony, characterless and idle—they are the class who should be sent to a Colony, not as a punishment, but as a high reward.

Such a chance as this is now offered by Smithfield, and will be offered by English Institutions as soon as Captain Crofton's plan shall be fully understood; but if Colonel Jebb is permitted to send out, to transport the usual class of convicts, a class which he appears to think are suited for the colonies because they are by him considered irreclaimable, we must expect failure and disgrace upon all our efforts, possibly we may find our colonists unwilling to receive our convicts, our governors, or our Legislation.

In our minds, the system of transportation should be stopped until the Select Committee of last session shall have reported : there is no occasion for extreme hurry, and there is the most imminent danger in a further adoption, or continuation, of the old course favored by Colonel Jebb. His motto is—Transport your worst convicts to the Colony as a punishment;—Captain Crofton's plan is—keep your worst convicts at home, and send your best to the Colonies as a reward.

No men are better able to distinguish between the reformed and unreformed convict, than our Colonists. Even amid the excitements at Victoria they declared that "*no unreformed*" convicts should be admitted, and although not more than three days afterwards, they declared that "*no convicts*" should enter, yet the first statement showed their full knowledge of the distinctions between the two classes ; their second statement was the result of a conviction that the Government at home did not know how to reform, or would only transport those who were too hardened for amendment.

Smithfield can send those colonist of West Australia "reformed convicts;" the Golden Bridge Refuge can send them reformed female convicts ; Captain Crofton will stake his principle upon the good conduct of the first ; the Sisters of Mercy are fearless as to the good conduct of the second. These men and women would, probably, remain honest at home, they will be certain to remain honest and virtuous if sent to the colonies : if sent where labor is wanted, where strong hands and true hearts bring competence if not wealth, and where the women who might be vicious here from poverty or neglect, will have a certainty of being married if she shall feel inclined. West Australia is a most eligible field for female emigration ; the extraordinary excess in number of males over females, is every day becoming more patent and more embarrassing ; reformed women can be sent there and do a service to the colony ; the unreformed can be sent only as a curse, and to furnish new seed-plots of crime, of misery, and of woeful disease.

We say to our English readers, come over and examine Smithfield and Golden Bridge ; come and see men and women fit for freedom, not the half savage race, suited only for the dungeon, and who, because only suited for a dungeon, are sent out to bring disgrace on England, and misfortune on her dependencies.

We are very happy in being enabled to state that a PATRON-

AGE SOCIETY is now formed, for the purpose of providing lodgings for those discharged from Smithfield, and employed in Dublin. Four sets of lodgings are now occupied, and we understand that most excellent results are already appearing. The subscription to the PATRONAGE SOCIETY is limited to one pound. All information will be afforded by Mr. J. P. Organ, who can be addressed at Smithfield Institution, or at Mespil Lodge, Mespil Parade, Upper Leeson street, Dublin.

We have, just as we were going to press, received the following Circular :—

*Smithfield Refuge for Exemplary Prisoners,  
September 8th, 1856.*

This Institution, founded by the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, and which has now been in successful action during the past eight months, affording to the most exemplary class of convicts a place of probation between the prison and the world, and admitted by the most competent authorities to be the best solution to the great and important question—“WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH OUR CONVICTS?”

Satisfied as all the friends of this Institution are with its success, they believe that that success cannot reach its fullest point of development without the agency of a PATRONAGE SOCIETY, which will aid in procuring employment for the men, and also in securing lodgings in reputable although humble portions of the city, and for which the men will be, as is well known, most happy to pay.

A few gentlemen well acquainted with, and interested in, Reformatory Systems and Prison Discipline, have agreed to act as a Committee until later in the year, when the inhabitants of Dublin shall have returned to the city at the close of the season, when it is proposed that a public meeting shall be called, and at which the objects of the Society can be explained at length.

Meanwhile all communications may be addressed to Mr. J. P. ORGAN at the Institution, Smithfield, where he attends each evening from 5 to 7 o’Clock.

Among those who have already subscribed are the following :—

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.	..	...	£1 0 0
Captain Walter Crofton, Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland.	...	...	1 0 0
John Lentaigne, Esq., D.L., Director of Convict Prisons in Ireland.	...	...	1 0 0
Captain Whitty, Director of Convict Prisons in Ireland	...	...	1 0 0
Thomas O’Hagan, Esq., Q. C. ...	...	...	1 0 0
Patrick Joseph Murray, Esq. ...	...	...	1 0 0
Hon. William Joseph Duane, Philadelphia ...	...	...	1 0 0

N.B.—The Subscription is limited to £1.

## ART. X.—ART IN THE CLOISTER.

*Lives of the most eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects of the Order of S. Dominic. Translated from the Italian of Father Marchese of the same Institute, with Notes, &c.*  
By The Rev. C. P. Meehan. 2 vols. Dublin: James Duffy. 1852.

Some fifty years ago the title of these volumes would have appeared to many that of a romance, and even in these days when the conviction that a man may be a Catholic priest, or even a monk, and yet a scholar or an artist, forces itself reluctantly on a large portion of the public.

Ignorance and prejudice have combined with malice to misrepresent and blacken the monastic character. It is in no spirit of religious partizanship that we write, when we condemn, with every fair and judicious man, the attempts of those prejudiced and uncandid writers with whom a monk is a word synonymous with superstition, ignorance, and brutality.

If the character, as drawn by them, possesses the least ingenuity or intellect, these are sure to be applied to the worst ends, to the gratification of every debased and sensual passion, and, under the pretence of the advancement of religion, to personal aggrandisement and advancement.

Few, however, now a days, with the least pretensions to the title of educated, are ignorant of the history of what are called the Dark Ages—few who do not know that, for six centuries, the lamp of learning, of science, and of art, was preserved from extinction, and fed with its supporting oil, within the walls of the monasteries and convents.

Boundless hospitality, true hospitality, knowing no distinction of rank or creed, hospitality that welcomed with even hand the beggar and the prince, the heretic and the true believer, that threw open wide the gates, and gave the cheerful welcome to all comers, was the characteristic of the convent in the olden time.

The weary traveller, foot-sore and fainting on his lone journey, beheld the convent walls rising to his view in the dim twilight, and his frame was animated with renewed vigor. He entered without hesitation, assured of the welcome, and was greeted with courtesy tempered with humility. The cheerful board was set, and the good things from which the

monastic rule debars themselves, were plentifully set forth to be enjoyed by the guests of the brotherhood. Then went round those ancient legends, some of which have descended to us illustrated by the pencils of their narrators, and in which historic truth and fiction were so curiously blended ; and while some of the community remained to dispense the hospitality of the house, others retired to their cells, some to prayer and meditation, and some to pursue the tasks of transcription or illumination, to which to this hour literature is so much indebted.

Truly those men well merited the name of slothful by whose unceasing toil, early and late applied, barren and desolate tracts grew into fruitful farms or bloomy gardens ; well were they called ignorant and brutal whose hands produced those manuscripts, those pictures, and those statues which still exist for our admiration ; well were they styled avaricious and grasping whose boundless hospitality embraced all comers.

In every age, and to the present hour, the monastery has been a refuge for men who, sated with the pleasures of the world, and convinced of the hollowness and nothingness of its delusions, desire to close their days in seclusion and the practice of devotion. We have never visited any of the noble continental monasteries, a few of which still remain, and marked the many noble though attenuated faces that meet the view, the flashing eye, subdued by religious feeling, which glances forth from under many a dark cowl, without thinking of the monk of St. David's, and fancying we see the melancholy half pitying glance which he throws upon the rough warrior who dismisses so carelessly his admonitory counsel :—

“Again on the knight looked the churchman old,  
And again he sighed heavily,  
For he had himself been a warrior bold,  
And fought in Spain and Italy ;  
And he thought of the days that were long since by,  
When his limbs were strong and his courage was high.”

And again :—

“The monk gazed long on the lovely moon,  
Then into the night he looked forth,

And red and bright the streamers light  
 Were glancing in the glowing north ;  
 So had he seen in fair Castile  
 The youth in glittering squadrons start  
 Sudden, the flying jennett wheel,  
 And hurl the unexpected dart."\*

But it is not alone to the weary and disappointed man that the monastery affords a refuge. Numbers enter at an early age, feeling conscious that its seclusion and repose are best fitted to the contemplative turn of their minds. The majority of these are persons of intellect and education, many of genius, and some of high birth and connexions, and here they all experience the truth of the words,

"Bonum est nos hic esse, quia homo vivit purius, eadit rarius, surgit velocius, incedit cautius, quiescit securius moritur felicius, purgatur citius, præmiatur copiosus."

It is little surprising that the arts of painting and sculpture, in especial, should have had in the ancient monasteries their refuge and asylum.

The men who had forsaken rank, and power, and wealth, and broken all worldly ties, to consecrate to Religion, not alone their mortal frames, but their powers of mind and genius, could have had no higher or more glorious object for the exercise of those powers than the exemplification and illustration, by the labors of the chisel or the palette, of the history and mysteries of that religion to which they were body and soul devoted.

To raise fitting temples for the practice of Religion, architecture was studied and improved ; to adorn these temples, and to impress the unlettered multitude, painting and sculpture were employed, and by their means were brought vividly before the eyes those great events in the history of Christianity which formed the fundamental part of the general belief.

No inspiration could equal that which flowed from a religious source into the minds of these men, no sublunary motive could animate their toil, and lend that perfection to their labors which the desire to glorify their Creator and exalt his name and works supplied ; nor could they ever have imparted to

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\* Lay of the Last Minstrel, Canto II. vii. and viii.



the countenances of their painted figures the sweetness and beauty and refined spirituality which characterize them, had they not in their own minds and hearts, a perennial spring and fountain of heavenly charity and love.

When the history of all the painters, architects and sculptors which the monastic orders produced in the middle ages, has been written, the world will perhaps be willing to acknowledge what is due to that institution.

In the writer of the original of the volumes before us, the Dominican order have found an able and enthusiastic historian, who in his turn has been happy in the labors of an accomplished and elegant translator. The Rev. Mr. Meehan is a ripe and well read scholar, he expresses himself eloquently, and we cannot avoid heartily commending the spirit in which he has devoted himself to his task, and while he has established, by bringing before the general reading public, the claims of the Dominican order to the respect and admiration of the artist, and the lover of art, he has shewn that the Catholic priesthood, in these days, is not without its men of ability and merit.

The history of the origin and progress of the Dominican, or preaching friars, is now pretty generally known. The names of Albertus Magnus, Aquinas, and Savonarola, are familiar to all, but in the volumes before us we have a want supplied.

Though they embrace an account of the sculptors and architects, they are principally devoted, and justly, to the history of the painters of the Dominican order. Of these the highest places have by general consent been assigned to Fra Angelico da Fiesole and Bartolommeo della Porta.

Fra Angelico was born near Florence, in the year 1337. His family name is unknown, but the purity of his life gained for him the designation by which he is now known, "Angelico," and he was also distinguished by that of "Beato," or Blessed, Fra being a familiar word for Frate, or Brother.

His early instruction in painting is unknown, but it appears that he at first devoted himself to the illuminating Choral books, which practice was at the time the usual introduction to more ambitious efforts.

Having entered the Dominican order, Fra Angelico subsequently joined the Convent at Fiesole, founded by Giovanni de Domenico Bacchini, and having been by religious and political

disturbances driven thence, he, with others of his Convent, settled for a time at Cortona.

When the disturbances which had driven him from Fiesole had become composed, he returned thither and there executed a large number of his best works.

In the pontificate of Eugenius the Fourth, he was summoned to Rome, where he worked under Nicholas the Fifth, and where, having declined the dignity of Archbishop of Florence, he died in 1455.

Nicholas the Fifth ordered a marble monument to be erected to his memory, in the church of the Minerva, (Santa Maria sopra Minerva), and according to some, wrote for it the following inscription:—

HIC JACET, V&N. PICTOR.

FR. JO. DE FLOR. ORD. P.

M.

C. C. C. C.

L.

V.

Non mihi sit laudi, quod eram velut alter Apelles.  
Sed quod lucra tuis (L. pauperibus,) omnia, Christe dabam :  
Altera nam terris opera extant, altera cœlo  
Urbs me Joannem flos tulit Etruriæ

The following is the summary of the paintings by Fra Gio. Angelico, now in existence, given by Father Marchese, in the work before us.

**PERUGIA.**—Church of S. Dominic—In the little choir of the Religious: The Blessed Virgin on a throne, with her Son in her arms; and on the sides two panels, in one of which is S. John Baptist, and S. Catherine V. M.; and in the other S. Dominic and S. Nicholas di Bari. In the sacristy: Twelve little pictures of twelve Saints; a panel, with two histories of S. Nicholas di Bari; and two panels of the Annunciation and the Angel Gabriel.

**CORTONA.**—Church of S. Dominic—On the façade of the church in fresco: The Blessed Virgin, with her Son in her arms, and on the sides two Dominican Saints; in the little arch: the Four Evangelists. In the church, in the lateral chapel: the B. V. seated on a throne, with some Angels and Saints at the sides. Church del Gesù: An Annunciation, and two gradini; one a history of S. Dominic, the other of the B. V. M.

**FIESOLE.**—Church of S. Dominic—In the choir (on panel): the B. V. seated on a throne, surrounded by Angels and Saints. In the

refectory: a fresco of the Crucifixion, with S. John and the B. V. on the sides. In the chapter-room (fresco): The B. V. with her Son in her arms, between S. Dominic and S. Thomas of Aquino, figures life-size. Church of S. Jerom: The B. V., with the holy Doctor and other Saints (v. Montalembert.)

FLORENCE.—S. Marco (in fresco).—The Crucifixion in the first cloister, with five lunettes in half figures. The Crucifixion in the chapter-room, and portraits of illustrious Dominicans. In the convent, with the exception of two, all the cells of the upper dormitory, in number thirty-two, and three histories on the exterior walls. In the dormitory called *il Giovanato*, some Crucifixes.

S. Maria Novella.—Three Reliquaries. Academy of Design. Gallery of large pictures: No. 15. The Deposition from the Cross. Gallery of little pictures: Nos. 14 and 20, two little pictures, representing the Blessed Albertus Magnus, and S. Thomas Aquino disputing *ex cathedra*; No. 30, the B. V., with her Son in her arms; No. 39, S. Cosimo, healing an Infirm; No. 43, a Deposition from the Cross, 44, the Last Judgment; 45, the Burial of the five Martyrs—i. e., SS. Cosmas and Damian, and their three brothers; 51, a Pieta, with the instruments of the Passion; 56, eight panels or doors of the armory of the Church of the Annunciation, with thirty-five histories of the life of our Lord. Saloon: 14, the B. V. M. surrounded by Saints; 15, a similar panel; 18, the B. V. between two Angels and some Saints. Gallery degli Uffizj: A grand tabernacle, with the B. V. on a throne, and some Saints; a panel with the B. V. and some Saints, now in the Gallery of the Palazzo Pitti. Tuscan School: The Coronation of the B. V. and the six little panels—i. e., the Adoration of the Magi; two histories of S. Mark; the Espousals and Transit of the B. V. M., and the Nativity of S. John the Baptist.

ROME.—Vatican.—The chapel of Pope Nicholas V. painted in fresco, with histories of S. Stephen and S. Laurence, Martyrs. Gallery: two little panels of the life of S. Nicholas di Barri. Galleria Valentini: a portion of a gradino, belonging, perhaps, to the picture that is now in the choir of S. Domenico at Fiesole. Galleria Corsini: a Final Judgment. Fesch Gallery: a Final Judgment.

ORVIETO.—Cathedral.—The ceiling of the chapel of the B. V.: A great fresco, with the upper portion of a Final Judgment, finished by Luca Signorelli.

MONTFALCO.—Church of the Franciscans.—Professor Rosini says it contains some works by the Angelico, but he does not mention their subject.

PARIS.—Louvre.—The picture of the Coronation of the B. V. M., and a gradino, with passages from the life of S. Dominic.

BERLIN.—Royal Museum.—S. Dominick and S. Francis embracing, (v. Montalembert, "*Du Catholicisme et du Vandalisme.*") A Final Judgment, (Fortoul de l'Art en Allemagne.)

The fresco representing the Crucifixion, and painted by Fra Angelico, on the walls of the chapter room of the Convent of St. Mark at Florence, is thus described by Mrs. Jameson, in the introduction to her "*Legends of the Monastic Orders:—*"

In the centre of the picture is the Redeemer crucified between the two thieves. At the foot of the cross is the usual group of the Virgin fainting in the arms of St. John the Evangelist, Mary Magdalene, and another Mary. To the right of this group, and the left of the spectator, is seen St. Mark, as patron of the convent, kneeling, and holding his Gospel; behind him stands St. John the Baptist, as protector of the city of Florence. Beyond are the three martyrs, St. Laurence, St. Cosmo, and St. Damian, patrons of the Medici family. The two former, as patrons of Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici, look up to the Saviour with devotion; St. Damian turns away and hides his face. On the left of the cross we have the group of the founders of the various Orders. First, St. Dominick, kneeling, with hands outspread, gazes up at the Crucified; behind him St. Augustine, and St. Albert the Carmelite, mitred and robed as bishops; in front kneels St. Jerome as a Jeronymite hermit, the cardinal's hat at his feet; behind him kneels St. Francis; behind St. Francis stand two venerable figures, St. Benedict and St. Romualdo; and in front of them kneels St. Bernard, with his book; and, still more in front, St. John Gualberto, in the attitude in which he looked up at the crucifix when he spared his brother's murderer. Beyond this group of monks Angelico has introduced two of the famous friars of his own community. St. Peter Martyr kneels in front, and behind him stands St. Thomas Aquinas; the two, thus placed together, represent the *sanctity* and the *learning* of the Dominican Order, and close this sublime and wonderful composition. Thus considered, we may read it like a sacred poem, and every separate figure is a study of character. I hardly know any thing in painting finer than the pathetic beauty of the head of the penitent thief, and the mingled fervour and intellectual refinement in the head of St. Bernard.

Of one of Angelico's "Final Judgments," Father Marchese gives us the following eloquent description:—

It now remains for us to speak of that Final Judgment, which of all the Angelico's works, appears to me to be the most stupendous. From the days of Nicola Pisano, to those of Michelangelo, this subject tasked the art and genius of the most celebrated artists, who, for the most part, vied with each other in painting the joys of the Just, and the despair of the Doomed, as Allighieri had sung them. Indeed they had almost exhausted themselves in depicting the tardy disenchantment and appalling tortures of the reprobate: in inventing fanciful agonies, and unprecedented writhings; so much so, that the heart and soul must shudder at sight of that terrible scene which Signorelli produced in Orvieto, and Buonarrotti at Rome. Man, it is true, is conversant with sorrows and woes; and he can well depict them in verse, or on canvas; but when he undertakes to paint joy his imagery is defective, nor does he know in what guise he should develop it. Wherefore, as the drama of the Final Judgment consists of two most distinct acts; that is, of extreme joy, and of extreme sorrow, it was almost impossible to convey a lucid idea of the former, for since God has not revealed the joy of heaven to man, how will he, most

miserable, essay to describe it in words or tintings of the pencil. To Giovanni Angelico alone, this power was given; and none of those who preceded or followed him have surpassed him in this most difficult experiment.

There are four pictures by him on this subject, two in Rome, and two in Florence. The first is in the gallery of Prince Corsini—it is that mentioned by Bottari in his notes to Vasari's *Life of Fra Giovanni*; the second was in the collection of the late Cardinal Fesch; the third is in the Academy of Design in Florence, it is a compartment of the doors in the Annunziata Church; and the fourth is actually in the possession of the Camaldulose Monks in S. Maria degli Angioli. All of them are splendid, but in my judgment the last is the most perfect, and it was for many years suspended over the sedilia, or seat used by the priests during the celebration of the chaunted Mass. It is about seven palms long, and its summit is in the form of three arches, the central one being largest, and the two side ones smaller. The Final Judgment occupies the central one; in that on the right he painted Paradise; and in that on the left, Hell. The figures are of the dimensions of these which he painted on the gradini of his pictures. The Judge of the living and the dead is seated in great majesty in the centre. He is encircled by choirs of angels, cherubim and seraphim, and you behold the Virgin, with arms crossed on her bosom, turning on her Son a look of love, and making her last intercession for miserable sinners. Ah, what words could describe her trepidation for such an immense section of the human race? A left and right of that tremendous judgment-seat, enthroned on clouds, are Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, the series of whom is closed by S. Dominic and S. Francis. From the gold ground of the picture springs a torrent of light that reveals the glory of the Elect. At the feet of our Lord an angel raises on high the triumphal ensign of the Cross, whilst two other blow trumpets, whose sound causes man to shake off the sleep of ages, and to arise from the grave. The Supreme Judge is in the act of fulminating His malediction against the reprobate. Let not the reader fancy Him with His right hand stretched out, or that there is anything like human vengeance on His features, as others would depict Him; on the contrary, there is nothing irate in His expression: He merely turns away His eyes from the Doomed, and, by a waive of His hand, commands them to withdraw for ever from His presence. A most simple act this, but, surely, far more eloquent and sublime than any terrible menace. A brief space divides the Elect from the Damned. Michelangiolo painted both naked in the Sixtine: Zuccheri, in the cupola of the cathedral at Florence, represents the damned naked, and the elect clothed; and Luca Signorelli follows the former in his Judgment in Orvieto, employing only as much drapery as was required by modesty. Giovanni Angelico clothed all his figures equally, thus, not only preserving decorum, but greatly heightening the moral and religious effect of the whole composition; for we are thus enabled to recognise those whom the painter placed amongst the lost, as well as those who are made the recipients of eternal joy; from which the spectator may learn a

salutary lesson. Thus Dante, not satisfied with having recounted the agonies to which *his* damned were sentenced, or the blisses which *his* elect enjoyed, determined to give us the names of the most distinguished amongst them, and to narrate, also, the virtues and the vices accordingly to which they were adjudged. He thought, no doubt, that he might thus awaken admiration for the one, and detestation for the other. It would appear that the Angelico was influenced by a similar motive. Hence, you behold amongst the accursed, persons of every age, grade, and condition, and especially many ministers of the sanctuary; a fact that should not startle us, when we recall the licentious days of the schism already alluded to in this work. Hence it is that he has placed so many monks, prelates, cardinals, and Antipopes amongst the damned; for, indeed, we cannot think that a painter of his well-known sanctity could have imagined the disturbers of the peace of the Church in these times worthy of any other location. Dante did the same, for other reasons, and also to impart a great moral lesson. It has been well remarked, that the countenances of the doomed do not exhibit the fury and despair that is given them by other painters; on the contrary, we find them *undeceived* and overwhelmed with grief for having forfeited the supreme good that was in store for them, as well as the elect, if they had observed the divine commandments. Strange and bizarre is the form in which the Angelico painted his demons; and it must be confessed that, in this portraiture, he lacked imagination. He divided Hell into seven circles, (or bolgi,) in each of which, according to the nature of the seven capital vices, there are various torments and tormented. And this portion of the painting, if it be not in every respect perfect in its composition, yields to that which follows in design and execution. The idea of finding the "Emperor who sways the realm of sorrow" in the depth of the abyss is somewhat poetical, and is evidently taken from Dante, for, indeed, the three-headed monster, who

"At every mouth his teeth a sinner champed,  
Bruised as with ponderous engine; so that three  
Were in this gulfe tormented,"\*

was not such a figure as would have presented itself to the imagination of Fra Giovanni, who seems to have contemplated little else than celestial beauty. But where this painter triumphs and establishes his title to the name of Angelico, with which the people honoured him, is on the right side of the picture, where we behold the Elect. Who can see these graceful little figures and not be enamoured of virtue? Who is it that does not yearn to taste the holy and ineffable joys of these blessed beings; who, having fought the good fight, and completed their term of exile, are now approaching their true country, to enjoy that reward for which they longed and for sake of which they had suffered so many afflictions? They all have their eyes and arms turned towards their Redeemer, and they seem to bless and thank Him for having placed them among his Elect.

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\* Inferno, canto xxxiv. (Cary's.)

There you see princes, warriors, pilgrims, bishops, pontiffs, and members of the religious Orders: and here, as in all his paintings, he has given a distinguished place to the children of SS. Francis and Dominic. But more charming than even this, are the kisses and embracings which the Elect interchange with the Angels who protected and guided them on the path of peril. Kneeling, they clasp each other in heavenly affection. The idea of the painter, probably, was to exhibit the angels, venerating in these bodies, humanity glorified. The greetings between the angels and the elect terminated, we see them linking hands and gracefully dancing on a sweet meadow, enameled with most beauteous flowers. Their garments glisten with innumerable little golden stars; the head of each is wreathed with a garland of white and red roses, whilst a brilliant little flame burns on the forehead of each angel. Then light, airy, graceful, and even during the dance absorbed in ecstatic contemplation, carolling and singing they advance towards the celestial Jerusalem; and the nearer they approach to it, the more ethereal and luminous do their bodies become; till at last, arrived at the gates of the holy city, they appear to be transmuted into most subtile and resplendent spirits; and then, two by two, holding each other's hand, they are introduced into eternal beatitude. Where did the painter find this sweet conception? How was he able to develop such varied beauties? We confess our inability to give or imagine a reply.

We cannot better illustrate the character of Fra Angelico's style than by the following extract from an elegant and accomplished writer on Christian Art, Lord Lyndsay:—

"Expression, accordingly—the special exponent of Spirit, as Form is of Intellect, and Colour of Sense—is the peculiar prerogative of Fra Angelico. Ecstasy and enthusiasm were his native element, and the emotions of his heart animated his pencil with a tenderness and repose, a love and a peace in which no one has yet excelled or even equalled him. These are the unvarying characteristics of the Madonna in his paintings. The true theory of her likeness presumes her outward form to have been so exquisitely moulded and etherealized by inward purity and habitual converse with heaven, that Gabriel might have known her among mankind by her face alone, had he been in search of her, with no other token. Subsequently to the Nativity, the mother's love must be supposed to blend with the innocence of the Virgin, and a beauty to result from the union, combining the holiness and purity of both estates, as inconceivable as that union itself was supernatural. Hence, evidently, an ideal for the artist's imagination, impossible of attainment, but which he will ever seek after, whether by spiritualizing the lineaments of her most dear to him, or by appropriating and reanimating some one of the many ancient portraiture of the Virgin,—for there is no one fixed traditional resemblance, as of our Saviour. Every great painter accordingly, has his distinctive type, born (for the most part) of his domestic affections,—daughters of loveliness are they, sweet as the rose, pure as the dew, capable of the holiest and loftiest of thoughts, but

in almost every instance marked with an individuality which distresses the imagination, while the absence of that individuality as invariably infers vagueness and insipidity. Now the peculiarity and merit (as it appears to me) of Fra Angelico is, that his Virgins are neither vague nor individual,—even while doing nothing, they breathe of heaven in their repose—they are visible incarnations of the beauty of holiness, and yet not mere abstractions—they are most emphatically feminine—the ideal of womanhood as the chosen temple of the Trinity; they are to the Madonnas of other painters what Eve may be supposed to have been to her daughters before the Fall—their lineaments seem to include all other likenesses, to assume to each several rotary the semblance he loves most to gaze upon. It was because Fra Angelico's whole life was love—diverted by his vow of celibacy from any specific object, that his imagination thus sought for and found inspiration in heaven. Next to the Madonna, I may mention the heads of our Saviour, of the apostles and saints in Fra Angelico's pictures, as excelling in expression and beauty, as well as those of the elect, in his representations of the Last Judgment; his delineations of the worldly, the wicked, the reprobate, are uniformly feeble and inadequate; his success or failure is always proportioned to his moral sympathy or distaste.

Of the family or connexions of Fra Bartolommeo as little is known as of those of Fra Angelico.

From an early age, he appears to have been of a virtuous and serious disposition, which was a good deal tried in the position in which he was placed in the beginning of his life. His youthful studies were prosecuted under the direction of Cosimo Rosselli, who, however, owing to advanced age, was assisted by his pupils, Cosimo and Albertinelli. Neither of these appears to have been a suitable companion for Bartolommeo, or, as he was called in Tuscan pronunciation, Baccio; and having, moreover, become convinced that Rosselli was not a master under whom he could hope to reach perfection in his art, he, together with Albertinelli, quitted Rosselli's school, and repaired to Baccio's house, where they applied themselves to studying the ancient masters.

The works of Leonardo da Vinci appear to have had peculiar attraction for Baccio, and to have laid the foundation of his subsequent style.

Baccio seems to have been one of the first of the Florentine artists who yielded to the remonstrances of Savonarola, when that extraordinary man commanded them to repair the injury to morals which their immodest productions had occasioned. He attached himself closely to the Friar, and his former bosom friend, Albertinelli, having espoused the party of the *Arrabbiati*, the opponents of Savonarola, all connexion between the two painters ceased for a time.



While engaged upon the fresco of the Last Judgment, in the chapel of the cemetery of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova which he has begun at the request of the Dominicans, the popular rage against Savonarola reached its height, and Father Marchese thus narrates the occasion on which Baccio first declares his intention to join the Dominican Order :—

Meanwhile, the termination of Savonarola's career was approaching. Voices of menace and bloody deeds presaged the tremendous ruin that was gathering over his head. His enemies, who, up to that moment, were kept within certain limits, now resolved on vengeance, proceeded to open outrage. Baccio, seeing the terrible conspiracy, ceased to paint the Final Judgment, and left it imperfect. On the eighth of April, 1498, the Florentines, known as the Arrabbiati, marched in military array to the convent of San Marco, to wreak their fury on Savonarola, and those who had aided him in his attempt at Reform. More than five hundred citizens, commanded by Francesco Valori, took up their position within the walls, to defend Fra Gerolamo's life. Two hundred of the friars who were well armed, added themselves to Valori's combatants, and resolved to make a desperate defence. Baccio della Porta, who was not so good a soldier as he was a painter, wishing withal to act the part of a true friend, although terror-stricken, took refuge within the besieged convent. Here he found Fra Benedetto, the miniaturist, a much braver man, who stood prepared to fight to the death. Finding all the doors barricaded, and the defenders on the alert, the Arrabbiati set fire to the gates of the church and convent. The Piagnoni then showed themselves to be leal to their master, and began to discharge their cross-bows and harquebuses from the roof, belfry, and windows. The friars, though some of them would gladly have drawn the sword, collected round Savonarola in the choir, and there, prostrate before the Holy Sacrament, besought God to aid and have pity on them. Meanwhile, death and flight had thinned the ranks of the besieged. One of them, Valori, who despaired of victory, left the convent, and he, with his wife and tender son, were slain on the instant. The assailants, having forced their way into the church, contaminated it with blood and carnage; and when the adverse parties engaged in hand-to-hand conflict, one may fancy the horror of the spectacle mid flame and smoke, and the groans and blasphemies of the wounded and dying. A German, who was an excellent marksman, clambered up into the pulpit, and fired, without mercy, on the Arrabbiati. As the latter gained ground, they rushed to the choir, but such was the resistance which they experienced from the narrow dimensions of the place, and the bravery of the men who opposed them, that they failed to open a passage to its interior. Finally, having scaled the walls, they attacked the Piagnoni, in front and flank. At this juncture, poor Baccio, who at first gave some proof of valour, grew dreadfully alarmed, and cast away his unwonted arms, vowing to God, that if He snatched him from this peril, he would take the habit of S. Dominic, and close his days in religion. In order to stay the bloodshed, Savonarola spontaneously surren-

ered himself to his enemies, and Baccio witnessed the insults and magical death of his illustrious friend. Wounded to the very depths of his soul, appalled by that terrible calamity, incapable of receiving counsel or consolation, he abandoned the pencil, for with Savonarola perished that holy flame which gave aliment to his fervid imaginings. Baccio da Monte Lupo, the sculptor, fleeing before the wrath of Fra Gerolamo's murderers, spent a long time wandering through Italy; whilst Botticelli, Cronaca, Lorenzo di Credi, and other partisans of the Friar, overwhelmed with grief, for a while ceased to cultivate their beloved arts.

But Porta never forgot that dreadful day, nor his vow, and, like a true man, resolved to keep it. His brother, however, was a difficulty in the way; for, at his father's death, the care of the little Peter and the management of the paternal property devolved on him. Wherefore, having consulted Santi Pagnini, the Dominican, who was then domiciled in San Marco, the latter took charge of the younger brother during the period of the novitiate which Baccio was to perform far from Florence. Baccio then surrendered to Peter whatsoever property he had, together with his right to his patrimony, and having charged Albertinelli to finish the Final Judgment in Santa Maria Nuova, (for which he had received the greater part of the stipulated payment,) he set out at once for Prato. July 26, A.D. 1500, he fulfilled his vow, by taking the habit of the Preaching-Friars in his thirtieth year. Retaining his baptismal name, he was admitted amongst the religious of the choir. In the following year, he made his religious profession, and returned to the convent of San Marco, Florence. This sudden resolution gave great annoyance to Porta's friends; and as to Mariotto Albertinelli, Vasari informs us "that he was almost out of his mind for the loss of his companion; and soastounded was he by the fact, that he almost became desperate. Nevertheless, if Mariotto did not hate the Friars, of whom he was constantly speaking evil, and if he had not taken part with the faction against Fra Gerolamo, his love for Baccio would have made him take the habit in the same monastery." We will offer no remark on these words, as the facts already stated, as well as those that remain to be told, must clear up the truth.

The fate of Savonarola produced a deep effect upon the mind of Baccio; and although, after he had, as related by Father Marchese, taken the Dominican habit, he resumed his pencil, yet he worked without enthusiasm, and chiefly in obedience to his superiors.

The fire of genius, however, which smouldered in his breast, was fanned into a bright flame by a visit from the illustrious Raphael, then a young man. The interchange of ideas that must have ensued between them, and the communion of two such kindred spirits, was mutually and permanently advantageous to each, and the effects are still visible in the paintings of both.

The most celebrated of Fra Bartolommeo's pictures, is that known as the *Virgin della Misericordia*, at Lucca, the following description of which we extract from our author :—

This picture is about six-and-a-half Florentine *braccia* high, four-and-a-half wide. It is semi-circular, at the summit, and contains forty-eight figures, either half or whole, large as life. Mazzarosa, who made it the subject of a second letter, addressed Pietro Giordani, 22nd September, 1828, speaks of it thus :—“multitude of the faithful, of every age, sex, and condition, has recourse to Mary (who stands on a throne in the centre), supplicating Her to intercede for them in their common affliction. Mary, the Mother of mercies, as the words on the foot-stool indicate, receives their prayers, and, with hands and eyes raised to heaven, invokes the divine mercy on those who confide in her : nor in vain, because we behold, as it were, in a vision over her, the merciful Lord, who is poised in the air. His breast is visible, and the rest of His body is concealed by the clouds. We see, however, His naked side, and the wound is also perceptible, as the wind has gently moved the crimson robe with which the painter has most appropriately clothed Him. This figure, with its benignant expression of countenance and extended arms, most happily illustrates the words on the little scroll, ‘*Misereor super turbam.*’ Nothing can be more beautiful than the disposition of the figures according to sex and age. The mothers, with their children, are on the steps of the throne ; the younger children are behind these, whilst angels hover over the whole group. Each and all of them have their eyes riveted on the Virgin, and the adults and old men are at her sides. Three groups excel all the rest : one of them stands at foot of the throne, on the right of which there is a mother directing her little son to fix his eyes on the Virgin ; another is a mother, with two children, one of whom, having got behind her cunningly, tries to annoy the naked baby in the parent's arms, whilst the wrinkled nurse chides his playfulness. This is a group of singular truth and beauty, but somewhat inopportune, because it distracts the eye and the mind from the principal subject, and because these two women seem not to be impressed by the presence of the Virgin, on whom the eyes of all the others are turned most devoutly. The third is, perhaps, the most beautiful. It represents S. Dominic in the act of pointing out the Madonna, with the fore-finger of his right hand, to the Gonfalonier of the Republic, whilst with his left he encourages him to approach Her. It is thought that the S. Dominic is the portrait of Fra Sebastiano ; and that the Gonfalonier is Montecatini, who held that office at the period. A poor man, half naked, on the right of the Virgin, is exceedingly well designed and coloured. Mary is erect on the throne, and seems to have just arisen from her seat, as she has not yet removed her right foot, which rests on the little footstool ; whilst her left, on which she supports herself, has already touched the pedestal—a most natural action, as the left foot is always foremost in descending. The Virgin is robed in ample crimson drapery, shot with white. From her head falls an azure veil, of large and graceful dimensions, whose ends are borne by two angels on the wing. Full of sympathy for her poor

applicants, whose miseries she knows, her beautiful face and eyes evidence her maternal tenderness. Her right hand is raised above her head, in the act of supplication; and her left points out the people beneath her. Showing to Christ those who need her mercy, she so looks at, and prays the Redeemer, as almost, if I may use the phrase, to wring the yearned-for grace from Him. . . . Here let us observe that Christ is visible to her alone, for she alone has her eyes fixed on Him. This was a most wise conception, for it preserves the unity of the action: any other disposition must have been an error, as Mary could not then be the principal object of the picture, as was required of the painter.

"Now, if you consider the *tout-ensemble* of this great painting, and all its parts, one by one, you will perceive that I have not exaggerated in calling it stupendous, and fit to be placed side by side with Raffaello's Transfiguration." And Missirini, after having described it figure by figure, concludes thus:—"Here the excellence of design, the primary and substantial characteristic of every production of art, is beyond all praise. In every part of the picture we find true sublimity, nay, and that inspiration with which the scenery of a gorgeous theatre is calculated to overflow the soul—here the powerful expression pierces our bosoms and stirs them to their depth. How shall I describe the movements, attitudes, or the graceful flow of the draperies for which the Friar was so famous? What shall I say of the vivid colouring which is not surpassed by Tiziano's tintings? The shadows are diaphanous, the opposition of the tints homogeneous, and the effect of the chiaroscuro magical."

His picture of Saint Mark, at Florence, is considered to be in painting what Michael Angelo's statue of Moses is in sculpture, and many eminent judges regard it as one of the finest pieces of figure painting in existence.

We have noted, and that briefly, but two of those men, who by the works of the pencil, have lent a lustre to the name of Dominican. It would occupy much more space than we are able to devote to the task to merely enumerate the host of sculptors, architects, painters on glass, and "*nuvatori*," who have belonged to this order, and whose lives and works form the subject of Father Marchese's work.

As an architect, and as a man of general knowledge, Fra Giovanni Giocondo, of Verona, born about 1430, was highly eminent. He was, according to our author, a master of military fortification, skilled in hydraulics, familiar with Greek and Roman literature, thoroughly conversant with antiquities, an excellent mathematician, and no contemptible natural historian. By Cæsar Scaliger, he was called "an old and new library of all that was good in science," a "Phoenix of intellects," and by Vasari, "a most rare man, and universally learned in all the faculties."

Father Marchese disposes, we think satisfactorily, of the question which originated with Tiraboschi, the learned Jesuit, and author amongst other works of "*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*," whether Fra Giocondo was a Dominican or Franciscan Friar, and in our minds establishes the claim of the former order to number the architect amongst its illustrious men. At all events, it appears certain that if Fra Giocondo ever embraced the Franciscan rule, it was in his latter days, though his bas relief portrait at Verona represents him in the Dominican habit, and thus strengthens the belief that he lived and died a Dominican.

Among his works was a bridge over the Seine, the military and engineering defences of Trevigi against the Emperor Maximilian, a design for the re-construction of the Rialto when destroyed by fire in 1513, and numerous other works displaying great architectural and engineering skill. He was at the same time occupied with philological studies, and produced a new edition of the letters of the younger Pliny, of the works of Cæsar, Cato, Vetruius, Frontinus, Aurelius Victor, and Julius Obsequen's "*De Prodigis*." He was moreover employed to assist Raphael, after the death of Bramante in the completion of St. Peter's, as appears from the following letter addressed by Raphael to his uncle, Simone di Battista di Ciarle da Urbino, dated 1st July, 1514.

As to staying in Rome, I may as well tell you, that I cannot stay anywhere else, so devoted am I to the building of S. Peter's; and I now occupy the place of Bramante. What place is there in the world which is superior to Rome, or what undertaking is there greater than that of S. Peter's? This is the greatest building that has ever been seen, and it must cost more than a million in gold. You must know that the Pope has determined to expend, on this building, sixty thousand ducats annually: indeed, he does not think of anything else. The Pope has given me, as my companion, a most learned friar: he is very old, and has passed his eightieth year. The Pope, knowing that he cannot live long, appointed him to be my colleague, for he is a man of great reputation, and exceedingly wise. I will learn of him any fine secret that he may possess regarding architecture, and I hope thus to become perfect in this art. His name is Fra Giocondo, and the Pope sends for us every day, and discourses a while with us about this building.

We must be content with merely mentioning the names of Fra Damiano da Bergamo, the celebrated Intarsiator, or worker in inlaying wood; of Sister Plautilla Nilli, painteress in oil; of Father Danti, mathematician, engineer, and architect; of Father Portigiani, skilled in casting in bronze, and an archi-

ect; of Father Paganelli, architect and engineer, and of Fathers Jayno and André, the one a Spanish, the other a French painter. Of Fra Damiano da Bergamo, Father Marchese tells us the following anecdote. The Emperor Charles the Fifth, when at Bologna in order to be crowned by Pope Clement the Seventh, was much struck with the beauty of Fra Damiano's work, surrounding the shrine of St Dominic, and expressed a desire to see the artist:—

On the 7th of March, A.D. 1530, the Emperor, accompanied by Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, and some Princes of his court, proceeded to the Dominican convent; and halting before the humble cell of Fra Damiano, knocked, and demanded admittance. The Friar opened the door, and just as the Emperor entered, he closed it quickly—"Hold," said the Emperor, "you have shut out the Duke of Ferrara, who accompanies me." "I knew very well that it was he," replied the lay-brother, "and it is because I know him, that I will not permit him to stand under the vault of my cell!" "What?" asked Charles, "have you reason to complain of him?" "Hear me, Sire," answered Fra Damiano; "when I was coming from Bergamo to Bologna, in order to execute the works of the choir, I brought with me those few tools, which are absolutely necessary for the practice of this art, in the exercise of which I hope to spend my life worthily. Well, I had scarcely set foot on the territory of Ferrara, when the officers of the Duke compelled me—poor Friar as I am—to pay an exorbitant and unjust tax; but the rudeness with which they treated me, was still more intolerable; and this is the reason why the Duke of Ferrara shall never see the works which I now exhibit to your Majesty." This spirit of independence was quite novel to Charles, who was continually surrounded by servile sycophants. Nevertheless, he smiled, and told the lay-brother that he would interpose with the Duke of Ferrara, in order that every satisfaction should be given to him. The emperor then left the cell, and told the Duke the reason of Fra Damiano's choler; whereon, the latter promised to indemnify him for any loss he might have suffered, and he, furthermore, guaranteed to exempt himself and his pupils from all taxation as often as they passed through his little principality. The Emperor, accompanied by the Duke, then re-entered Fra Damiano's cell, and the Friar, to convince them that his histories were composed of pieces of wood, and not painted with the pencil, took up a plane, and passed it vigorously over their surface, without doing the least injury to the colouring, which remained in all its integrity and beauty. He then presented the Emperor with a beautiful little history of the Crucifixion, and he gave another to the Duke of Ferrara, who ever afterwards set the highest value on it.

We cannot wonder, after the perusal of these volumes, that the Dominican Order should feel proud of its artists and men of genius. Though other Orders have also, from time to time, contributed their scholars, painters, and sculptors, though the Benedictines can boast their Monaco, and their Clovio; the Franciscans, their Factor, and their Negroponte; and the

Carthusians and Carmelites, their Coton, and their Lippi; yet it must be confessed, that in none of these Orders can such a splendid and numerous band be found arrayed, as in that of the Dominicans. With them, peculiarly, as indeed with all the Monastic Orders in the Middle Ages, was to be found the practical illustration of the motto "*Laborare est Orare.*" Those glorious specimens of art which they have left behind, are each a prayer, a prayer more eloquent than could have been composed in words, and still remaining to teach devotion and piety to crowds of admiring beholders.

Who, indeed, can tell, but that often in the lonely hours of the night, in the calm solitude of his cell, after a day devoted to his labor of love, there rose before the eyes of the artist monk, visions of that heavenly palace, the earthly career of whose king and court, it was his delight to study and depict. Then might he have beheld the swiftly moving shining wings of angel and archangel; the sublime and beaming countenances of patriarchs and saints, and all the dazzling effulgence of the heavenly host, and heard the silver music of their harps, and the sound of their celestial voices, sweet, clear, and harmonious, rising up to the throne; and when the grey dawn of morning stole into his cell and dissipated the glorious vision, sprang up to fix it upon the enduring canvas, and to teach the artists of future times, the beauty of that inspiration which is derived from religious contemplation.

If, in the short and hasty notice which we have taken of this subject, we shall have succeeded in drawing some attention to the Art history of the Monastic Orders, and inducing such of our readers as have not yet read them, to peruse Father Marchese's work, we shall feel that we have done, in our humble capacity, "the state some service." The further the subject is pursued in all its branches and details, the more convinced will enquirers be of the truth of the words used by the learned author of the "*Ecclesiastical Sketches*," when speaking of the mendicant Friars—"In an age of oligarchal tyranny, they were the protectors of the weak; in an age of ignorance, the instructors of mankind; and in an age of profligacy, the stern vindicators of the holiness of the sacerdotal character, and the virtues of domestic life."

In concluding this paper it is right to add, that the Rev. Mr. Meehan has performed his duty as a translator faithfully, earnestly, learnedly, and eloquently; and has added to that reputation already gained by his able contributions to a series—"Duffy's Library for Ireland"—not sufficiently appreciated in its most valuable and important volumes.

THE

# IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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No. XXIV. DECEMBER, 1856.  
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## ART. I.—ODD PHASES IN LITERATURE.

### SECOND PAPER.\*

1. *Les Fantaisies de Bruscamille*. A Paris: Chez Jean Millot, 1612.
2. *Essai Sur les Livres dans l'Antiquité*. Par. H. Gérard. Paris, 1840.

In our former paper, in writing of Burlesque Orders, we omitted the following singular societies:—

The order of the society *de la Culotte*, the statutes of which were compiled in 1724 by Brother Béquillard.

The order *de la Centaine* derived from that of *Fendeurs*.

The order of Egyptians. Towards the year 1635, Mademoiselle de Pré, niece to the Marquis de Feuquières, at that time lieutenant to the king at Metz, founded, in that city, an order of knighthood to which she gave the name of *l'Ordre des Egyptiens*, said her cousin, the Abbé Arnauld, because "No one could be admitted who had not completed some ingenious theft. She was elected their queen, under the title of Epicharis, and all her knights carried, suspended from a green ribbon, a golden tablet, on which was inscribed the words: *Rien ne m'échappe*. Several officers of the army, and of parliament, who were at Metz, had themselves enrolled in this order, which was very fashionable, for it was necessary to have genius in order to

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\* For the First Paper of this series see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. No. XXIII. p. 439.



gain admission ; this could not be accomplished without presenting the request in verse to Queen Epicharis. And I remember apropos of that, a very correct man, M. de Vivans, who was chamberlain to the duke of Orleans and captain of cavalry, who wished to join this order, but could not obtain a dispensation from the rule of petitioning in verse ; he had not been born a poet, though a Gascon, and was at last obliged to compose the following, which afforded more amusement than perhaps a better :

Princesse, recevez Vivans ;  
 Tout le monde vous y condamne ;  
 Je reconnais qu'il a dessein  
 De vous servir, ou Dieu me damne."

The order *de la Félicité*. This order, worthy product of the corruption which reigned during the last century, gave rise to a great number of works, which have become very rare ; as the *Formulaire du cérémonial en usage dans l'ordre de la Félicité*, 1745, in duodecimo ; *l'Anthropophile ou le Secret et les Mystères de la Félicité*, 1746, in duodecimo ; *l'Ordre Hermaphrodite ou les Secrets de la sublime Félicité*, 1748, in duodecimo ; *le Moyen de monter au plus haut grade de la marine sans se mouiller*, in duodecimo ; *Dictionnaire de l'Ordre de la Félicité*, par Fleury in octavo.

The order *de Fendeurs* on which there is extant an instruction, 1788, in octavo.

The orders of chevaliers *Feuillants* and of ladies *Phillides*.

This order established in Brittany, had for a pass word :—

Avez vous effeuillé les roses ? Et les pampres ?

The order *de la Fidélité* derived from that of Fendeurs.

The *chevaliers de la Grappe*, instituted at Arles, by Damas de Gravaison. The statutes and ordonnances were published in 1697, in duodecimo.

The order of the *Lanturelus*. The Marquis of Croismare, a friend of Madame de la Ferté Imbault, conceived at the period (1771) when the intrigues of Maupeou afflicted Paris, the notion of founding the order of the Lanturelus. He appointed himself grand master. Madame de la Ferté, named at first grand mistress, was afterwards elected queen by all the frequenters of the house, who had taken part in the new institution. Some pieces of verse, emanating from this society, having reached Catherine the Second's ears, she desired the Russian lords to obtain them for her daughter-in-law, and

the princess received them. There remains at the present day no other record of this burlesque order, save the poetry inserted in the collections of the time.

The order *de la Malice*. There has been found a report and description of this order, in some leaves of a manuscript preserved in the print cabinet of the Royal Library. Nothing could be more inoffensive than this order, say the statutes, instituted by a *very amiable and very worthy lady, Madame Agrippine de la Bonté Môme, Jan. 1st 1734*. We insert some verses of the preface

Celui qui veut de la Malice  
Devenir insigne profès,  
Doit si bien tendre ses filets  
Pendant le temps qu'il est novice,  
Qu'il ne passe jamais un jour  
Sans avoir fait quelque bon tour.  
Mais que l'aimable politesse,  
L'esprit fin, la délicatesse,  
Brillent en toute occasion,  
Et que jamais malice noire,  
De fait ou bien d'intention,  
Ne ternisse la belle gloire  
Que dans l'ordre il faut acquérir.

After the statutes follow the orders which are very amusing.

Art. 1. There are no other degrees than those of grand mistress, lieutenant, chancellor and treasurer, four governors and four knights, whose election is obtained by a conscientious knowledge of their respective merits and talents in malice.

Art. 2.—All those who present themselves as candidates for this order should have the qualities requisite to enable them to fill the offices in which they will be employed.

Art. 3.—They will be obliged to prove themselves by a trial of two years, that they may be esteemed fit for subjection to an examination before the chancellor, in order that they may be qualified to receive titles of the order.

Art. 4.—The noviciate will be one year, and during that time the novices are obliged to give the lieutenant, twice every day, a description of the cunning and adroit means they would employ to entice into their snare those whom the order would desire to befriend by their friendship and benevolence.

Art. 5.—They would never be admitted to profession until they had faithfully complied with the obligations of the noviceship, which must be certified by the lieutenant when they are examined in full assembly.

Art. 6.—The professed are obliged to make these vows : privation from any thing that might be prejudicial to health, and of poverty, or detachment from the goods of others.

Art. 7.—In order to further those intentions, no domestics from Champaign, Switzerland or Picardy, were to be admitted.

Art. 8—Turkeys, geese or sheep were never to be reared in the house.

Art. 9.—But they would have, for good example, beautiful apes, cats, parrots, daws, foxes and magpies.

Art. 10.—The principal books of the library should be *l'Espiègle, Richard-sans-peur, Buscon, Gusman d'Alfarache, Gil Blas, le Prince Sans Pire, l'Histoire des Pages, et les Anecdotes des Pensionnaires, des Religieuses, &c., &c.*

The decoration of the order consisted in a little medal suspended from a lilac ribbon, and bearing on one side an ape, and on the other the following verses:—

Pour vous imiter je suis fait,  
C'est là mon plus noble exercice ;  
Aussi, par un retour parfait,  
Vous me ressemblez en malice.

The society of the brothers and sisters of the order *de la Méduse*, of which the rules were published at Marseilles, without date, in duodecimo, under the title of “*Les agréables divertissements de la table.*”

The order *des Mopses*, on which a book was published at Amsterdam, in 1745, in duodecimo.

The order *de la Mouche à Miel*. This order, instituted the 11th of June, 1703, figured among the amusements of the little court formed at Sceaux by the duchess du Maine. The medal of the order, engraven in the *Récreations Numismatique*, of Duby, presents the head of the duchess du Maine with the following legend: L. BAR. D. SC. D. P. D. L. O. D. L. M. A. M. (*Louise, baronne de Sceaux, directrice perpétuelle de l'ordre de la Mouche à Miel*) On the reverse, a bee going towards a hive with the device: *Picola si, fa ma gravi le ferite* (I am little, nevertheless I wound deeply.)

The Knights, on whom the order was conferred, pronounced the following vow: “I swear, by the bees of Mount Hymettus, fidelity and obedience to the perpetual directress of the order, to bear all my life the medal de la Mouche, and to fulfill, as long as I exist, the statutes of the order; and, if I fail in my vow, I consent that the honey be changed for me into gall, the wax into tallow, the flowers into nettles, and the wasps and hornets may pierce me with their stings.”

The medal was of gold and weighed twenty grains.

the order *de la Persévérance*, established in March, 1777. At the reception of a member they erected three altars: to friendship, and to humanity.

the order of *Ribalderie*, instituted at Paris, 1612.

the order of *Sophisiens*, instituted by Cuvelier in 1802.

the order of the *Tancardins*, celebrated in the seventeenth century in the songs of Lainez.

the knights *de l'Union*, established at Vienná (Dauphiné), 1544.

These societies, and literary or burlesque orders, were not numerous in other countries than France. Modénois, who died in 1551, founded a literary society whose members assembled at table. During the repast it was customary for them to compose a Greek or Latin epigram, a sonnet, or a madrigal on each of the dishes; at other times they did not ask a drink but in the language with which the order of the banquet first served them. Another day, each member was obliged to relate all adages relative to an animal, a plant, a myth, or a saint, &c.

"This society altogether composed of distinguished wits," writes Guéné, "was formed at Venice towards the year 1740. In order to offer every opposition to the torrent of bad taste which they were inundated, they employed, at the same time, a serious discussion and light criticism, occasionally even a more pungent humor, and even railed at burlesques that were very trifling, in order to dispute the pretensions and undermine the success of the corrupters of language and good taste. This singular Academy had taken the title of *Académie des Granelleschi*, that is to say of those who had two *granelli* for a coat of arms: a *granelli* is a fool, a ninny, a simpleton. In this Academy, enrolled under such a standard, nevertheless, a very great number of men as distinguished by their rank, by the seriousness of their character, by the breadth and extension of their knowledge, as by the piquancy of their wit. Each sitting opened by a broadside of the most valuable productions conceivable, and the most analogous to the emblem and their title. Their real sitting opened subsequently, and the lectures there delivered, the literary principles which they promulgated, excited the admiration of all, and preserved to Venice the sacred fire of taste. Notwithstanding the care taken by their President to refrain at first from saying any thing that had not the character of imbecility

exacted by their statutes, he would sometimes forget himself, but, on discovering which, the Academy deprived him of his post. They elected in his place a man who was completely stupid but who considered himself perfect, having great pretensions to literary talent; he filled pages every day with the most gross idiotism, read it to every one, and mistook for signs of approbation the mocking and derision of those who laughed at his extreme simplicity. He was called Joseph Secohellari; the society sent him a deputation, received him into their corps, elected him unanimously prince and president of the Academy of the *Granelleschi*, with the title of *Arcigranellone*, a title created for himself. They installed their new president with great solemnity. They placed on him a crown of prunes, addressed to him a discourse, and presented him with some verses of the most comical seriousness, filled with ironical eulogies on the pride and happiness they experienced in crowning him. He had for a throne an old arm-chair very much elevated. Arcigranellone never failed to open the sitting by one of his own compositions inconceivably ridiculous, of which he had, perhaps, given the first copy. They frequently interrupted him by the enthusiasm of their plaudits, though they prevented the insertion of this chef-d'œuvre in the records of the Academy."

In the fourteenth century, a period marked by the decay of German literature, poetry was exclusively cultivated by the people, and they formed *maîtrises* or *jurandes*, to which they were admitted on fulfilling certain conditions which restricted them to the knowledge of insignificant rules on quantity and rhymes. They were very frequently received on paying a sum of money. The members of these societies adopted the denomination of *meisters-sængers* (master poets). To acquire celebrity they tried to invent some new rhythm, which they embellished under the name of irregular or whimsical; such as the rhythms of *l'Escargot*, *de l'Encre*, *des Etudiants joyeux*, *de l'Or*, *des Roses*, &c., &c.

Mayence, Strasburg, and Nuremburg possessed the most famous *jurandes*. They had them also at Memmingen, Ulm, Augsburg, and in the other villages of Suabia. Their reunions were held generally in the taverns, concluding always by orgies.

The greater number of these *maîtrises* continued from 1350 up to the first years of the sixteenth century, a period in which

effected complete reformation in the German language. The others continued for a much longer time. The University of Strasbourg was in existence even so late as the middle of the last century.

It is not surprising to see figuring in the lists that have been preserved the names of these *jurandes* but bakers and weavers &c.

After the period of the restoration of letters, the Germans, like the Italians, a great number of literary societies, who devoted themselves, exclusively, to the refining and perfecting of the German and national literature. One of the most ancient is that of *Societas litteraria rhenana*. They were occupied with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, astronomy, music, poetry and science. The associates often recreated themselves with balls and other festivities, where might be seen, writes *more Germanorum inveterato strenue potare*.

In 1617, Teutleben, marshal of the court at Weimar, founded the society of the *Fructifants*, which lasted up to 1644 and counted, amongst its members, one king, one hundred and fifty three princes, and more than sixty barons, and savants.

In 1644, Jean Clay, called the younger, founded at Weimar, along with Philippe Harzdorf, *l'Ordre des Bergers et des Fleurs de la Pegnitz*, a society whose object was the improvement of the German language. A century later, Herold, who took part in it, published, under the soubriquet *de la Harde*, an historical notice of the society, in octavo. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Philippe de Zesen founded at Hamburg a *Société des Beaux Esprits Allemands*. The king of Hungary, Matthias Corvin, had conceived the singular project of building a city, all academy, which should contain 40,000 students, with their masters, physicians, monks, and domestics. He designed himself the plan, and the foundation on the banks of the Danube below Buda. The wars which he was obliged to sustain against his enemies absorbed the money destined for this gigantic enterprise, and he established at Buda a university of moderate

In 1548, a Pole named Przonka, founded, in the palatinate of Lublin, a merry society, who presented a piquant comedy on the Polish republic. It was called *la Republique de Lublin*, the name of a village of the palatinate of Lublin.

An anonymous memoir composed in the eighteenth century, and recently published, contains the following details of this society.

“ Modelled on the republic of Poland, that of Babin had the same orders and the same dignities ; we there behold palatines, castellans, in a word people adorned with all the titles in vogue in the country of its founder. But to shew that they had wisely shaken off the yoke of national prejudices, they have admitted strangers to the privilege of those titles, when some laudable case demanded it. The diets were frequent but very short, for they had generally but one sitting. No law prevented their holding them in various places, nevertheless, they assembled the greater part of the time in a village which, for that reason was surnamed Gelda, a term used to signify a place where they prattled constantly until they were out of breath.

“ In these diets, they did not amuse themselves by seeking a wonderful unanimity in the suffrages ; it was the plurality of voices which decided all. The faction and the underhand manœuvres had no point there. The senators and nuncios were equally ignorant of corruption ; hence, there was no disruption, and the issue was never unprofitable. They examined the qualities of the most eminent persons in the country, and according to the judgment they formed in their calculation, they were adorned with a patent for such or such an employ in the republic of Babin. Those who shewed an ambition for a tranquil and an easy life, all at once became bishops ; those who spoke continually of their valor, without ever having given proofs were made great or inferior generals. Others suddenly became ministers as a reward for their political dissertations, and their vast projects arranged without the slightest knowledge of the interests of princes. In fine, each was managed, sometimes according to his taste, and always according to his merit. A banquet accompanied the happy closing of the assembly, and we can well imagine that it concluded in drinking the healths of the new dignitaries and singing their praises.

“ Nothing could bear a more striking resemblance to the commissions of the *Régiment de la Calotte*, than the patents in question, I have seen them equally managed. With a like badinage, the society in question, often gave striking lectures on the distribution of court favors, for it sometimes happened that strange changes were made in the destiny of a

who passed from the republic of Poland to that of Babin. For example, they there metamorphosed the primate, into another quester, the pilfering palatine into a thief taker or a robber of the custom house; the timid general became a merchant, and the bad magistrate a merchant.

One day that we were speaking of this establishment in the presence of Sigismond Augustus, he asked if they had ever crowned a king. Przonka said to him gravely, 'God never crowned a king, Sire, that we should have even conceived such a thought whilst your Majesty lived! Reign happily over us, as God doth over all Poland.' Though according to the circumstances of the time, this reply might appear susceptible of an interpretation, Sigismond took it as a joke, and betrayed his displeasure.

During several years, this band of waggish observers were the scourge of vice, and of all who rendered themselves ridiculous.

They perceived on all sides the fruits of their pleasantry; the dread of being immolated to public laughter, produced a happy change in the manners and conduct of great and small. Finally, the society fell, whether in consequence of the mutations by which Poland was distracted during the following reigns, or from want of men of genius who could shine in such assemblies. Be it what it may, the history of our times shew that the country has on this matter sustained no loss.

Amongst the literary reunions *Albums* were introduced; this custom was very ancient. "It is the name," says the Dictionary of Trévoux, "which has been given to a little register or small book that the learned carried with them. When they arrived in a city, either travelling or otherwise, they were desirous to collect the scholars of the country, and present to them their *Album Amicorum*, requesting them to write something in it, in order to obtain their holograph. There were usually written in these albums mottoes, some sentiment or maxim, or a grateful tribute of courtesy to the person presenting the album." We here give some details of several of these albums, which the amateurs in autographs would pay very dearly to present.

Daniel de Behr, a Pomeranian gentleman, had, in 1586, a celebrated album. in which duke Augustus of Brunswick-Lünebourg, student at Wittenberg, wrote the following maxim:—*Pulcherrimarum rerum notitia non otio sed negotio, non vigiliis sed studiis, non votis sed laboribus, non pretio sed*



*prece paratur.* His brother Earnest inscribed on another leaf of this same album, the following distich :—

Sperare in Christum et vitæ tolerare labores,  
Et bene posse mori discite, beatus eris.

Barclay having inserted some sheets of white paper into one of the copies of the treatise *De Constantiâ* by Lipsius, converted it into an *Album Amicorum*, which was honored by the signatures of fifty distinguished men, such as *Casaubon* (Isaac), *Delrio* (Martin), *Dousa* (Francis), *Lipsius*, *Lemire*, *Erycius Puteanus*, *Rubens* (Philippe), *Wouweren* (Jean de), *Morel*.

Madame Desloges had an album which contained a great number of pieces most complimentary to her. We read there, as quoted by Tallemant des Réaux, these verses written by Malherbe himself.

Ce livre est comme un sacré temple  
Où chacun doit à mon exemple  
Offrir quelque chose de prix ;  
Cette offrande est due à la gloire,  
D'une dame que l'on doit croire  
L'ornement des plus beaux esprits.

The album which should probably be considered as the most original and voluminous of all the albums known, is that of the Baron de Burkana. This eminent man, who, after traversing all Europe, died at Vienna, in 1766, was born at Aleppo, and had been brought up at the court of the emperor of Germany. His album contained 3,532 testimonials of commendation and eulogy, of maxims, epigrams, witticisms, anecdotes &c., &c., it bore the following title in French and Latin :—

*Temple of piety, of virtue, of honor, of friendship and of good faith; consecrated to undying and immortal remembrance; all you therefore that possess the piety of Eneas, the strength of Hercules, the friendship of Pylades, the fidelity of Achates;—enter here, honour it by your presence, you are invited by—*LE BARON DE BURKANA, Aleppo-Syrien. We now give some extracts from these numberless testimonials in favor of the proprietor of the album.

Montesquieu said of him that, "like the sun he had seen all parts of the world." The prince de Ligne called him, "the illustrious and never ceasing traveller over the entire world," and requested of him "to salute for him the great Mogul and the king of Monomotapa when he passed through their countries."

taire proclaimed himself too happy to write his name in the album of "the man of all countries, who spoke all languages, a true cosmopolite, who is French in Gaul, Spanish in Spain, German in Germany, English in Britain."

The librarian Pingré asserts that in 1753 all Paris admired a certain "as being the most erudite in his age, an Arabian scholar."

The chevalier d'Eon, at that time captain of dragoons, and formerly to the French embassy in Russia, wrote that he was charmed and fascinated by the pleasure he had experienced in meeting M. le baron de Burkana for the third time in his life, "and that he hoped to see him once more either at Constantinople or at Pekin."

A canoness of Paderborn, in Westphalia, said "that she sought long in vain for the phoenix of the ancients, and she had at length found him at Paris, 1749, in the person of M. le baron de Burkana." Another lady entitles him "the industrious bee collecting the most precious honey." A third calls him "the Eastern Mentor." A Spanish marchioness declares of him "*caballero celebre y gustoso*." And the countess de Mâpital is "charmed by the conversation and greatness of mind exhibited by this nobleman."

We perceive among the names of personages inscribed in the album, those of Lenglet-Dufresnoy, Crébillon, Ladvocat, Marmontel, Tronchin, Bonnet, Muratori, Molina, Zaccaria, Mesmises, Marshal Contades, Van Swieten, Haller, Gessner, &c. This book, finally, belonged to Goëthe; we do not know whose hands it fell after his death.

Albums have become even more fashionable at the present time. There is not a lady who brings to her house men of letters, who has not her album for which she collects every kind of madrigals, sonnets, maxims and sayings more or less original. We often find in those albums charming pieces of poetry. The following is very beautiful, but we do not even know the name of author:—

Sur cette page blanche ou mes vers vont éclore,  
Qu'un souvenir parfois ramène votre cœur.  
De votre vie aussi la page est blanche encore,  
Je voudrais la remplir d'un seul mot, le bonheur.  
Le livre de la vie est un livre suprême,  
Que l'on ne peut ouvrir ni fermer à son choix,  
Ou le feuillet fatal se tourne de lui même.  
Le passage adoré ne s'y lit qu'une fois.  
On voudrait s'arrêter à la page où l'on aime,  
Et la page où l'on meurt est déjà sous les doigts.

There are no people so dogmatic as Archæologists, yet how frequently are they deceived. Theophrastus tells that it has been said in the works of the Egyptians, that a king of Babylon had sent, as a gift to one of their kings, an emerald six feet long, and four and a half broad; furthermore, that they had in Egypt, in a temple of Jupiter, an obelisk composed of four single emeralds, which was sixty feet in height and proportionably wide. The same author adds that, whilst writing on those matters he should add, that he saw also at Tyre, in a temple of Hercules, a column made of one single emerald, but of a spurious description; in fact he asserts that he has frequently met with this species of spurious emerald; and informs us that in the Isle of Cyprus a stone had been discovered half emerald and half jasper, the substance not being entirely transformed into emerald. Apio, surnamed Plistonious, has written, that there was in Egypt, during his time, a colossal statue of Serapis, composed of a single emerald, which was thirteen feet and a half in height.

The *Sacro Catino* was formerly kept in an iron cabinet in the vestry, of which the Dean alone had the key, and was not exposed to public view more than once a year: it was then placed in an elevated position; a prelate supporting it by a string; around it were ranged the chevaliers *Clavigeri*, to whom its defence was confided. A law of 1476 punished, even with death in some cases, any one who should touch the *Sacro Catino* with gold, silver, precious stones, coral, or any other material. "In fine," said this edict, "in order to prevent the curious and incredulous from tampering with the *Catino* by examining it, and thereby subjecting it to be injured by scraping or perhaps even broken which would be considered an irreparable loss to the republic of Genoa, we feel obliged to issue this mandate." M. de La Condamine, led away by curiosity, concealed a diamond in the sleeve of his coat whilst examining the *Sacro Catino* in order to scratch it, and thus prove its hardness; but the monk who was shewing it to him, perceived it, and saved that time the *Sacro Catino*, happily for him, as it would have proved a most unfortunate affair both for him, and M. de La Condamine who had probably forgotten the edict of 1476. It appeared that, notwithstanding the observations of M. de La Condamine who had remarked in the *Sacro Catino* flaws such as we observe in melted glass, it preserved for a long time its reputation as an emerald, as a

of which they say the Jews would have advanced several millions on it as a loan during the exigencies of the state. The greater number of the mistakes made by the learned in dealing with antiquities were occasioned by the slight attention bestowed on discerning modern restorations, for there are not very few who can distinguish what is truly antique from what is substituted to supply the part lost.

Montfaucon wished to prove by a bas-relief of the Mattei Palace, representing a chase of the Emperor Galba, that the horses shod at that time in the same way as at present, without remarking that the horse's foot merely furnishes a proof that the restorer was an ignorant sculptor.

Montfaucon, seeing a roller or staff (which is of course modern) in the hands of the pretended Castor and Pollux in the Villa Borghèse, thought that they were used in the games, or horse racing.

According to the same writer a similar staff, equally modern, in the hand of Mercury in the villa Ludovisi, presents an equally difficult to explain.

Wright regarded, as truly antique, a violin in the hand of Apollo in the villa Negroni, and points out another violin held by a little statue in bronze and preserved at Florence. Wright imagined that he defended the reputation of Raphael in adding that this great painter had placed a violin in the hands of Apollo in his famous representation of Parnassus, in the Vatican; the statue in question Bernini restored 150 years after Raphael. The urn of coloured glass called after Alexander the Great was taken by Lachausse, for a stone resembling sardonyx, others have taken it for a true sardonyx.

Richardson has given as an antique, a painting in fresco by Guido.

The Mars of John in Bologna of the villa Médicis was mistaken for an antique statue; this error once imprinted, was reprinted by more than one traveller. Several Antiquaries got into ecstasies on beholding an Egyptian head in the Villa Borghèse, the head was a work of Bernini.

On the antique medals of Malta we see a reptile representing the Phœnician divinities imported into that isle. Pliney had seen there heads covered with the skins of the Maltese dogs, with the tails he says over the faces.

The Abbé Bizot, in his *Histoire Métallique*, mistook the ears of asses for heads, and engraved heads with this latter element.

It is related that Casanova, aided by the celebrated Mengs, played a trick on Winkelmann. This collector, antiquarian maintaining the superiority of the ancients over the moderns in works of art, Mengs painted a Ganyu. Casanova shewed it to Winkelmann as a gem of antiquity which he had been fortunate enough to discover. Winkelmann once recognised it as such, and burst forth in terms of admiration and praise of this chef-d'œuvre, which he declared to be the finest production of the Greeks.

This affair caused much dispute, because the literary world of the day took possession of it, and made it an arena where the friends and enemies of Winkelmann combated for time.\*

This was not the only error of the archæologist; he told a story during his time, which perhaps is even yet current, that the head of Farnese Hercules had been found in the ground, that the torso was one league in length and the legs ten leagues.

At the end of the first volume of Winkelmann will be found a dissertation of M. Heyne, professor of the university of Gottingen, on the ivory used by the ancients, and employed by them in works of art.

"The Turks," writes Caylus, "had used the pillars and columns of the temple of Ephesus for the construction of their mosques. They cut the pillars, sawed the capitals, and placed them minutely columns of different orders beside each other, thus reversing the shafts. This picture of ignorance has made the same impression on my mind as the greater number of modern explanations of ancient monuments would be likely to produce on the mind of an ancient and enlightened man who should return once more to the world."

It was the fashion during the last century to admire the cord by which Dirce was attached to the bull in the famous group, preserved at the Museum Bourbonique, under the name of the Farnese Bull. This accessory part was nothing remarkable however—it is modern.

The ancients invented and sold false antiquities as well as at the present day. Phædrus, in fable fifty, speaks of a man of his time who affixed to marble statues the name of Phædrus to those of silver, that of Myron.

\* See the letter to Comte Bühl, on *Les Antiquités d'Hercule*.

inkelmann mentioned a Hercules, which bore the false  
of Lysippus.

The Romans placed their own names on the statues of  
famous men of Greece, in order to deceive posterity into  
belief that they had been erected in their honor. We know  
the emperors themselves perpetrated this fraud.

Petius pretends that the ancients placed inextinguishable  
lights in their tombs. Ferrari proves that the light seen was  
not more than phosphorus.

The ancients had the same tendency to make their monu-  
ments appear antique in order to enhance their value. The  
Romans pretended that Deucalion had built their temple of  
Jupiter.

In France, there is not a cathedral to which they do not  
assign an impossibly ancient date, and we know to what fabulous  
antiquity the ancient historians would wish to trace the founda-  
tion of cities. Thus we see by Jehan Chaumeau, the first  
historian of Berri, that the town of Aix had been founded by  
himself, and so by others,

Paciandi, in his letters to the Count de Caylus, is  
opposed against the false antiquities, medals, inscriptions on  
coins: he unmasks several, amongst others a Venetian,  
Charles Louis, who, says he counterfeits all sorts of antiquities,  
Etruscan vases, admirably; he also works mosaics which  
he sells for antiques; two of those were purchased by Cardinal  
Mazarin. "Eudeavour," added the good father, "to be assured  
those are not from the king's cabinet, for if they are  
fine antiques, you give forth a rare curiosity." In his sixty-  
fourth letter Paciandi enters into further strange details  
of Guerra, who, in the 18th century, had great success in  
creating and selling false antique paintings. "Guerra," said  
he, "made every day pictures of various sizes, according to the  
taste of the purchasers; every one knew it. But he main-  
tained firmly that they had been found outside Rome, in ruins  
of which he alone had the knowledge."

The English and the Germans were victims to their credulity,  
the Germans especially. This is the simple and entire truth,  
which proves how little credence we should give to the representa-  
tions of pictures been sold as ancient, some of those they tell  
us have been found in Herculaneum, some in Pompeii, and  
others in the environs of Rome. The Jesuit's Museums in  
Rome are thus filled, they are sold for such, and no one  
doubts them in any other light."



In a very witty and a very true article published in 1836, by Méry (*Constitutionnel*) these counterfeits, in which still continued, were well unmasked. "T at Rome," said he, "in the private workshops of the in which the workmen form arms broken at the elbow of gods, feet of satyrs, and trunks that belong to nobles invent there a liquor which, spread over the marble, gives antique color and appearance. There are also, in the shepherds who lead their flocks to graze in the neighbourhood of ruins, and who wait on strangers; they tell them of the wonders they find every day by digging several feet of ground. The English are the most easily deceived victims to their own credulity; they give money to the herds who are appointed to exhibit those artificial ruins, they are always aware where they should dig. They feign to exhaust themselves in fruitless efforts, and after a length discover the precious vein, and are paid by the strangers. The English are laden with antiquities, but are but six months old. The amateurs of numismatics (lovers of ancient medals) never go to Rome empty; they expend money daily without fear of deception, of the coins of Cæsars, Adrians, Titus, Heliogabalus, and of others; all of which have been filed or scraped with pumice and afterwards corroded to make them look old."

In the *Historia Belli Sacri*, which he has inserted in the *seum Italicum*, Mabillon does not hesitate to republish the following gross error—"Tancred entering into the temple of Jerusalem found on a throne a silver statue of Mahomet, so weighty that ten men could hardly lift it, and likewise five hundred pounds of silver for the use of the statue." "Was there any silly or gross ignorance?" said the Abbé of Longueville, who shewed it one day to Père Montfaucon, who begged of him to let it be printed, that I would ruin Mabillon."

It is strange that the same fatuity which causes errors of the antiquarians in the study of pagan antiquities and of the middle-age, has been spread over all representations of historical events. Winkelmann, in his *History of Art*, insists on these errors, and cites numerous examples. Grecian artists have re-produced sacred and antique subjects, and rarely those of a cotemporary nature.

We see a great number of statues and pictures representing personages of the Old Testament, but the names have

ed by time; nevertheless they are put there, and it is difficult to recognise them. Hence it has happened since Benedictines, Montfaucon and Mabillon, that Bathsheba, Deborah, and even others who were not queens, Judith, Rachel, Sarah, have been named St. Clotilde, Ulthe, Bertha, Queen Pédaque or Blanche of Castille. A sheba, one of Corbeils, has been transformed into a Saint lde, and a Solomon into Clovis, we see both under those titles in the Historical Museum of the Palace at Versailles.

Clovis, however, is crowned with a glory, though we he has not been canonized. At the Church of St. ues, in Liège, twenty-four personages from the Old Testament adorn the arch of the arcade in the grand nave. As they in the interior, and Saint Jacques being always sufficiently cted, the names inscribed over the heads are still readable. is very fortunate, as they might otherwise be taken for the es and princesses of Liège, as otherwise they would have mistaken for Kings and Queens of France. We read thus clearly:—

*David, filius Isai, rex et propheta; Josias, rex Juda, Amon, regis; Barach, Israelitarum dux: Gedeon, formus dux Israel; Job, orientalis vir timens Deum; Thovir justus ex tribu Ne (Nephtali,) Mardocheus, patruus er; Judas Machoebus, Mathathia filius, &c. &c."* And ngst the women. "*Debora, Hebræa, prophetissa; Judith, a Israelitici liberatrix populi; Suzanna, uxor Joachim; era, regina, filia Abiabil, &c. &c. &c."*

he Kings and Queens of France have figured as Donors, and ne number of one, two, three, and sometimes more, have on the gates of our churches; but never as perfect as one d desire, either at Paris, Amiens, Saint Denis, or at Rheims. en Charlemagne, Clovis, Philip Augustus, or Saint Louis, painted or sculptured, as we still see them in the Cathes of Paris, of Chartres, and of Rheims, they are not repreed as Donors: Charlemagne and Louis are made saints, is being baptized by Saint Remi, David consecrated by uel, whilst Charlemagne is bestowing precious relics of Virgin to several of the Cathedrals. But these Kings are er represented there in their positions as Kings of France; do not see the line of succession continued. One would take the Kings of France for the Kings of Judah, ancestors Jesus Christ. We would insist on this point, because we



consider it a very grave error in Christian iconography, one which is still deeply rooted. It is thus that, in this system, renewed from the Benedictines, M. Debrun of the Church of Saint Denis, has had engraven, on a derole containing six kings, against the partition of the eastern front gate, the following inscription:—

“Hugo Capet; septimus, rex.”

On his own authority, and without reason, the artist unchristened the Kings of Judah in order to transform them into Kings of France, and changes David into Hugh, Solomon into Robert, and so on with others.

In the Cathedral of Mans, a statue of the thirteenth century has been for a long period taken for a statue of Saint Louis; we consequently see on a scroll which he holds in his right hand the letters S. A. L., of which they make *Sanctus*. The scroll was cleaned, and on it was then decyphered the word Solomon.

During some years one might read in all the Journals that there had been found at Hainnecourt (Somme), a circular stone in a circular form eight squares long; and a stone in the possession of one of the proprietors of the soil, four of these squares, bore the following inscription —

“Balbuska—Parliaski, mort 743 !”

“They bring strangers who visit the museum at Versailles,” says M. Mérimée, “before a group perfectly preserved, representing two children; one holds a bird, the other seeks to catch it from him, and is biting his arm for the purpose of making him let it go. On the trunks of adjoining trees are sculptured a serpent and a lizard. You behold in this group an allegory of a moral character; the good and evil genius, or the struggle between good and ill. You are to suppose in this group that the little bird has been surprised (or entrapped,) that the serpent is an evil spirit and the lizard good.\* We saw this group in the Church d’Avon, near Fontainebleau, a tomb stone of the fourteenth century, of which the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, the local historians and travellers, are firm in the belief, and still persist in maintaining that it is a royal tomb of Philippe le Bel, or at least of his heart, though his heart has never been, on good authority, borne to St. Denis, and has been discovered at Poissy. The heart of his wife Jeanne de Navarre, has been found there.”

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\* See “Voyage Dans la Midi de la France.”

his opinion, refuted by M. Le Prévost, could not offer any position to the savant who made the inscription, though he had the stone in question to be the tomb of one of the principal officers in attendance on the King and Queen. The words *Henri notre sire le roi et reu Madame Jehanne*, having been read thus, "heart of our sire the King, heart of Madame Jeanne, his wife."\*

The Venius, author of the *Theatre of Human Life*, drew his subjects from Horace; at these words *raro ante cedentem scem deservit pede pona clauda*, he represented pain (or trouble) with a wooden leg!!!

In a Dutch Bible, at the verse, *you do not see the beam in your own eye*, the artist has represented an enormous beam *h getting into a man's eye prostrates him to the earth!*

A modern painter having to paint in a church the Litany of the Virgin, coming to these words, *mater purissima*, painted a very proper Mother taking her Divine Infant to a bath. As for the number of anachronisms in costume, they are innumerable; we will cite but two, or we would be obliged to go forward all the paintings and sculptures of the middle age. In the pictures painted at Rheims, Jesus is brought before Pilate by archers clothed in coats of mail.

Pilate is at the same time dressed in the costume of a gentleman of the fifteenth century. In another scene King Rod is under an ogival dais, and the Queen dressed as a lady of the reign of Charles the Seventh. On the top of her enormous sugar-loaf bonnet, is the royal crown.

The same anachronism is to be seen in the tapestry, the representing our Lord: the Roman army are composed of cavaliers; armed at all points; the city of Jerusalem is built as a city of the middle age, and the inhabitants as those of Rhemes or Paris in the fifteenth century.

In the picture of Judith, Holofernes is in bed clothed in complete armour of a cavalier, and behind his tent is a great cannon ready for explosion, whilst the soldiers are discharging their firelocks on the besieged Bethulia.

Paolo Vicelli, painted the four elements, representing them by symbolical animals. With the earth he placed a mole; with the water, a fish; with the fire, the salamander; with the air, added Vasari, the chameleon, *who takes so many hues*; but as our good Paolo had never seen a chameleon, deceived

\* "Bulletin Archæologique," 2,549.

by the name, he made an enormous camel, opening his mouth, and swallowing the air.

The famous Spanish painter, Zurbaran, who scarcely ever quitted Seville, and who only went to Madrid to die, but went to paint eight grand pictures of Saint Jerome in the church of a country town Guadeloupe, between Toledo and Cacerés. We are told in a biographical notice, that he had been painting those pictures at the island Guadeloupe.

Amongst the errors relative to archæology, the most common and most to be lamented, was the error that had become barren in artists of genius or talent in the last century. Nay more, that during several reigns the French were obliged to have recourse to the genius and talent of foreign artists, to whom they owe all the chefs-d'œuvre revived in the last epoch and transmitted to us. This error has been common in the last period and is still in vogue, and we would wish to draw on this question less publicity than it has received; we will not allude to it here, but we could not quote archæology without mentioning one that aims so unjust and gravely at the national honor of France.

The ERRATA was unknown before the discovery of the original. In fact, nothing was easier than to correct in manuscripts the faults that had crept into them. When the copier (or scribe) perceived an error he effaced it with a sponge, when the ink was dry; but when this means could not be used, he erased the defective word or words, placing a mark over the effaced letters. This mode of correction presents no other difficulty. Besides, once the copy of a work was made, it was reviewed, or should be, by a reader (or reviewer) before proofs from the printer. In the middle ages the most learned persons, like the literati of old, did not disdain to review their own works (or manuscripts). The Benedictine Cassiodorus, a manuscript of the ten first conferences of Cassiodorus, had been reviewed, in part, by the celebrated Langfrancus; the latter had marked the passage where he stopped by the words *Huc usque ego Lanfrancus correxi*.

There was no fault for which writings were reviewed, which was not easily corrected, and thus the manuscripts in time attain a high degree of accuracy. We see below the following passage of Aulus Gellius that the booksellers were proud of the accuracy of their works:—"Being one day at a library, in the quarter de Sigillaires with Julius

for sale a copy of the annals of Fabius Pictor, valuable for its antiquity, and the purity of its style. The bookseller maintained that a single fault could not be found in it. A distinguished grammarian coming in with a purchaser to examine books, said he had discovered an error in it; the bookseller's part was ready to bet anything he wished that one single correct letter was not in his copy. The bookseller was right."

The first books printed had no errata; they contented themselves with correcting the faults with their pen in each

But they were soon obliged to relinquish that means, the publication was printed so carelessly, and the recent corrections were so apparent, that the copies were completely spoiled. It was in order to remedy this inconvenience that they combined the faults and corrections, and placed them as an appendix at the end of the volume under the title of *errata*. The most ancient *errata* that I have found in the books of the sixteenth century," said Chevillier, "were those in Juvenal, with the edition of M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Méru, printed in folio by Gabriel Pierre, in Venice, in the year 1478; they were in two pages, and he excused the printing in these terms: "Lector, ne te offendant *errata* operariorum indiligentia fecit, neque enim omnibus hores corrigentes esse possumus. Recognito volumine ea corrigere nitentur."

Michael Fernus, having published at Rome, in 1495, the manuscript of Anthony Campanus, Bishop of Teramo, and having perceived the innumerable faults, which, notwithstanding all his care, had crept into this edition, thus entitled the *errata* of four pages, *Vis ex stulto demens, idemque ex mente insanus fieri? Libros Romæ primus imprime. Corrigenda recognito.*

Cardinal Bellarmine, seeing that they printed his controversies most defectively, copied a manuscript in the most perfect style and sent it to a printer in Venice, in order to obtain a correct edition, but his precautions were unavailing, and he was obliged to publish a book in which he criticised all the errors that had crept into this edition. The *errata* alone occupied eighty-eight pages. The author complains in the preface that there are more than forty passages in the printing where yes is substituted for no, and no for yes.

The Dominican, F. Garcia, got printed in 1578, in quarto, a list of the errors which had crept into a copy of a treatise



of St. Thomas, which filled eleven pages. The religion and its Science by Leigh, printed in 1656, had of two pages in folio. A work levelled at the Romantics, and printed in 1562, comprising 172 octavo, had an *errata* of fifteen pages. The persons who the *errata* excused themselves by relating the employed by the devil to obstruct the good which was likely to produce. "This cursed Satan," said "whilst we printing this work, exercised all his contrived to sully it with innumerable faults (for many were perfectly unintelligible, and others were made to matters totally different from what was intended) obstructed these readings intended for pious souls, filling them with such ennui, as to prevent their finishing the book with the strongest feeling of disgust. Before the work returned from the printers, the same Satan took means of casting it into the shade, and so sullied the mire into which it was flung, that the writing was entirely effaced on a great number of the leaves, and destroyed them. What is more, the book was so in the leaves could not be opened without separating from another. Thus, in order to remedy these faults Satan, the work had to be reviewed after printing faults pointed out notwithstanding their number."

Aldus, in the petition which he addressed to the Pope, said, that he regretted so deeply the innumerable faults he discovered in his editions, that, if he were able, he repurchase each at the price of a golden crown.

Henry Steven, having printed in some places *febris*, thus excuses himself in an *errata*: The calendar has made a long fever (*fabrem*), though a short fever is more dangerous.

The *errata* of the Commentaries of Stephen Dole in Latin language points out but eight faults, though the work has been published in two folio volumes.

If we could believe the *Scaligeriana*, the treatise of Scaliger on *Subtilitate*, printed by Vascosan, 1557, in 4to. was printed by the same typographer, marked out but three errors.

"The Spaniards," said Chevillier, "had long since made the printers more vigilant and commit fewer faults."

permitted the sale of a book, they sent it to a censor who corrected the manuscript, and marked all the faults on the margin; he put, in the first leaf, the *errata* he had made, and he wrote at the top, that excepting the faults he marked out the book was faithfully printed. He wrote, *Fé de erratas*: or, *Este libro bien impresso correcto conforme á su original de mano. Madrid, 31 mayo 1577, Juan Vasquez de Marmol.* It is also on the Antiquities of Spain by Ambrose Moralès, printed in Spanish, in folio, at Alcalá, in the year 1577." We find an attestation of this style in some French editions, among others in the dialogue of Ulric Hutten, Paris, 1579, in 4to.; in some others are found the names of the correctors.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the works printed at Paris were so incorrect that the orders given to the printers in 1649, contained very lively complaints on this subject. "So few good books, are printed at Paris," said the king, "and those that are printed appear to be evidently so grossly got up, both as regards the bad paper they use, and the few corrections made in them, that we must pronounce it a national disgrace, and consider it a serious loss to the State. And moreover, such of our subjects as are desirous of embracing the study of literature, feel no slight inconvenience in being obliged to seek out the old impressions at very considerable expense." One of the most singular errors in printing which has ever been committed is that of which Flavigny, professor of Hebrew in the college of France, was victim. In a letter published in 1688, against the Arabic and Syriac text in the book of Ruth, printed by Abraham Echellensis, in the Polyglot Bible of Leyden, he had cited the following passages from St. Matthew: "Quid vides festucam in oculo fratris tui, et trabem in oculo tuo, et trabem in oculo tuo non vides? Ejice primum trabem de oculo tuo, et tunc videbis ejicere festucam de oculo fratris tui." He thus reproached Echellensis for having severely censured the errors in the other books of this Bible, whilst he passed over a very great number in the book of Ruth. Unfortunately for Flavigny, after the last correction of the proofs, whether through malice or simple unskillfulness of the printer or of his assistants, the word *oculo* was everywhere replaced by *culo*, which caused Flavigny to say: Thou canst see the mote (or chaff) in thy brother's back, though thou canst not see the beam which is in thy own back (or behind thee).

To judge of the scandal produced by this p. Flavigny's so utterly falsified would be impossible. He accused him of impiety and sacrilege; he shewed the of the copy, where the error was not to be found, but to exculpate himself, he was obliged to declare his publicly by an oath. But nothing could soften his ment against the printer who had drawn him into this unfortunate affair. "I remember," relates Chevillier, "s. M. de Flavigny, some time previous to his death, quarrel; his anger was not in the slightest degree still entertained an unkind feeling towards the printer, nearly thirty years had elapsed since the publication of the letter."

Erasmus was censured by the Faculty of Theology at Paris for an unfortunate error in printing (*amore singulari*) which had crept into his paraphrase of the tenth chapter of St. Matthew.

If what has been related is true, there was another error in the printing of one of the most charming of Malherbe's pieces, his celebrated piece to Du Perrier, where the daughter, Rosette, he had placed at first:

"Et Rosette a vécu ce que vivent les roses."

But the printer, decyphering the manuscript for Roselle instead of Rosette. Malherbe, in reading it aloud, was struck by this change, and modified his poem in the following manner which softened it very much:

"Et rose elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses, &c."

Nothing was more faulty than certain editions of the Bible, a book that has been re-printed so very frequently in all languages.\* Pope Sixtus V. had published in 1585 an edition of the Vulgate. He had himself carefully examined the correction of each proof, and had placed at the head of the work a Bull by which he excommunicated any one who should presume on himself to alter the text. This Bull amused the world exceedingly, for the Bible was discovered to be full of errors. So much so, that the pope was obliged to suppress it. The copies that escaped destruction were purchased by the

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\* It has been calculated that during an interval of eighty years, from 1715, to 1795, there had been printed in Germany, 1,670,863,890 New Testaments.

ate. According to the *Manuel du Libraire*, a large paper was sold for 1,210 francs at the sale of Camus de Limare.\* English, for whom at all times the Bible had been a great of trade, allowed most strange errors in printing it.

1634, a Bible printed at London contained: the fool d in his heart, *there is a God*, *Psalm xiv.* the word *no* been omitted. This edition was suppressed by order king.

ther Bible had: The Lord gave her *corruption*, in f *conception* (Ruth, iv. 13).

editions of Field, printed for the University of Cambridge 17th century, are full of faults; it has been said that he d a present of £1,500 sterling from the Independents for g in the *Acts of the Apostles* (vi. 3,) *ye* instead of *we*, thus g to emanate from the people and not from the apostles ght to choose pastors.

the same Bible, we find (Cor. i. 9): Know ye not that rightheous shall inherit the kingdom of God?

the printing house at Halle established by Ch. Hilde- baron de Constein, the thirty-fourth edition of the Bible ) contained this strange commandment: *Thou shalt com- mullery*. The edition was confiscated, and the copies sell lear at the present day.

1717 they printed in England, at the Clarendon printing a Bible known under the name of the *Vinegar Bible*, in quence of the title page of the twentieth chapter of St. in which the parable of the vineyard is called the parable egar.

is related that the wife of a printer in Germany, concealing f one night in her husband's workshop whilst he was ing a Bible, altered the sentence of a conjugal submission ounced against Eve in the sixteenth verse, third chapter of sis. She erased the two first letters of the word *herr* (ter) and substituted for them the letters *na*, which com- ly changed the commandment, *he will be thy master* (herr) appeared thus: *he will be thy fool* (narr). It is said that pleasantry cost the poor woman her life, and that some es of this Bible are now sold at an exorbitant price.

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it was entitled: *Biblia latina vulgatæ editionis, a Sixto V. recognita probata. Romæ ex typographia apostolica Vaticana, 1590, 3 part, vol. in fol.*



"Beside the ordinary faults which slipped into the said Menage,\* "there were several others left there in order to have occasion to put in the *errata* those which were not permitted in the body of the work. In the first instance, where they had the inquisition, in Roman they were forbid to employ the word *factum* or *facta*. An author wishing to make use of the latter, betook himself to this subterfuge. He had *facta* printed in his book, and in the *errata* he put, *facta*, read *fata*. M. Scarron thought this thing, or nearly. He had composed some verses, of which he placed a dedication with these words: *to my sister's bitch*. Some time afterwards, having finished his sister, and having his poems collected and reprinted, he maliciously put in the *errata* of his book: instead of *bitch*, read *my bitch of a sister*."†

Ballesdens, a friend of Chancellor Séguier, Tallament des Réaux, said: "If I ever printed let there be a thousand flatteries for the Chancellor. I will place an *errata* at the end: *In such a page where is not true—in such another, that is untrue*, and so on to the remainder."

We know the *errata* Benserades has put at the end of his *Ovid*, they are rondeaus like the rest of his works.

"Pour moi, parmi des fautes innombrables  
Je n'en connais que deux considérables  
Et donc je fais ma déclaration,  
C'est l'entreprise et l'exécution;  
A mon avis fautes irréparables  
Dans ce volume.

For me, among its innumerable faults,  
I know, but of two that are considerable  
And of this I make my declaration,—  
They are, the undertaking and the execution  
In my opinion irreparable faults  
In this volume."

\* "If you wish to have no errors in the works you give to the press, he, "never give well written copy; for then they will give you apprentices, who will commit a thousand faults, where you have read, the masters would take charge of it themselves."

† This jest of Scarron is not found in all the editions of his works, others in those of Paris, 1719, in 8vo.

that Chevillier said of some printers of his time, could be well applied to certain typographers of our own. "Some of our century" (the seventeenth) said he, "have discovered a very easy way, by which they assume to get out of matter without much ceremony. They suppress the altogether, or if they print one, we find in it but very faults. By this device they conceal the corruption of their work, which if they appeared in public would cover them with shame and confusion, and they also save their purse, for obliged to print this errata, it would be so long that the sale would be increased considerably, besides they would find no one to purchase their miserable editions.

Macosan thought himself obliged to ask pardon of the reader for having put an errata to his Greek edition of *Thomas Maccus, Orbicius*, &c., published in 8vo. in the year 1532. He said that paper had failed him. "A book with few corrections," Chevillier, "is a work full of darkness. It is like night when we cannot walk without fear. Correction is the light with which we walk securely. The greatest enemies to printing are faults. Its danger is greater, as it re-kindles from its own light. It is often thought more considerable when not read. A printer should regard himself as a Hercules who always combats monsters to combat."

The Middle Ages were fruitful in poems, romances and allegorical works; the most celebrated of the latter is *The Romance of the Rose*, a poem comprising twenty thousand lines, commenced by Guillaume de Lorris, who died about 1260, continued or rather completed forty years later by Jean de Meung. The following is a summary of this poem.

The author supposes that he has been sleeping one day in the month of Spring; he dreams that he is walking in a meadow in the midst of which he sees a beautiful garden encompassed by high walls; the door was opened for him by *Sloth*, and he perceived *Pleasure*, the Master of the Garden, dancing with *Delight* and *Sport* who formed his court. He was in the act of plucking a half-blown Rose from a Rose tree placed in the centre of the garden, when *Love*, who lay in ambush, suddenly sent sundry darts at him, and forced him to yield as prisoner. *Love* then instructed him in the arts it was necessary he should employ in order to gain the favor of ladies, and the day after rejecting the counsels of *Danger* and *Reason*, finished by plucking the Rose, the object of his desires.

The meaning of this allegory must be very apparent, as we find this poem has been interpreted in different ways. There are some, as Marot, who explain it thus, "The Rose is justly coveted by love in consequence of the wisdom which it imparts." Others see in it the state of Grace, or the Glorious Virgin Mary, of eternal beatitude. The Alchymists believed it to be the flower of life, and the means of attaining the greatest designs.

The success of the allegory was immense, notwithstanding reiterated attacks of preachers, and in particular of Jodelle, to the end of the sixteenth century it had numerous editions. "Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung," says Voltaire, "whom some compared to Dante the Italian poet, I would willingly put them in competition with all the poets of Italy." In this joint composition we find great imagination, innumerable satires, and a style lively and elegant. The best edition of *The Romance of the Rose* is that of Marot had remodelled and disfigured in 1526, Paris, Méon in 1814, four volumes in octavo.

We next give the abridgement of another allegory, *The Dream of Hell*, by Raoul de Houdan, which is thus:—

In dreams are to be found fables.—I dreamed that I became a pilgrim, and desirous to behold the yet unexplored I determined on a voyage to Hell. I first arrives at the city of *Covetousness* where he meets *Avarice and Plunder*. *Avarice* demanded an account of his subjects; he replied that the wealthy had driven him to *Paupers*, of which they only knew the name. *Plunder* inquired of him regarding his subjects, and learned from him that the kingdom he had established at Poitou was in a flourishing condition, and, as he had proposed, was about to make war against the Poitevins.

Further on he encountered the habitation of *Shame*, which was closely questioned concerning certain citizens of Chartres who had the secret of being always faithful. The poet passed on and he found *Yvresse* where he met a young man who was of English birth. This young man is so brave that he could overthrow the strongest. De la Rive then arrived at the mansion of *Fornication*, and finally at the gate of Hell which is guarded by *Murder, Despair and Sudden Death*. He is surprised on entering to find the tables full: the

a custom not usual in France, said he, where the doors closed during our repasts, and none admitted save invited

this day the King of Hell held his Court and reviewed subjects. Amongst the number were several Clergymen, Bishops and Abbés; he made all be seated at his table, to which he also invited the traveller. As the pilgrim remained at eating, Belzebub asked him the cause, and interrogated him on the motives of his journey. Towards the end of the repast the Monarch had his large black book brought in which he had written all sins past and future; he put it in the traveller's hands, who opened it, and lighted the chapter on *Ménétriers*, he found there the lives of all who had committed it to memory, said he, and could tell you many strange anecdotes; but at this moment the Pilgrim awoke, and the story concluded with the dream.\*

It appeared at Paris in 1660, in octavo, a very lively work from the Jansenists, entitled, *The History of the Country of Césénie, or a treatise on the singularities to be found in the manners of the inhabitants*. The author, Zachary, is concealed under the name of Louis Fontaine, Master of Saint Louis.

The most celebrated of all these allegorical countries is the *Country of Tenderness*, composed by Mademoiselle de Scudéry, the following description of which is given in the first volume of *Clélie*. It is the master *Célère* who explains it to the *Leontius* thus:—

The first city, situated at the bottom of the map, is *Attachment*. As this affection is produceable by three different causes, either by *Great Esteem*, *Gratitude*, or by *Inclination*, they have established there, three towns of *Tenderness*, situated on three rivers, bearing three names, and accessible by three different routes. As you would say on the Ionian Sea, Cumæ on the Tyrian Sea, they say *Affection on Inclination*, *Affection on Esteem*, and *Affection on Gratitude*. However, as *Clélie* has pre-supposed *Tenderness* springing from *Inclination* wanted nothing to make it perfect, she has placed no village on the banks of

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Fabliaux ou Contes du Douzième et du Treizième Siècle." Par M. d'Aussy, 1781, in 18, tome II, p. 175 et suiv.

this river, which flows on so rapidly that it makes it arrive at the haven of *True Attachment*. But *Affection on Esteem* is not no easy, consequently placed ingeniously several little villages on the serious and simple matters are combined so as to the growth of this feeling. Thus you perceive that to *High Mind*, because that is generally whence *Esteem* commences. You then behold the little villages of *Pretty Poetry*, *Sprightly No Letters*, which operate most frequently on the beginning of *Affection*. Then, in order to make progress on this route, you encounter *Sincerity*, *Probity*, *Generosity*, *Respect*, *Assiduity* and *Goodness* unite in the approach to *Affection*. We must note that this route is necessary for *Affection* or *Gratitude* to take to arrive at *True Attachment*. Behold then, I perceive its first approach must be through *Complaisance*, a little village called *Submission*, which bounds a pleasing one, named *Small Attentions*. Thence *Assiduity* to another village called *Ardour*, then *Devotedness*; and to digress, I must premise that less frequented than other ways, and the village not. Afterwards, it was necessary to pass *Sensibility* and *Indifference*. And to arrive at last at the goal, *Constancy* must be the mainspring by which *Gratitude* can approach *True Affection*.

But as there is no road by which we may not, Clélie has so arranged, that if those desiring to take *Attachment* take a step a little more to the right, or more to the left, they will decidedly wander. If on parting with *High Mind* you diverge to go to the right, you fall thence to *Irregularity*, and so on to *Neatness*, *Levity*, and *Forgetfulness*; therefore, instead of themselves at *True Attachment*, they will be discovered at the *Lake of Indifference*, which from its tranquil waters emblematic of the name it bears. On the other hand, if you take a trifling step to the left, they go on to the thence to *Perfidy*, to *Pride*, to *Slander*, and on to discover, when too late, that they have embarked on *Enmity* where all vessels are shipwrecked. The river of *Attachment* casts itself into a sea, called *The Dangerous*



are what we call the *Unknown Lands*, because, in fact, we do not know where they are."

This piquant description had scarcely made its appearance when all the beaux esprits expressed their admiration of the poetess, and the gallant bishop of Venice, Godeau, sent her verses of which the following is a translation:—

At last I have seen the admirable Clélie,  
And this map, so beautiful,  
So fine, so gallant, and so full of mind,  
That love, the tyrant of all hearts, is by the heart taught,  
And his Mother has there found  
An effort of mind so novel,  
That by her Son, his bow and his torch,  
By the Graces, Play and Laughter, she has sworn,  
That since his torch enlivened nature,  
She has beheld nothing so fine. . . .

For me, who am bound for the *mild* Country of Affection,  
Sappho, with her divine pencil,  
In her map has taught me  
The intricate windings of the road  
By which I should reach the *Unknown Land*,  
Which we behold in the clouds :  
We there see a noble city  
Of unparalleled beauty,  
Or rather some vast empire  
Over which Sappho has been reported queen ;  
There she is tended by *Affection*  
Which she will one day return,  
We will then behold this princess  
Reigning over Mind, Goodness, and Wisdom.

Shortly after the composition of the *Country of Tenderness*, the Abbe D'Aubignac produced *A History of the Time, or a Narrative of the Kingdom of Coquetry*, 1659, in duodecimo. This little allegorical work embroiled the Abbe D'Aubignac with Mademoiselle de Scudéry, who assumed it to be an imitation of the *Map of Affection*. The Abbe D'Aubignac, whose work was really anterior to that of Mademoiselle, considered himself obliged to reply by an apology. "What say," said he, "between these two works to suppose them to be of each other? In the *Map of Tenderness*, we see four

cities, three rivers, two seas, a lake, and thirty I on the different routes by which you can approach near one to the other, that the travellers have not to be weary. In *The Kingdom of Coquetry* rivers, there is no sea mentioned, save one there is but one great city, and the road has places. It is a country where you cannot arrive must take a long journey before you reach the little map we find nothing in the slightest degree with the office of *cajolery*, the *tourney* of the *gilt* combat of *fine petticoats*, the *Court of Rewards*, the of *Coquettes* and the chapel of *Holy Repentance* a little corner of the world, in the country of without any other description than that of *plaisance*. *Kingdom of Coquetry* is of vast extent, composed could render a state considerable, ruled by all the politics. These people have their king, their laws, and their different orders."

Of all the numberless allegorical works which political object, we will limit ourselves to the Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, and we only quote to mind the belief which Budæus had in the existence of a country, when he proposed seriously to send there.

"Our mind," said Montaigne, "is like an erratic dangerous and indiscreet, in which it is difficult and circumspection. It is a violent weapon even hands, unless when ardor and prudence are combined."

If we could for a moment doubt the wisdom of a glance over the next portion of this paper would convince the most sceptical of the truth of this which we have endeavoured to give a few specimens of extravagant imaginations emanating from the human mind.

We will begin from the beginning, that is to exposition of some ideas formed on the creation of the world.

In the first point, what happened before the creation of the world? The Rabbins, whom we have had more than once occasion to mention, pretended that God, in order to beguile the time before the creation of the universe, occupied himself with the creation of several worlds, each of which he destroyed immediately after its creation. It was only after sundry attempts that he succeeded in creating one as perfect as ours.

In the seventeenth century, a mystical author wrote on the emanation of God before the Creation; this treatise was printed for the first time in *La Revue Rétrospective*, (June, 1834). The following are some sentences of this composition, which for the most part, incomprehensible:—

If we ask what God made before the creation of the world could speak impertinently, and even childishly, not knowing what we ask. It is certain that the Eternal God who created the Universe by his word, could have enjoyed that solitude without forming creatures, for he lived and reigned from Eternity, happy and content in the Paradise of his own creation and in his own Divine essence.

God did not rest idly before the creation of the world. He contemplated His only Son, not made, nor created, but considered from all Eternity by His Divine power and will; His Eternal Word, he contemplated the archetype and the model of worlds, the angels, the soul of all creation. In order, therefore, to conclude this treatise we must infer that God previous to the creation of our world had formed nothing."

One of the most original ideas extant on the subject is that stated by Benjamin Constant, in a letter recently published for the first time. "This idea," said he, "originated with a Piedmontese, the Chevalier de Revel, who officiated at The Hague as envoy from Sardinia. He maintained that God, our Creator and Author of all things, died before completing his work; that he had the noblest designs, and the most unlimited power for their execution, that he had already commenced to employ one of those means, as erecting scaffolding for the edifice, when he died in the midst of his labors, and found himself all at once removed from the object which for him no more existed; and as for us, we feel ourselves destined to perform a part of which we can form no correct idea; we are like watches with no hand to point the dial, whereof the wheels, as if indowed with intelligence, will turn to all purpose, without consciousness of the motives, saying to itself: Since I revolve, I have consequently an aim." This idea appears to us the most absurd and the deepest extravagance, we have yet heard, and is more singular than the Mahometan, Christian, or Philosophic fables of the centuries of any era.

Certain minds advance strange problems on the Creation which they boldly defend. Chevreau, in his *Histoire du Monde*, (1886, 2 vols in quarto), relates that, according to some, the



World was Created in Spring, and others date it the sixth of September, when they aver that on Friday the period mentioned, about four hours after dinner was accomplished. Another, whose name we regret forgotten, discovered the date to be the twelfth of December.

A learned Italian of the eighteenth century, Baiardi, in a discourse with the Abbé Barthélemy, that he occupied himself in abridging a universal history, where, as a prelude to the solution of one of the most difficult problems of astronomy or history, he arranged the period when God had placed the sun on the formation of the world. "I chanced to discern this point," says Barthélemy, "and I refer it to me on the globe."

We come now to the Creation.

Let us see according to the Talmudists, how many hours were employed on the day of Adam's creation.

At the first hour, God kneaded the dust out of which to form the embryo.

At the second, Adam was able to stand.

At the fourth hour, God called him, and told him of the animals as they were to be designated for all future use.

At the seventh hour, the marriage between Adam and Eve was consummated, God having himself conducted the bride to her future spouse with a delicate and coquettish attendance.

At the tenth hour, Adam fell.

At the eleventh hour, he was judged and condemned to leave Paradise.

At the twelfth hour, commenced for him the labours of the day to perform midst fatigue and hardship, as a penalty for his disobedience.

We are not aware that all languages can furnish us with the same words; we will content ourselves for the present with mentioning three of them, the first in Latin, the second in Greek, and the third in the Greek tongue. All three present a strikingly sufficient remarkability.

For instance, the Latin word *AMORE*, (ablative of the substantive *AMOR* which signifies love,\* friendship) if you

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\* The Ancients were in the habit of describing the five degrees of love which love commonly passed from its birth till the accomplishment of its happiness, which had better perhaps be called its tomb. The five degrees are: 1° *Visus*, 2° *Colloquium*, 3° *Tactus*, 4° *Connubium*, 5° *Amor*.

ccessively one letter from the left, will give four different words expressing all the characters of a true attachment :

A M O R E

M O R E

O R E

R E

In effect, love, friendship, attachment is thus proved :

1°. AMORE, by unity of sentiment or thought.

2°. MORE, by conformity of manner, the pleasure of being together.

3°. ORE, by protestations of attachment, agreeable conversation.

4°. RE, by the effects, that is to say by the services they actually render :—

The French word SAVOIR, analysed in the same manner as the foregoing, implies the characteristics of ambition in its sires :—

S A V O I R

A V O I R

V O I R

O I R

O R

Is it not acknowledged that the ambitious all desire SAVOIR, all AVOIR, all VOIR, all OIR, (an old French word signifying to hear) and to possess riches which is expressed by R.

The third word, borrowed from the Greek, is NAPOLEON; M. de Roquefort has furnished us with it in his *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue Française*. Paris, 1829, 2 vol. in 8vo. tom. 11, page 121.

A drawer of horoscopes, said he had made the following calculation on the word NAPOLEON. This name is composed of two Greek words which signify *Lion of the Desert*.\* This same word, ingeniously combined, presents a phrase offering a strange analogy to the character of this extraordinary man :—

\* We have found, in a journal of the 25th of June, 1838, an article which coincides with these words, *the Lion of the desert* : this article is thus expressed ; “ Bonaparte said that the desert had at all times for him particular attraction, that he had never traversed it without certain emotion. We can never behold its limits ; it has neither beginning nor end ; it is the type of boundlessness, an ocean on dry land. This spectacle was pleasing to his imagination, and it delighted him to have it said, Napoleon the Lion of the desert.”

1	...	...	...	N A P O L E O N
6	...	...	...	A P O L E O N
7	...	...	...	... P O L E O N
3	...	...	...	... O L E O N
4	...	...	...	... L E O N
5	...	...	...	... ... E O N
2	...	...	...	... ... O

In successively erasing the first letter of this word following in order the subsequent remaining words, six Greek words, the literal translation of which, be order of numbers expressed, is :—

“*Napoleon*, ὄν ο λεόν λεόν εον ἀπολεόν πολεόν signifies, Napoleon was the lion of his people, he destroying cities.”

#### SIGLES.

We understand by sigles initial letters which, arranged in order, in connection with others, present a meaning which we can divine the words of which they are merely the initials. We will now give different examples of sigles which meaning very many are unacquainted.

#### THE CROSS OF ST. BENOIT, COMMONLY CALLED THE SIGES CROSS.

This cross was in shape like one of our crown pieces in the circle where we have the usual inscription, the following:—IHS: VRS: NSMV: SMQ. In the centre, where we have the Royal Head, which containing the following letters —

C	C	S
N D	S	M D
P	M	B
	L	

composed altogether of initials, each expressing a word which is frequently a subject of embarrassment to the lovers of the curious, who try to divine the meaning attached to words so strangely disposed. The following is the reason why this species of medal is called the MAGICIAN.

persons who were led away by the representations of  
 -minded and superstitious people, who in former ages  
 -tuted to sorcery everything that was above their com-  
 -ension. The explanation we are now about to give of  
 -letters, will clearly prove how great the error was of at-  
 -tending to an evil spirit that to which it was so diametrically  
 -sed.

Let us begin by the legend, that is to say by the letters in-  
 -d in the circular part of the cross—each group of letters  
 -ld be interpreted in the following manner.

IHS.—JESUS HOMINUM SALVATOR.

VR̄S.—VADE RETRÒ SATANA ;

NSMV.—NUNQUAM SUADEAS MIHI VANA ;

SMQL.—SUNT MALA QUÆ LIBAS ;

IVB.—IPSE VENENA BIBAS.\*

So much for the legend ; let us now proceed to the cross, on  
 -ch the letters placed perpendicularly down the trunk pre-  
 -the following meaning.

CSSML.—CRUX SACRA SIS MIHI LUX.

These which are crosswise signify

ND̄SMD.—NUNQUAM DÆMON SIS MIHI DUX.

hally, the letters on the ground of the piece are thus expres-

CSPB.—CHRISTUS SIT PERPETUÒ BENEDICTUS !

Such is the interpretation of the letters composing the cross  
 Saint Benoit, which, as has been made apparent, had no-  
 -ing either of sorcery or of witchcraft, or even of poetry in it,

\* These two species of leonine verses, or rather the four last lines,  
 -e to be found in an old legend or superstitious record of the Devil's  
 -ridge at Sens, in the commencement of the XIII. Century. The  
 -evil having given wealth to an Architect named Guinefort, for the  
 -urchase of his soul, he went forth as one of the lights of the age.  
 -However, this Guinefort, sometime after, was struck with remorse,  
 -and begged pardon of God and his Saints. M. le Curé, of Sens,  
 -ouched by his repentance, put on his stole, and with holy water  
 -chased the Devil away and exorcised him by pronouncing these words,  
 -which he made the penitent repeat :—

Vade retrò Satana, nunquam suade mihi vana,  
 Sunt mala quæ libas, ipse venena bibas.

though we have found in it the form of some very leonine verses.\*

The three first letters of which we have written, rendered by JESUS HOMINUM SALVATOR; there is also explanation, but that makes the following monogram.



Thus we have explained the inscription borne on the imperial standard of Constantine, and which signifies IN HOC VINCES, "By this sign we conquer." But it is not the mere Latin version that we have the true inscription labarum (or imperial standard), but in the miracle worked under Constantine the year 311; this prince saw in the air a cross bearing these Greek words: EN TOYTO THA THA THA that is to say, thou shalt conquer by this sign.

#### OF THE WORD SALIGIA,

OR

SIGLES ON THE SEVEN CAPITAL SINS.

This word, invented in the XVI. century, is composed of the initials of the seven capital sins expressed in Latin, Antoine, Archbishop of Florence, has made these verses :

Ut tibi sit vita, semper SALIGIA vita.

Crespet, a religious at Paris, in his *Jardin de la Récréation Spirituelle*, Paris, 1602, in 8vo. says, p. 100, "seven devils are deputed to preside over each mortal."

In the following tableau we perceive that each letter of the word SALIGIA forms the initial of each capital sin; we see the presiding demons.

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\* This cross had been sketched and engraved, but without inscription, in the *Epistola itineraria* of Bruckman, *Wolfenbutel*, 1671, and 1756, 3 parts in 1 vol. in 4to, with many figures, of which this is very singular. Two other crosses, richer and more magnificent, are engraved there. See CENTURIA III. *Epist. itin.* 47. p. 548, tab. xvi., and tab. xv.



UPERBIA.....	L'orgueil, présidé par LIVIATHAM.
VARITIA.....	L'avarice, par MAMMON.
UXURIA.....	La luxure, par ASMODEE.
IRA.....	La colere, par ABEDEDON.
GULA.....	La Gourmandise par BEHEMOTH.
INVIDIA.....	L'envie, par SATHAN.
CECIA.....	La paresse, par LUCIFER.

In an old book without date, entitled *Articuli fidei*, and edited by Michel Lenoir, we find the same seven mortal compared to the seven animals with whom they are opposed to bear an affinity, and afterwards the seven virtues which they are opposed. We give the representation copied according to the text, arranged consecutively in order to suit word SALIGIA.

<i>Quibus comparantur.</i>		<i>Quibus contrariantur.</i>
UPERBIA.....leoni.	—	UPERBIA.....humilitati
VARITIA.....camelo.	—	VARITIA.....largitati.
UXURIA.....birco.	—	UXURIA.....castitati.
IRA.....lupo.	—	IRA.....patientie. (sic.)
GULA.....urso vel porco	—	GULA.....sobrietati.
INVIDIA.....cani.	—	INVIDIA.....pietati.
CECIA.....asino.	—	CECIA.....diligentie (sic).

We find also, in the old *Livres d'Heures*, printed about the beginning of the XVI. century, vignettes, seven in number, representing the combat between the virtues and vices under the form of women. Each virtue being armed cap-a-pie, and mounted on a very fine horse, in order to be able to overthrow their opponents. The capital sins were also represented women, each being mounted on the animal of which she is opposed to be emblematic. Thus in the *Heures* printed 1518, in 8vo., we see the following legends inscribed in each vignette, over the heads of two women combating.

- 1° " HUMILITE TREBUCHÉ ORGUEIL, montée sur un lion.
- 2° " CHASTETE TREBUCHÉ PAILLARDISE (*sic*), montée sur un bouc.
- 3° " CHARITE TREBUCHÉ ENVY, montée sur un chien.
- 4° " PATIENSE (*sic*), TREBUCHÉ YRE (*colère*), montée sur un ours.
- 5° " DILIGENSE TREBUCHÉ PARESSE, montée sur un âne.
- 6° " LARGESSE TREBUCHÉ AVARICE, montée sur un singe.
- 7° " SOBRIETE TREBUCHÉ GLOUTONIE, montée sur un porc.

We here observe a difference both in the arrangements and the names of the animals. Here anger is on a bear instead of a wolf, and avarice on an ape instead of being on a camel, as in the preceding tableau.

#### THE FIVE P'S.

All young persons anxious for marriage would have ample dowry if they had those five P's for their portion.

Sit Pia, sit Prudens, Pulchra, Pudica, Potens.

That is to say, if they were pious, prudent, beautiful, and rich. Nothing more could be desired.

#### THE THREE O'S OF THEODORE DE BEZE.

These three O's signify *Opus*, *Opes*, *Ops*, labor, diligence. Théodore de Bèze had the good fortune to obtain them successively in the three wives he had during his life. He explains it thus himself :

"Tres mihi disparili sunt junctæ ætate puellæ ;

Hæc juveni, illa viro, tertia deindè seni.

Propter Opus validis prima est mihi ducta sub æge ;

Altera propter Opes, tertia propter Opem.

"I have had three wives at the different periods of my life, in the strength and prime of my manhood, in my old age. The first assisted me in my labors, brought me a fortune, and the third took diligent care of me in my later years."

The following is an ingenious acrostic made on the name of Mlle. Rachel. We allude to this acrostic as being of the same species as those which engage our attention in the preceding tableau. It is expressed in precious stones. It was thus arranged that the celebrated actress was presented with a royal antique bracelet of all gold, and of the purest and most elegant design, with six fine stones. These stones were so disposed that the re-united initials formed not alone the name of the actress, but they also designed the names of the stones in which she most excelled ; here is the little tableau :

RUBIS.....	FOXANE.
YMETHISTE.....	YMENAIDE.
CORNALINE ..	CAMILLE.
HEMATITE .....	HERMIONE.
EMERANDE.....	EMILIE.
TAPIS-LAZULI .....	TAODICE.

manner in which this royal bandeau was presented to the actress was so singular that it is also worthy of mention. Mlle. Rachel had sent to the warehouse of Chevetté, a carpenter of the Rhine, his house being noted for provisions and descriptions: the beautiful fish came, and on being opened, this magnificent bandeau was discovered, forming the shape of the fish. Gallantry so unlooked for was calculated to surprise and flatter the amiable actress much more than the coronet she had previously received from an unknown person; possibly it was the same person who sent both.

I have mentioned some very curious pieces of the same nature as the following. This piece has for its basis the name of JESUS MARIA, and is very old, its author, Master Esprit de Montluysant, being one of the boldest and most ingenious constructors of acrostics in an age where these *nugæ* were all the rage: this acrostic is taken from one of his works, entitled *L'Ordre sacré de la sainte prêtrise, mis en vers*, Metz, Ch. Felix, 1683, in 4° of 28 pages. This little work is thus arranged, with three straight lines forming the acrostic:

Je m'étois endurci — mais le Dieu de merci —  
 effaçait le péché — dont j'étois entaché —  
 Ici bien qu'ores je suis privé de mes ennuis —  
 Vivant pour louer Dieu en toute place et lieu —  
 Ici voulez ô chrestien jouir de divins biens —

Maintenez le renom de Jesus et son nom —  
 Avec vous il servira et vous exaucera —  
 Repoussant Lucifer et tous ceux de l'enfer —  
 Invoquons le ici — car d'un cœur adonc —  
 Qui le servira le ciel il ouvrira —

M. Gobineau de Montluysant has written several works, amongst others, *La royale Thémis ou l'établissement de la cour du Parlement de Metz*, 1684, in 4°, a book in which the author, true to his vocation and the inspirations of his genius, has composed innumerable acrostics on the names of the lords belonging to that lax court.

But where M. de Montluysant has particularly distinguished himself, is in *Le Sacré Mont Carmel*, which he published in Metz in 1682, in 4° of 77 pages, and which he dedicated to



Anne Fabert, sister to Marshal Fabert. In this the unparalleled poetry, shedding over it an unwonted brilliancy "Mont Carmel," said the author, "is an OPAL of the finest quality, in which can be seen the WHITENESS of virginity, the BLUE of fidelity, the VERDANT GREEN of hope, the RED of charity, the YELLOW of spiritual content, and the violet of divine love."

It was said after that, that the pen of M. de Montlhuyssan had extracted all his brilliant coloring from the tinting of the rain-bow !

#### GASTRONOMIC TASTES OF CELEBRATED PERSONS.

We have often regretted to have seen a portion of general history so totally neglected. This branch is the predilection of certain great men for such and such food, which, frequently most common, formed a singular contrast to the high character and noble acts of many of those celebrated personages. It is to supply this void that we have collected and placed in chronological order, the gastronomic tastes of some of our great men, who, though not all eminent, have nevertheless some moderate claim to celebrity. Our list is not very long ; though we have commenced it with the Roman Empire, we have only in a manner glanced at the subject, because it is necessary to proportion the space we could give it in our paper.

AUGUSTUS, who died in the year 14 of J. C., gave the preference to brown bread, small fishes, cheese made of cow's milk, and fresh figs. He never drank more than three glasses at a repast.\* We can perceive that he was simple in his taste and very sober.

APICIUS (*Calpurnius*), a celebrated Roman gastronomer, whose

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\* Pierre-André Canonier, in Latin (*Canonhericus*), a learned physician and juriconsult of Genoa, who died at Anvers, in the XVII century, contended, in his Treatise on the curiosities of his time, *De admirandis vini virtutibus*, livre III., Antwerp 1627, in 8°, that Augustus drank six cups at his repast ; but he was in error, (see, *Sueton. Aug. Vita*, paragraph 77) This Canonieri said, liv. II. of his Treatise, that the pleasures of the table, which he calls the food of the soul, are very cold without wine. Finally he avers that "the Romans generally drank ten cups at a supper ; that Scipio and Charlemagne never took more than three. The Cardinal of Trent," added he, "was a little more brave than

he has become a proverb, and who has written on good cooking (*De arte coquinaria*), had a passion for lobsters, above for those of Minturnes, which were reckoned the finest. Having heard that they had the largest and most delicate on the African coast, he immediately chartered a ship and set out to assure himself of the truth of the matter. Arrived towards the end of his voyage, he met a fishing boat, and asked them for some lobsters, above all things the finest of the species; finding they had nothing better than those of Minturnes, he instantly commanded the pilot to tack about and return to Minturnes, where he continued to regale himself on the lobsters at that side of the country.

This Apicius was very rich; after having dissipated more for his table than he ought, a hundred millions of sesterces (about 1,018,958) he arranged his accounts, and found that his debts being paid, he would not have more remaining than ten million of sesterces (£84,913) he poisoned himself, fearing he should die of hunger.

CLAUDIUS, emperor, who died in the year 54 of J. C., had a great predilection for mushrooms. Alas! we know that, thanks to the conjugal tenderness of his dear Agrippina, and to the earnest care of his physician, Xenophon, this regalement placed him before two hours amongst the gods. It is related of this brave man that, wishing every body to be unrestrained at his table, he had an edict issued to permit all guests admission to his entertainments *ventris crepitum edere*, because he had been informed that a senator had been inconvenienced by being obliged to practise reserve before him at a preceding banquet. This edict was worthy of its author.

VITELLIUS, emperor, died in the 69 of J. C. We have nothing to relate of this crowned gourmand; he loved everything and devoured all.

MARTIAL, a Latin poet, died about the year 105 of J. C., had a particular fancy for hare; he has himself avowed it in his epigram (XIII. 22).

those heroes; he swallowed the twentieth glass, just as the first. Philip II. never drank more than two at his repast. Charles the Fifth, only one. Lipcius wished to reduce the Flemish to four glasses in his laws for entertainments: but that was too few. They thought it necessary to have three for the fair, in honor of the young goddesses, of whom they recounted tales of wonder. I consented to this, but challenged them on nine for the poets."

"Inter aves tardus, si quis, me iudice, certet,  
Inter quadrupedes gloria prima lepus."

ALEXANDER SEVERUS, emperor, who died in 225, was equally fond of hare. Lampridius, his biographer, informs us that he eat of one at all his meals.

CHARLEMAGNE, first emperor of the West, died in 814, though very temperate, was very fond of game. "On ordinary days," said Eginhard, "he had but four dishes at his table, not including a piece of venison which his huntsmen had brought him on the spit, knowing it to be his favorite dish." The historian adds that this prince very rarely drank more than three times during his meal. *Cæna quotidiana quaternis ferculis præbebatur præter assam quam venatores verubus inferre solebant, quæ illi libentius quàm ullo alio cibo tebatur: vini et omnis potus adeo parvus in bibendo erat, ut sub cænam rarè plus ter bibiret.* (Eginh, vita Caroli Magni.)

FREDERICK, called the Pacific, 39th emperor of Germany, who died the 19th of August, 1493, was bewitched about melons; his immoderate love for them brought him to his grave by a fit of indigestion.

MAXIMILIAN II., son to the foregoing, and also emperor of Germany, died the 11th of February, 1519, of fever; he had the same taste as his father for melons, and terminated his days by the same accident, that is, by indigestion caused by this fruit.

ADRIAN VI., elected pope the 9th of January, 1522, and died the 14th of September, 1523, was hated by the Romans because he liked haddock, but it was occasioned, more likely, by the severity he thought it necessary to use in trying to reform them.

LUTHER, head of the Reformers, died in 1546, was a good toper, who preferred beer to Rhenish wine.

MELANCTON, first disciple of Luther, and who died in 1560, was very fond of barley soup, gudgeon and other little fishes; also vegetables mixed up with little morsels of hashed meat.

TASSO, the Italian poet, died in 1595, had a strong predilection for baked sweetmeats, for march-pane and candied fruits. He also liked sugar, which he put in his salad.

HENRY IV., king of France, died 1610, had a passion for melons and oysters, and eat them immoderately. It appears

at the wine of Arbois, which he used freely, saved him from indigestion to which he exposed himself by his excess in those condiments.

MARÉCHAL HOCQUINCOURT died 1658, had a particular taste for sheeps' tails, in which, say the memoirs of the time, he recognised the peculiar property of increasing the hilarity of his guests; consequently, he kept during his life a cook who had discovered the means of preparing *queues de mouton en caïse*, which the marshal brought with him to the army in order to put his officers in good humor.

CHARLES XII, king of Sweden, died 1718, was certainly not very difficult to entertain; bread and butter being his highest ambition in the gastronomic way.

POPE, died 1744, he had no decided taste for one thing more than another; but he always required a dainty fricassee well compounded.

VOLTAIRE, who died 1778, was not remarked for any particular taste in eatables; but coffee was his favorite beverage; he even took it to excess. He was equal in this to M. de Buffon and the Marquis de Contades, who did even more, for they denied the entrée to the dining room to any one who refused drinking more than two cups at a time.

LESSING, a celebrated German writer, died 1781, was passionately fond of lentils; he would have acted as unwise a part as Esau to gratify his predilection.

ROGERSON, an English gastronome, gave, they say, the preference to ortolans; which he proved by the last act of his life. They say that this worthy emulated Apicius in expenditure; his table and culinary expenses during nine months, cost the enormous sum of 150,000 pounds sterling; this comprised all his fortune. Reduced to the misery and pitiable state of a mendicant, he expended a guinea, the last he had, and which had been given him for charity, to procure an ortolan, his favorite dish; and after having enjoyed it with all the delight of a professed gourmand, he blew out his brains. One can say that for a gastronome, worthy son of the bank of the Thames, to thus defy the caprices of the ingrate fortune, was to die on the field of glory.

FREDERICK THE GREAT, King of Prussia, who died 1786, had a predilection for *polenta*, this being a species of barley cake reduced to powder, and scorched to make it crisp. This prince rivalled his friend Voltaire in his love for coffee.

PAUL I., Emperor of Russia, assassinated on the night of the 11th or 12th of March, 1801, was a great lover of pie made of duck's livers. He pardoned a Polish exile, who had discovered the means of sending him one of those pies every week from Toulouse, the voyage not at all interfering with its freshness.

KLOPSTOCK, author of the *Messiad*, died 1803, is worthy to rank amongst the German gastronomers; he sneered at and found fault with the fancy for pâtés truffées, salmon and salmon trout; he watered the excellent Rhenish wine. In his latter years, a bottle of Bordeaux pleased him very much. Amongst the vegetables he gave the preference to peas; but for dessert grapes were his favorite fruit.

Returning to Singular Words we have the following:—

There exists in an old collection of inscriptions a distich which bears some analogy to the Venetian placard; it is thus conceived:

Defunctis patribus, successit prava juvenus,  
Cujus consilio quæ valuere ruunt.

This distich is preceded by another, which has been represented as engraven on the doors of the Cathedral of Breslau, is as follows:—

Quas sacras sedes pietas construxit avorum,  
Has nunc hæredes invadunt more luporum.

It appears that the authors of these bitter jests were anxious to attack the youth of their time; that was in the sixteenth century; and as there is nothing new under the sun, we recognize at the present day some waspish people who, with the smile of irony on their lips, take it into their heads to speak as slightly of our youth, as has been done in former times.

We are very glad to take this occasion of denouncing to our readers a pitiable article inserted some time since in the *Bibliothèque de Genève*, under the following title: *DÉS ADOLÉSCENS de notre époque, comme gros d'avenir*. We limit ourselves to a short extract, for in quoting nonsense the shorter it is the better. "In the happy age in which we live," writes this satirical jester, "there are men of fifteen, we have no longer youths, they pass at once from infancy to mature age, from the top to the gazette, from the rudiments of science to its acme. Before they get their beard, the mind is perfectly formed; they hesitate no longer; they have fixed ideas

n things, men, principles, systems; the heart is cold, blasé; rose feelings are exhibited to all, but especially to their father, whom they consider old. Behold the consequences of this new order of things; sound principles, just and invariable, from which they never swerve; here they are as adopted:

"Experience is a useless thing.

"Intercourse with men and observation teach nothing.

"In this age of enlightenment youth alone possesses ability.

"The age in which the passions are in all their effervescence, is naturally that in which reason predominates.

"The culminating point of judgment is necessarily to be met with between twenty and twenty-five, and rarely beyond that. After this age, society is no longer composed of useful men; this fact is fully proved by the following category: at twenty he becomes a man; at five-and-twenty his maturity of judgment is complete; at thirty, false hair; at forty, a wig; at fifty, stupid; at sixty, a mummy; at seventy, a fossil, childish, extinct."

In 1835, a poet expressed the same ideas, and gave them under the same denomination in a piece of poetry entitled *Le SEPTUAGENAIRE, ou le chant du Cygne!* We will not say where the tirade or these designations are to be found.

"D'après nos grands faiseurs, on est homme à quinze ans;

A vingt, par son mérite et son expérience,

On appartient à cette jeune France

Què seule fait autorité:

A vingt-cinq ans on est dans sa maturité,

A trente, faux-toupet; à quarante, perruque,

Et relégué dans la classe caduque;

A cinquante, momie, ou fossile, ou néant."

When the Orestes of Voltaire appeared for the first time, February, 12th, 1750, the concourse was great at the representation, and they placed as a check or countermark on the pit tickets the following letters:

O. T. P.

Q.

M. U. D.

which signifies this line of Horace:—

Omne Tulit Punctum Qui Miscuit Utile Dulce.

A sorry jester interpreted these sigles in the following manner:

Oreste, Tragédie Pitoyable Que Monsieur Voltaire Donne.

Whilst discussing the subject of Voltaire's tragedies, we must not omit the mention of another by the same author; *Zaire*, of which four lines were struck out, and which have been discovered in a manuscript deposited in the bureaux of the police at Paris. These four lines form part of the third scene of the second act, towards the middle, the part where old *Lusignan* calls on God, after having recognized his daughter :

Ne m'abandonnez pas, Dieu qui voyez mes larmes !  
 " Et toi, cher instrument du salut des mortels,  
 " Gage auguste du Dieu vivant sur nos autels,  
 " Bois rougi de son sang, relique incorruptible,  
 " Croix sur qui s'accomplit ce mystère terrible,  
 Dieu mort sur cette croix et qui revis pour nous,  
 Parle, achève, ô mon Dieu, ce sont là de tes coups.

The four lines preceded by inverted commas, are those to which we refer.

#### THE FIVE LATIN WORDS OF LOUIS XI.

It is said that this prince, so amiable, so frank, so humane, gloried in his own ignorance; and it was for this reason that he wished to banish from his court, and from the education of his son (Charles VIII.) the Latin language, preserving, however, five words that he reserved as a special favor, having found them so useful that he made them through life his rule of conduct. "Not," said he, "that Latin is useless to a king, or at least a little of it; it will suffice, however, for my son to know the five following words: QUI NESCIT DISSIMULARE, NESCIT REGNARE; here lies the entire art of governing." Thus, he laid down, as a principle in his *Rosiere des guerres*, this maxim:—"Nothing is better than that your adversary should be ignorant of your intentions." That is to say—dis-simulate all your resolves, in order that your adversaries may not be aware of them until after their execution.

Another maxim taken from the same work:—

"De tant que fust vault mieulx que escorce, autant vault mieulx soustilleté que force,"

which signifies—

Know, that as far as the wood excels the bark, so does subtlety exceed strength.

## ART. II.—MODERN LAW REFORMS.

*The Common Law Procedure Amendment Act, (Ireland), 1856—19th and 20th Victoria, Cap. 102.*

The Act before us, together with the English "Common Law Procedure Act, 1854," of which it is little more than a transcript, accommodated to the peculiarities of Irish practice, are both—notwithstanding that they contain the germs of some improvement in our legal system—specimens of that headlong and giddy legislation, which, under the name of "Law Reform," has, of late years, succeeded the more matured and wise improvements of the Benthamite School, effected during the last, and in the commencement of the present, reign. With the general nature of those improvements, most of our readers must be familiar. They consist, principally, of an almost total abolition of real and mixed actions,\* and of the adoption of a new limitation of actions and suits relating to real property, appropriate to the subsisting remedies—of the abolition, likewise, of the cumbrous machinery of fines and recoveries,† and the substitution, in their stead, of forms less expensive, but more simple and rational, as well as more effective—of a modification of the law of Dower,‡ which, without prejudicing the just rights of any person, removed an obstinate impediment to the free transfer of land—of an amendment of the law of inheritance,§ by which parents and relatives of the half-blood, were relieved from the unjust severity of feudal rules, the causes of which had long ceased to operate—of an amendment also of the law of wills,|| by which a uniform system of canons was established, for the formation and construction of testamentary documents—to which other measures, both in the criminal and civil departments of the law, might be added; all fraught with benefit to the community in general; and although some of them surpass others, in the scientific symmetry of their structure (as do, in particular, the second and the last we have mentioned), yet all are characterised by vast intellect and erudition, and bear upon them the impress of that sagacious forecast, which could scarce fail to guide the labours of those

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\* 3 and 4 Wm. IV., C. 27.

† 3 and 4 Wm. IV., C. 74. Eng. 4 and 5 Wm. IV. C. 92. Ir.

‡ 3 and 4 Wm. IV., C. 105.

§ 3 and 4 Wm. IV., C. 106.

|| 7, Wm. IV., and 1 Vic., C. 26.



great minds,\* to whom their authorship is attributed. One most practical proof of their excellence is this, that, in this age of change, they have already lived nearly quarter of a century, without any of them undergoing any serious alteration—a circumstance, which, when we contrast with the patching, piecing, splicing, mending, repealing, and re-enacting again, by which the “Law Reforms” of later years are, but too frequently distinguished,† makes us naturally enquire, how it happens, that, while the one class of reforms showed such maturity at their birth, and issued forth in full panoply, like Minerva from the head of Jove, the others are produced with a hideous resemblance to King Richard, in the play

“Deformed, unfinished, sent before his time,  
Into this breathing world, scarce half-made up.”

The reasons seem to be, that the one class were instituted, principally for the sake of reform, and by men, not only qualified for the undertaking by intellects of enormous power, and as abstruse knowledge of the subject matter, on which they undertook to operate, but who also brought to bear upon it such an amount of diligence and care, as opened to their view (so far almost as it was possible for human foresight to discern them,) the various interests obnoxious to each intended change, and the results likely to follow from it in after time.

\* For nearly all the legal reforms which took place during the period to which we refer, the public are indebted to the labours of three great commissions of that day, viz. those issued for enquiry into the state of the Common Law, the Law of Real Property, and the Criminal Law, of which the two first, caused by Mr. Brougham's famous motion in the House of Commons, of Feb. 7th, 1829, preceded the third by some years, and on which sat the following distinguished individuals.

Common Law.—Messrs. Bosanquet, Parke, Alderson, and Sergeant Stephens, until the three first were elevated to the bench, when Messrs. Pollock, Starkie, Evans, and Wightman, were substituted.

Real Property Law.—Sir J. Campbell, Messrs. Tierney, Sanders, Duval, Hodgson, Duckworth, Brodie, and Tyrrell.

Criminal Law.—Messrs. Starkie, Austin, Kerr, Amos, Jardine, and Wightman.

Amongst whom are to be found the names of the framers of the principal acts referred to, and professional opinion assigns all of them to the ablest hands.

† Amongst the late measures, in this department, which are not open to the above observation, but are happily assimilated to the earlier class of reforms, we must prominently mention Lord Campbell's Act of the 14 and 15 Vic. C. 100, “For Further Improving the Administration of Criminal Justice.”

Most of the more modern reforms, on the contrary, are mere experiments, the offspring of speculation, precipitancy and doubt; introduced, as it would appear, not so much for the purpose of effecting any salutary improvement in the law, as of elevating their authors into the rank of "Law Reformers" and enabling them to write their names on the same page with those of Brougham, Campbell, Duval, Sanders, and Brodie. Not that we mean to classify the authors of those reforms with the incompetent or worthless. Quite the reverse. Most of them are men, of whose abilities we entertain a high opinion, and who, we doubt not, would, with the aid of some industry and patience, become excellent Law Reformers, in the fullness of time. But, we say, that without industry and patience, no man can become such, and that industry and patience are just the qualities, which they, as legislators, at least, do not exhibit. For that, whether the fault rest more with themselves, or with that "go-a-head" spirit of reckless impetuosity, which, wafted to us from beyond the Atlantic, has of late years infatuated large numbers in these countries (and legislators among the rest,) making them think, on many points, as if there were no distinction between mind and matter,—as if speed, with or without accuracy, were the paramount object, in the working of both—as if the most profound investigations of abstract science, and the wisest adaptations of human law, were not creatures of time and trouble, but to be produced, off hand, to order, as a turner makes a top—whether, we repeat, the error be more their own, or that of the day we live in, certain it is, that their legislation bears a kindred likeness to each and all of those convenient theories, being more the random shots of poachers for the fame they covet, than the painstaking hunt of legitimate sportsmen, through the tracks of fact, and the windings of contingency—the more tedious process of the two, we readily admit, but the more likely one also to be successful.

Hence, we seldom at present see a new measure of Law Reform, that does not, at first sight, strike us, as being so deficient, for its professed purposes, that its alteration at no distant time, appears a matter of necessity. Hence, some of those measures contain blunders, so patent on the face of them, that, without amendment, they actually cannot be enforced at all. Hence, the altering or amending statutes, prepared, as the chance is, with no more care than the originals, occasionally stand them-

selves in need of further alterations or amendments, to be afterwards altered or amended, in their turn, until a complication is established, often of a most perplexing kind, but which sometimes would defy the wit of Oedipus to unravel—a consummation that may be illustrated by the present state of the law of Irish judgments, which one of the most astute lawyers in the House of Commons lately professed his inability to comprehend. And, hence, also, the present most unsatisfactory condition of the laws regulating the procedure of the Superior Courts of Common Law in this country, and the shortcomings of the Act of Parliament, mentioned at the head of this paper, which, as we said, is little more than a transcript of another Act, but which, in addition to the faults of the original measure, caused, we may presume, by the precipitancy of which we speak, has also its own peculiar faults, occasioned by the same precipitancy, in applying it, without further modification, to a state of things different from that for which the original was intended.

Before proceeding, however, to examine this Act more closely (which, we repeat, contains, with all its errors, “the germs of some improvement”) we wish to trace, in a few words, its antecedents—or, if we may so speak, its genealogy—for the last six years and six months, in order, by way of further and more pointed illustration, to show what species of attention this particular department of the law (*viz.* Common Law Procedure) has, for Ireland at least, received from the Legislature, during that period, and by exhibiting some four or five of the most ridiculous mistakes made therein, during the same time, by “giddy legislation”—and which nought but “giddy legislation” could make—to prevent surprise at those “germs” not being more mature, and at those “errors” being, at once, so many, and so palpable. Our wonder—having regard to the present fashion of Law Reform Legislation—being rather that the Act before us is not much more faulty.

On the 31st of May, 1850, the 13 and 14 Vic., C. 18., familiarly known to the Irish law profession, as the “Process and Practice Act,” received the royal assent. It produced important changes in the procedure of our superior courts of Common Law, and consisted of fifty-two sections, two of which principally, (*viz.* sections 19 and 40,) we shall, at present notice. The former of these was evidently intended to put a stop to an accumulation of costs against defendants, in unde-

fended actions for small amounts, by enacting, that in the two classes of such actions—viz., where judgment should be “permitted by the defendant to go by default,” or where the defendant should “file a plea of confession” within the proper time, “no taxation of costs on the part of the plaintiff should take place therein, but the officer of the court in which judgment should be signed, and he was thereby required, in case the Writ of Summons should have been served in Dublin, to add to such judgment the sum of £5, as, and for the Plaintiff’s costs, but if the Writ of Summons should have been served elsewhere in Ireland, then the sum of £6, &c.”

Scarcely had the Act passed, however, when it was discovered, that no limitation as to the sum sued for, had been introduced into this section, and that therefore, as it stood, it offered an unreasonable immunity to debtors for large sums, while it tended to annihilate a most useful—perhaps, the most publicly useful—branch of professional practice. Some alarm and remonstrance followed this discovery, and thereupon, an Amendment Act, (13 and 14 Vic. c. 19.) was immediately hurried through the legislature, and received the royal assent, on the 10th of June, (ten days after the original Act) for the purpose of correcting the omission in question. But how did it correct it? Mark ye readers. By declaring, in its second section, that “the said provision shall be construed and taken, and it is hereby declared to apply only to “cases of *judgment by default*, in personal actions, brought for the recovery of liquidated sums under £20,” making no mention of actions in which *pleas of confession had been duly given*, and therefore leaving the defendants, in all such actions, (even though “brought for the recovery of liquidated sums under £20,”) liable to the enormous costs chargeable under the former system. So that the fraudulent or careless debtor, who paid no attention to the claims of justice, was the individual favored by this *Amendment Act*, and protected from costs beyond £5 or £6, while he who manfully acknowledged his obligation on the records of the court, found himself, as a reward for his candour, mulcted in a sum averaging between £7 and £10!

But the Amendment Act had to remedy a more curious blunder than the foregoing, and it did so, just as badly. For the original Act, having, by section 49, declared, that, “save wherein otherwise provided (i.e. save as to the actions of

Replevin and Ejectment, which, by the 10th section, were to be governed by it from January 1st, 1851) this Act shall commence and take effect, *on the last day of Trinity Term next after the passing hereof;*" and the 31st of May (the day on which it *passed*) being in Trinity Term, a serious question rose, as to whether it could take effect at all, save as to the actions of Replevin and Ejectment, until the last day of Trinity Term, 1851, which, according to the most correct legal construction, we venture to say, it could not. Here, then, was another ground for the interposition of the Amendment Act, the requirements of which it would have fully satisfied, by simply saying, in so many words, or in words tantamount thereto, that (save as aforesaid) "the said Act should commence and take effect, on the last day of Trinity Term, 1850." Instead of this, however, it merely declared, by its first section, that "the words 'from and after the last day of Trinity Term' in the said Act contained, shall be construed and taken to mean, and the said words are hereby declared to mean, wherever used in said Act, the last day of Trinity Term, 1850." Now, the words "from and after the last day of Trinity Term" did not occur at all in the 49th section just mentioned; and, as they occurred only once in the entire original Act—viz., in its first section, where it provided that, "from and after the last day of Trinity Term next after the passing" thereof, all actions, except Replevin and Ejectment, should be commenced by Writ of Summons—the only effect of this sapient amendment (supposing the construction of the ambiguous words, which made any amendment necessary, to be the true one) was to make the Act apply to the commencement of actions by Writ of Summons, one year sooner than it could take effect for any other purpose, Replevin and Ejectment excepted. The courts, however, very wisely, gave the doubtful enactment *the benefit of the doubt*; and, by adopting the construction of it which seemed most in accordance with the intention of the Legislature, obviated the necessity of additional amendment, and allowed it to operate accordingly, which it did, in its integrity, until January 1st, 1854, when twenty-eight of its fifty-two sections were repealed by "the Common Law Procedure Amendment Act (Ireland), 1853," of which we shall say more anon. Next came "The Common Law Procedure Act, 1854," which, as we have said, is the foundation of the Irish Act of the current year, and whose provisions, in common with

the latter, we shall therefore canvass more at length, just now. But, for the present, we shall notice one instance of "giddy legislation," which it exhibits, quite of a piece with those just mentioned, viz., that being intituled "An Act for the further Amendment of the Process, Practice, and mode of Pleading in, and enlarging the Jurisdiction of, the Superior Courts of Common Law at Westminster, and of the Superior Courts of Common Law in the Counties Palatine of Lancaster and Durham," and declaring, in its glossary section (sec. 99), that "in the construction of this Act, the word 'Court' shall be understood to mean any one of the Superior Courts of Common Law at Westminster;" and the word "Judge" "shall be understood to mean a Judge or Baron of any of the said Courts," &c.; its 103rd section provided, that the enactments contained in all the sections from 19 to 32, both inclusive, (*in which sections, both the words "Court" and "Judge," frequently, occurred*) should "extend and apply to every Court of Civil Judicature in England and Ireland,"—from which conflicting provisions it necessarily followed, either that the glossary section was to be held nugatory to a great extent, or that many of the extended sections were incapable of being used in Ireland; of which results, the former was that embraced by the sense of the profession; the words of section 103 being considered sufficiently extensive to control those in the glossary.

But that was not all. It seems most probably to have been the intention of the Legislature, to include section 18 with the sections extended to Ireland by section 103, but, whether the learned framer of that last named section was influenced by the "precipitancy" which we deprecate, or whether his ink-stand ran short of its ebonizing fluid, or whether some other grave cause exerted influence at the time, the fact is, that he omitted so to do, and, accordingly, in the statute book of the next session of Parliament, we find that identical 18th section raised, itself, to the dignity of an independent act of Parliament, as the 18th and 19th Vic. c. 7, intituled "an Act to extend to Ireland the provisions of the eighteenth section of the Common Law Procedure Act, 1854," which extending Act, as our professional readers are aware, is that which regulated the addresses of counsel to juries in civil cases in this country until the 1st of October last, when the present Act came into operation. Now, we admit it to be a merit of the present Act that it altogether repeals the 18th and 19th Vic. c. 7., together with section 103 of "The Common Law Procedure

Act, 1854," (thereby abrogating the extension to Ireland of the fourteen sections therein enumerated) and that it re-enacts those fourteen sections, and the said repealed Act, almost "*totidem verbis*," as portions of itself, whereby it reduces into order, a little of the confusion created by preceding blunders. It is, therefore, so far, an improvement on the course of legislation which we have traced, whose amendments sometimes made confusion more confused, but still, that it is a mere continuation of that course, deriving its existence from the same fountain as, and not differing in quality from, the upper stream, it bears intrinsic evidence, too, distinct and cogent—showing, not only in its omissions, but in its new sections, marks of hurry and oversight, which we shall mention, and being in its old ones, nothing else than the Act of 1854, of whose *helter skelter* preparation we have already given proof—to allow us to doubt its character for a moment, or to think that any such improvements which it may contain, can be other than improvements *in degree*, merely. It is not necessary, that acts of Parliament should be drawn by the same hand, in order to establish an affinity between them. No. They are often governed, like clothes or household furniture, by the fashion of the day, appearing conformably to it, crude, or well digested, reckless, or deliberate, and when, in addition to that circumstance, a series of them is prepared, *in pari maturitâ*, by individuals belonging to a definite class, or calling, and possessing similar tastes, habits, or propensities—such as *exempli gratiâ*, a number of young senatorial lawyers, conscious of their own abilities, and thirsting for distinction—they are apt to exhibit a community of faults and virtues, and like children of the same parents, to be cognizable by the features of a common stock. Although we may admit this reasoning, however, in corroboration of our opinions respecting Acts of Parliament, we need scarcely say, that those opinions should be, at first, formed on the individual merits of those Acts themselves; and that we may judge the Act before us thus fairly, by its own deserts, we now propose to consider it under two heads—first, *what it has not*, and, secondly, *what it has done*—treating both, not with the minuteness of professional commentators, but with the freedom of reviewers, who address the public generally, and are wont to canvass every topic, with a view to their advantage.

I. We therefore ask, what has the Act *not* done? Before

answering which question, we must remind our readers, that when it came into operation, and for nearly three years previous, the Procedure of our Superior Courts of Common Law was regulated, almost totally, by the unrepealed portion of the "Process and Practice Act of 1850," together with "The Common Law Procedure Amendment Act (Ireland), 1853," but principally by the latter. By that latter Act, much of the old system of pleading and procedure in those courts had been reversed, and a new system established, which we are not now going to criticise, but which, we can state, as a matter of fact, had been criticised pretty sharply, both by the Bench and the Bar, on different occasions, being found to work clumsily and defectively, in several particulars, in which it called loudly for revision and alteration. Consequently, we expected, when the present Act was first spoken of, that it would contain amendments, at least, of those provisions of the Act of 1853, which had been most sedulously pointed out by judges, as the source of great practical inconvenience, without giving rise to any corresponding benefit; which provisions are, unquestionably, those relating to the substitution of service of writs of Summons and Plaint, the raising and settlement of issues, and the law of Replevin—yet, what was our astonishment, on the passing of the Act, to find, that it makes no mention whatsoever of the two first of those three matters, and that, though it applies a remedy to the third of them, that remedy scarcely cures more than half of the defect! We shall now state shortly what were the defects of the Act of 1853, on each of those three subjects, in order, that our readers may judge for themselves, as to the degree of care with which the present Act, which so far overlooks them, was prepared. The power of substituting service of the writs just mentioned, is given, by section 34, of the Act of 1853, to "the Court in which the action is attached," or in vacation, to any judge of the Common Law Courts, and, although manifest justice requires, and the Legislature, as we presume, intended, that such power should be co-extensive with the number of actions to be commenced by such writs, in which the defendants could not be served therewith, in the usual way, by reason of undue impediments, notwithstanding the exertion of proper diligence to effect such service, but, could still be served in some other way, within the power of the Court, or Judge, to direct, yet, by the awkward introduction, after the words "Summons and Plaint,"



in that section, of the words, "the cause of action in respect of which the same shall have issued having arisen within the jurisdiction of the Court," a large number of actions, in which the *right* of action cannot be doubted, and in which, under the former system, substitution of service would have been had, as a matter of course, became excluded from the benefit of such substitution, and consequently rendered incapable of being proceeded with at all in Ireland, unless the defendants could be caught, personally, upon the Irish soil.

Two striking instances of this gross injustice were exhibited by the cases of *Warren v. Grier*,\* in the Court of Common Pleas, and *Collins v. Lord Frankfort De Montmorency*,† in the Court of Exchequer, soon after the Act of 1853 came into force. Both of these were actions brought, in this country, upon English judgments, and came before the respective courts, on motion for substitutions of service of the Writs of Summons and Plaint. In the latter, it moreover appeared, that the defendant, who resided in chambers in London, had no property in England, but had some in this country, and that the Plaintiff's object, in bringing the action, was to make the judgment available against that property. Yet, the court, in each case, felt itself coerced to refuse the application; and the Lord Chief Baron, in pronouncing judgment, in the latter, said, "this case exemplifies the mischiefs which may be produced by changes in the law, without sufficiently attending to consequences. Under the late Act, as well as under the state of the law previous to it, we could have made this order so as to attain justice between the parties. But the present Act expressly restricts the power of the Court to cases in which the cause of action has arisen within its jurisdiction." Unfortunately, we have but too many instances in "modern law reforms," of the "mischiefs" which his Lordship speaks of; but we shall be still more unfortunate, if, after the "consequences" are discovered, those mischiefs shall be suffered to remain without a remedy. Those cases have, of course, been since followed by many others; and in *Miller v. O'Brien and Pigott* ‡ (heard before Judge Perrin, in Chamber), it was held to be a fatal objection, on such a motion, that "the affidavit did not state positively, but only inferentially, that the cause of action arose in Ireland;"

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\* 6, Ir. Jur. 233.

† 3, I. C. L. R. 473. 6, Ir. Jur. 234.

‡ 8, Ir. Jur. 109.

a decision which, although it stretched the doctrine farther than did any previous case, we think is fully warranted by the language of the section. Yet, of this manifest defect in the existing law, the *Amendment* Act before us takes no notice!

In the raising and settlement of *issues* the Act of 1853 exhibits its most original characteristics. For, having abolished the system of allowing the *issue* (or question to be tried) to be evolved, in each case, by the alternate action of the pleadings—one, which the wisdom of ages had approved of, and in which, when there was no error in the pleadings themselves, an issue material to the merits of the case was always certain to be produced—it substituted for it, the novel device of compelling the parties themselves either to select the issue out of the pleadings, or to get a judge, or full court on appeal, to do so for them, in case of their non-agreement. A necessary consequence of this practice is, that in cases of more than ordinary difficulty, immaterial issues must be now more frequent than they were formerly; for, whether the parties themselves agree upon the issue, (which happens in the majority of cases) or whether a single judge settles it, (which happens in the majority of the remainder) or whether a full court does so on appeal (which seldom happens) it is evident, that, in no case can it be fashioned with the same accuracy, as when, by the unerring laws of logical science, it resulted from the pleadings, as surely as the conclusion results from the premises, in a syllogism. In the one case, to have the issue right, it was only requisite that the pleadings should be so; in the other, the pleadings may be right enough, and the issues still be quite irrelevant. But, if such be the frailty of the present system, in cases of a single issue, what shall we think of it, when we take into consideration section sixty-eight of the Act, which enacts, that “all facts stated in any Summons and Complaint, and not denied in the defence, shall be deemed to be admitted for the purposes of the suit,” and of sections 70 and 71 of the same Act, which abolish that old and most useful form of pleading, called the “General Issue,” by requiring all “defences by way of denial,” to “traverse some one or more than one material matter of fact” alleged in the Summons and Complaint; the joint effect of which three sections is, to impose on defendants the necessity of traversing *seriatim* in their defences, all averments in the Summons and Complaint, which they do not mean to admit, whereby a defence, in a complicated case, often assumes much of the

dimensions and shape of an answer in an old Chancery suit, and when, in addition to all these separate traverses, many matters of justification have had to be introduced into it, the difficulty of extracting from it, and the other pleadings, the issues material for the trial of the case, is sometimes such as no person can conceive, who has not actually experienced it?

The pleader can of course, in most cases, classify those traverses and justifications, so as to make many of them triable by a small number of issues, but it occasionally happens, that he cannot do so, consistently with due distinctness, in which event, his safest course usually is, to frame a series of issues, as nearly as possible in the language of the traverses, or justifications, which, if numerous, the issues framed on them must be so, proportionably. Hence, we not unfrequently hear twelve, twenty, twenty-five, or even thirty issues announced by the plaintiff's junior counsel, at the opening of a *Nisi Prius* case, as the number to be submitted to the jury, which number, probably, he no sooner mentions, than he is considerably interrupted by the presiding judge, with "you may spare yourself the trouble of reading them, Mr.—," and indeed, from the state of chaos, into which jurors are often plunged, by this multiplicity of issues, and the extreme difficulty which the cleverest judges experience, by reason of it, in enlightening them as to the real merits, and explaining to them how they ought to find each particular issue, on many important trials, it is not wonderful, that the system of issues is, to the Bench, about the most distasteful feature of the Act of 1853, and that judges more frequently animadvert on it, than on any other. We, ourselves, have heard an exceedingly able judge, on one of the last summer circuits, go so far in his charge to a *Nisi Prius* jury, as to say of that system, that "by enabling counsel to split up the main question for trial into a number of minor ones, it tended frequently *to frustrate justice*," and, we must say, that we thoroughly approved of the observation, but thought that if his Lordship had used the words "enabling and often compelling" instead of the word "enabling" simply, his censure would have been, at once, more condemnatory, and more just. In our opinion this system, (which generally does not even redeem its faults by any very marked economy, while it is sometimes more expensive than that which it supplanted,) demands instant reformation, as to the nature of which, if we may venture a suggestion, perhaps the forms of pleading and limited

General Issue, now in use in England, might impart a useful hint, but, however that be, let it suffice to say, that it remains untouched, notwithstanding the passing of the "*Amendment Act*" before us!

The defects of the Act of 1853 in relation to the law of Replevin, are the third ground, on which we proposed to consider the omissions of the Act before us. These defects may be summed up, by saying, that, although the policy of such a law ought to be, on the one hand, to afford the tenant, whose goods have been distrained, every facility for *replevying*, in the first instance, and on the other, to enable the landlord to have the question of right tried speedily, and with ease, the act of 1853 did the reverse of both these things. For first, (instead of allowing the tenant—as under the former system—to get back his goods, as soon as he should duly bind himself, to try the right by action) by obliging him to commence an action,\* and issue a Writ of Replevin, as conditions precedent to all relief, it threw an obstacle in his way, which did not before exist; and, secondly, by placing that action on the same footing with all other "Personal Actions,"† and not adverting to the fact, that it differs from all other actions, in the positions of the parties being transposed—the Defendant being, substantially, the Plaintiff, desirous of expedition, and the plaintiff, the defendant, anxious for delay—it empowered the tenant to elude justice, in the following manner,—1st, by not serving his Summons and Plaint, until the last day of "six calendar months from the day of the date thereof"‡—2ndly, by not filing it, until the last day of two months more, after that service.§—3rd, by not proceeding to trial, for three terms, from that in which, or the vacation of which, the defence, or other subsequent pleading, is filed; || within which time, if he failed to do so, the landlord, it is true, could afterwards have taken down the cause for trial,¶ but, if, instead of adopting this more expensive course, he chose to seek for judgment as in case of non-suit, against the tenant, his course was, after

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\* The Common Law Procedure Amendment Act, (Ireland) 1853. Secs. 228 and 229.

† Do. Sec. 6.

‡ Do. Sec. 28.

§ Do. Sec. 38.

|| Do. Sec. 106.

¶ Do. Sec. 107.

the lapse of the three terms, to "enter a rule, that the plaintiff, (the tenant) do proceed to trial, at the Assizes, or sittings next after the expiration of twenty days from the service of such rule,"\* which "assizes or sittings" might not, sometimes, according to the season of the year, take place, in the one case, for six, and in the other, for eight months afterwards, (and the tenant having it in his power, to lay the venue in any county which he thinks proper, † must be expected to choose that whereby he could gain the longest time), by which aggregate delays the landlord might, in some cases, be withheld from "taking down the cause for trial, for about nineteen months, and from obtaining judgment as in case of non-suit, for about two years ! This flagrant injustice has not, like the other two defects just mentioned, been passed over, altogether, *sub silentio*, by the new Act, but still, the only notice it takes of it, is, by its hundredth section, which is in these words :—

"In case the Plaintiff in Replevin shall neglect to file the Summons and Plaint, or copy thereof, within ten days after service, unless the time shall have been extended, or to proceed to trial within one term from that in which, or the vacation of which, the defence or other subsequent proceeding is filed, the defendant (the landlord), may proceed to enter such rules as are in sections thirty-eight and one hundred and six, of the Common Law Procedure Amendment Act, (Ireland), 1853, in cases of such default respectively provided."

That is to say, it substitutes "ten days" for "two months," and "one term" for "two terms," but, as it does not at all limit the tenant's right to *postpone the service of the Summons and Plaint, until the last day of "six calendar months,"* from the day of the date thereof, the only effect of these changes will, generally, be, to reduce the aggregate delays above set forth, from nineteen months, to about thirteen, and from two years, to about eighteen months !

II. We now come to the second head, under which we proposed to consider the Act in question, viz., *what it has done*, under which—again reminding our readers, that we are not writing a professional treatise, but one intended for general perusal—we mean to examine freely the principles of the fundamental changes, produced, in the great body of our Common

\* The Common Law Procedure Amendment Act, (Ireland,) 1853, Sec. 106.

† Do. Sec. 62.

Law Procedure, by its enactments, bestowing less attention to its mere practical details, an enlarged notice of which would be incompatible with our space, and inconsistent with the purposes of this Review. As belonging to the category of those details, we shall, therefore, dispose of the first twenty sections of the Act, by saying, that the first, second, and third of them relate to its short title prefixed to the head of this paper, its incorporation with the Act of 1853, and the repeals of section 103 of the Act of 1854, and the 18 and 19 Vic., C. 7, already mentioned\*—that the power given, by the fourth section, to the Court, or a Judge, to try questions of fact, on a consent in writing, to that effect, being signed by the parties to the cause, or their attorneys, so that the verdict thus had “shall be of the same effect as the verdict of a jury,” may be occasionally found a convenient provision, but is rightly guarded against passing into very frequent use, by the “allowance” of the Court, or a Judge, being required, in addition to the consent of the parties, unless so far as such “allowance” may be dispensed with by a “General Rule or Order” to be made by the Judges of the Superior Courts of Common Law, and also by the saving clause that such verdict “shall not be questioned upon the ground of being against the weight of evidence;”—that the fifth section, by enabling two judges to sit, at the same time, for the trial of causes pending in the same court, will tend materially, to the convenience and benefit of suitors and witnesses—that the sixth section, by empowering the Court, or a Judge, on the application of either party, at any time after the issuing of the writ, to decide matters of account, in a summary manner, or to refer them to arbitration, in any of the three modes therein described, will, if cautiously used, be the means of putting a stop to a very general inconvenience, and waste of time, often experienced in the discussion, before *Nisi Prius* juries, of things ill suited to the circumstances of that tribunal—and that the remainder of those sections, in their provisions as to questions of law, when involved in such matters of account,† the further power of Judges to refer such matters to arbitration, when left to their own decision,‡ the proceedings before, and power of arbitrators,§ the enforcing and setting aside awards,|| the giving to a rule or order to deliver posses-

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\*Pages 701 and 702.

† Secs. 7 and 8.

‡ Sec. 9.

§ Sec. 10.

|| Secs. 12 & 13.

sion of lands or tenements, pursuant to an award, the effect of a judgment in ejectment,\* and certain other auxiliary regulations, seem to be all well framed for their intended purposes.

To one observation, however, the tendency towards arbitration evinced by these sections, is open—namely, that, although the arbitrations thereby proposed are less objectionable than those of the ordinary kind, in consequence of their awards being more final, and “enforceable by the same process as the finding of a jury, upon the matter referred,”† they are still calculated, *when directed at the trial*, seriously to accumulate costs upon the parties, and should be, therefore, never resorted to, at that time, after the usual expenses of a trial have been incurred, save when the inconvenience of proceeding with the trial is so great, as to threaten an actual frustration of justice. Neither shall we dwell on the next eighteen sections of the Act—except on three of them, which we shall mention—because, although the remaining fifteen make some wholesome changes, principally, in the law of evidence, they are not new to us, being nothing else than those fourteen sections of the Act of 1854, so clumsily extended to Ireland, in the manner before described,§ together with the Act of the 18 and 19 Vic., cap. 7, consisting of one section, all which, as we have also said, have been repealed, and re-enacted again, as portions of the new measure.‡ Some of those fourteen sections are, however, now placed on a different footing, from that which they before occupied, in this country, for, while the Act of 1854 only extended them “to every Court of *civil* judicature in England and Ireland,”|| the 98th section of the present Act, very properly, directs, that some of them—which, in their present shape, are sections 23 (substituting affirmations for oaths, in cases of conscientious objections to the latter, being entertained by witnesses), 24 (subjecting wilful falsehood, in such affirmations, to the same punishment as that for *perjury*), 25 (enabling parties, under certain circumstances, partially to discredit their own witnesses), 26 (enabling them, to prove contradictory statements of adverse witnesses), 27 (allowing witnesses to be cross-examined, as to previous written statements made by them), 28 (allowing them to be questioned, as to, and admitting proof of, their having been, previously

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\* Section 19.

† Sections 6 and 9.

§ Page 701.

‡ Pages 701 and 702.

|| The Common Law Procedure Act 1854, Section 108.

convicted of felony, or misdemeanor), 29 (dispensing with the necessity of examining attesting witnesses, in certain cases), 30 (admitting in evidence comparison of disputed writing, with writing proved to be genuine), 34 (providing for the stamping of documentary evidence, at the trial of any cause) 35 (providing for the receipt of stamp duty, and penalties, in such cases, by the officer of the court), and 36 (exempting from stamp duty, all documents made or required, under the provisions of the present Act)—“shall apply and extend to all courts of judicature, *as well criminal as all others*, and to all persons having by law, or by consent of parties, authority to hear, receive, and examine evidence.”

Of the abstract justice of this provision, it is unnecessary to give any proof; but, as an instance of the inconvenience resulting from the want of it, with reference to one of the sections just named—viz., section 30—we may mention the fact of our having—while it was in force amongst us, as section 27 of the Act of 1854—witnessed the trial of a prisoner under the 1 and 2 Wm. IV. c. 44, sec. 3, for writing and sending a threatening letter, whereat, although the Crown Counsel were in possession of a document admittedly in the handwriting of the prisoner, they were unable to hand it in to the jury, for the purpose of comparison with the letter produced in evidence in support of the indictment, by reason of this section being limited to courts of “*civil judicature*.” Of the rest of those fifteen sections, we may here observe, that section 22 (which gives the Court, or Judge, a discretionary power to adjourn trials), together with sections 14 (which enables Courts of Law or Equity to stay proceedings in actions, or suits, commenced in violation of an agreement for arbitration), and 90 (which provides against parties suing on lost negotiable instruments, being prejudiced by such loss, on their giving adequate security against the claims of other persons, thereunto), are, by section 98, extended “to *every* court of civil judicature in Ireland,” and that sections 21 (which regulates the addresses of counsel to juries), 37 (which prohibits new trials from being granted by reason of a judge’s ruling “that the stamp upon any document is sufficient, or that the document does not require a stamp”), and 38 (which enables error to be “brought upon a judgment upon a special case stated under this Act in any award”), are, like the general provisions of the Act, confined to our Superior Courts of Common Law.



The three sections which we promised to mention,\* and to which we seek to direct particular attention, are sections 31, 32, and 33, which are not to be found in the "Common Law Procedure Act, 1854," and which, being now introduced for the first time, and applying exclusively to Ireland, we are glad to hail, as the initiative of a marked improvement in the law of evidence, which, we presume, will be soon adopted into the statutes of the sister country. That improvement consists in making probates, and letters of administration, of wills, and testamentary instruments, sufficient evidence of their contents, both at law and in equity, for the purposes of real, as well as of personal property;† thereby establishing a mode of proof of those instruments, applicable to both purposes, instead of subjecting parties to the absurd necessity, which before existed, of producing the original will, in all actions and suits relating to realty, and the probate, or letters of administration, in those relating to personalty, and both, in those relating to both species of property, at the hazard of being visited with defeat, and costs, with respect to the particular species, to which the wanting document was applicable, notwithstanding that the document produced might have shown, transparently, that, according to the terms of the will, the result of the action, or suit, ought to have been otherwise. Cases arise, however, in which important questions turn on the original will, and, therefore, the 31st section wisely provides, that the substituted evidence can be only used, when the party intending to use it shall have served seven days' notice of his intention upon his adversary, who may, by a counter notice, insist on the production of the original; but, as the counter notice, if suffered to be used wantonly, might defeat the objects of the enactment altogether, a method is provided, by the 32nd section, by which the party intending to produce the substituted evidence, may take the opinion of the court, or a judge, as to his right so to do, and obtain an order accordingly. The 33rd section relates, solely, to the costs of these proceedings, and the three of them are as follows :—

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\* Page 710.

† By the 14 and 15 Vic., C. 57, sec. 108, office copies of wills, and other testamentary documents, are made *prima facie* evidence of the contents of the originals, in proceedings by Civil Bill, which enactment probably suggested the present one.

**XXXI.** In any Action at Law or Suit in Equity where, according to the existing Law, it would be necessary to produce and prove an original Will or other Testamentary Instrument in order to establish a Devise or other Testamentary Disposition, Probate or Letters of Administration of such Will or other Testamentary Instrument, or a Copy thereof purporting to be certified as a true Copy by some Officer of the Testamentary Court in which the same shall have been lodged, shall be sufficient Evidence of such Will or other Testamentary Instrument and its Contents; provided that the Party intending to produce such Probate, Letters of Administration, or Copy shall have given Seven Days Notice of such his Intention to the opposite Party, and unless the Party receiving such Notice shall, within Three Days thereafter, by a counter Notice, require the Production and Proof of the original Will or other Testamentary Instrument.

**XXXII.** Provided always, That in case any such counter Notice shall be served, it shall be lawful for the Party intending to produce such Probate, Letters of Administration, or Copy, to apply to the Court or a Judge for an Order that such Probate, Letters of Administration, or Copy shall be deemed and taken as sufficient Evidence of such Will or other Testamentary Instrument, and its Contents, and thereupon the Court or Judge may make such Order in relation thereto as may be fit, and the said Court or Judge may thereupon determine by whom the Costs of such Application shall be paid, and upon what Terms, if any, such Will or other Testamentary Document shall be produced.

**XXXIII.** In every Case in which, after the Notices mentioned in the last Section, the original Will or other Testamentary Instrument shall be produced and proved, it shall be lawful for the Court or Judge before whom such Evidence shall be given to direct by which of the Parties the Costs thereof shall be paid.

Few enactments have been made, of late years, tending more than will these three sections, to promote the interests of justice, and to prevent merits from being overruled by quibble and technicality. The 31st, however, is loosely framed, for, although common sense would seem to indicate—and it probably was the intention of the framers of that section—that copies of wills, &c., “certified by some officer of the Testamentary Court,” should be, for the purposes of evidence, equivalent to probates in all cases, yet, by the operation of the section being limited to actions or suits, “where, according to the existing law, it would be necessary to produce and prove an original will, or other testamentary instrument” (i.e., to actions or suits relating to *real* property), it leaves the proof of wills, &c., in all other actions or suits, precisely as it was before (*viz.*, requiring the production of the probates) and is, besides, ambiguous, as to whether, in actions or suits relating

to reality *and* personalty, proof, by such certified copies, will be sufficient to affect both.

Of the sections intervening between 38 and 55, conversant as they all are with mere matters of detail, we shall only notice the four last; and we, solely, notice these because they supply two great *desiderata* which before existed in the practice regarding motions, in our Superior Courts of Common Law—two of them (sections 51 and 53) respectively, empowering the Court, or judge, to direct the oral examination of witnesses, and the production of documents, for the purposes of motions, and providing, on the application of “any party to any action, suit, or other civil proceeding,” for the compulsory examination of persons who refuse to make an affidavit—and the other two (sections 52 and 54) declaring, by what machinery, and in what way, those new powers are to be exercised. Sections 51 and 53 are in these words:—

LI. Upon the hearing of any motion, it shall be lawful for the Court or Judge, at their or his discretion, and upon such terms as they or he shall think reasonable, from time to time, to order such documents as they or he may think fit to be produced, and such witnesses as they or he may think necessary to appear, and be examined *visâ voce*, either before such Court or Judge, or before the Master, and upon hearing such evidence, or reading the report of such Master, to make such rule or order as may be just.

LIII. Any party to any action, suit, or other civil proceeding in any of the Superior Courts, requiring the affidavit of a person who refuses to make an affidavit, may apply by notice for an order to such person to appear and be examined upon oath before a Judge or Master, as to the matters concerning which he has refused to make an affidavit; and the Court or Judge may make such order for the attendance of such person before the Judge or Master appointed to take such examination, for the purpose of being examined as aforesaid, and for the production of any writings or documents to be mentioned in such order, and may therein impose such terms as to such examination, and the costs of the application and proceedings thereon, as shall appear just.

With section 55, however, commences a remarkable portion of the Act before us, constituting, as it does, the most decided advance yet made, towards an amalgamation of the Courts of Law and Equity, in this country. We wish, therefore, to examine this portion, with peculiar care, premising—what our readers already know—that the distinction between those two classes of tribunals, (one peculiar to the laws of England, and to those of other countries which have been modelled on them), has been long a prolific subject of debate

amongst the learned, but, at two eras in particular, has attracted their most earnest notice—namely, the commencement of the seventeenth century, when the growing functions of the Chancellor awakened the jealousy of the sages of the Common Law;\* and the present day, when, however rife the spirit of reform be, in all departments of the state, it is, in Law, but too much governed, by the spirit of innovation. Then as now, moreover, the distinction has been attacked by two classes of assailants. First, by those who misrepresented it, adopting one half of the notion of some foreign jurists, by whom it was misunderstood, that the two jurisdictions act in opposition to each other, the one judging without equity, and the other not being bound by law;†—and, secondly, by those who, admitting equity in its technical sense, to be as distinct from *natural equity*, as the law itself is—acknowledging that, whatever it may have been at its inception, it is now, and has been for centuries, as well defined, as is that law, or rather “is a part of the laws formed from usages and determinations, which sometimes differ from what is called Common Law, in its subjects; but chiefly vary from it in its modes of proof, of trial, and of relief”‡—and therefore recognising the division of the two jurisdictions to be little else than a distribution of business among different tribunals, by which each administers its own portion of remedial justice—still argue

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\* The following extract from Selden’s “Table Talk,” (title “Equity”) is an amusing instance of the acerbity, with which Common Law men of that day, used to express themselves, upon this subject. “Equity (says he) is a roguish thing. For law we have a measure, know what to trust to. Equity is according to the conscience of him that is Chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is Equity. ’Tis all one as if they should make the standard of the measure a Chancellor’s foot. What an uncertain measure would this be? One Chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, a third an indifferent foot. ’Tis the same thing with the Chancellor’s conscience.”

† It is wonderful what strange notions of Equity have been seriously entertained, and expressed, by eminent individuals. Even De Lolme’s description of it is far from correct. That of Lord Kaimes, no lawyer can subscribe to. And the following passage from Cowell, which Dr. Johnson cites, as an authority, under the word “Chancellor,” in his dictionary (the large edition) is about the worst of all. “Cancellarius, at the first, signified the registers, or actuaries in court; *grapharius scilicet, qui conscribendis et excipiendis judicum actis, dant operam*. But this name is greatly advanced, and not only in other kingdoms but in this, is given to him that is the chief judge in causes of property: *for the Chancellor hath power to moderate and temper the written law, and subjecteth himself only to the law of nature and conscience*.”

‡ Life of Sir T. More, by Sir J. Mackintosh.

against it, *ad inconvenienti*, saying, that it is a hardship on suitors to be driven into two courts, for that justice which ought to be given them in one—that there is no reason why one court should not pronounce on each entire case—that in the majority of nations, the distinction does not exist—and that any advantages which may attend it are more than counter-balanced, by the expense and delay which it necessarily occasions. On the other hand, its friends maintain, that this distinction is not more forced than many others which exist in the subdivisions of our judicature, uncomplained of; and that it would be as reasonable to unite the jurisdiction of the Court of Queen's Bench, in Crown, with that of the Exchequer, in Revenue, cases, as to consolidate our systems of Law and Equity—that, though the one be of more ancient, and the other of later birth, the two have grown up naturally amongst our people, as the creation of their necessities, for many generations; and that institutions thus produced are, like native plants, the fittest for the soil that bears them—that viewed as a mode of distributing the judicial business, their separation produces the benefits usually derivable from the division of labour, in causing every part of that business to be better understood, and better done—and that, though it is not clear how far cheap tribunals serve, or dear ones injure, a community, any unreasonable expense or delay, caused by that separation, might be remedied by other means than its proposed removal.\*

For our part, we shall not say which side is the winner in this controversy, thinking, as we do, that both sides speak much truth. But, without venturing any opinion on the issue knit between them, as to the question of complete consolidation, we think, there is one point on which they ought

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\* Amongst the lawyers who upheld the separation of the two judicatures, about the commencement of the seventeenth century, was the great Lord Bacon, who, in his "Jurisdiction of the Marches," says, "All nations have Equity, but some have Law and Equity mixed in the same Court, which is worse; and some have it distinguished into several Courts, which is better." And in his Aphorisms, "*Apud nonnullos receptum est, ut jurisdictio quæ decernit secundum æquum et bonum, atque illa altera quæ procedit secundum jus strictum, iisdem curiis deputentur; apud alios autem et diversis. Omnino placet curiarum separatio. Neque enim servabitur distinctio casuum, si fiat commixtio jurisdictionum; sed arbitrium legem tandem trahet.*" De Aug. Scient. Lib. 8, Cap. 3, Aph. 45.

to agree, namely, that as the jurisdiction of our Courts of Equity is divisible into two branches—one comprising all those matters, which are usually classed under the separate heads of its Concurrent and Exclusive Jurisdiction, such as matters of Account, Partnership, and Administration of Assets, the Foreclosure and Redemption of Mortgages, Trusts, &c., in each of which it affords complete relief, without reference to proceedings in any other court; and another, which deals with Discovery, Injunctions, &c., things often used in aid, or in restraint, of proceedings in Courts of Law—it would be an improvement, that those last-named courts should, for the purposes of proceedings pending in them, and requiring such intervention on the part of Equity, but not otherwise, possess powers of administering relief, similar to those exercised by Courts of Equity, in cases of Discovery and Injunction, whereby the necessity of parties resorting thither, for those purposes, would be dispensed with; provided only, that, in administering such relief, the Courts of Law should, as far as possible, be guided by the principles which Courts of Equity acknowledge, and should apply them as effectively as those Courts do. Now, this is just what the Act, attempts to accomplish, by the sections we have arrived at—viz. section 55, which, considerably increases the power of the Courts of Law, to order the production of documents, “for the purpose of Discovery or otherwise,” beyond that given them, even by the 6th section of the “Act to Amend the Law of Evidence,” (14 & 15 Vic., c. 99), and the 64th Section of “The Common Law Procedure Amendment Act, (Ireland), 1853,”—56, which enables “by order of the Court or a Judge,” parties to actions, to deliver to each other, either with the Summons and Plaint, or Defence, or “at any other time,” “interrogatories in writing upon any matter, as to which discovery may be sought”—81, which enables plaintiffs, “in all cases of Breach of Contract, or other injury,” to claim, in the Summons and Plaint, “a Writ of Injunction\* against the repetition or continuance of such Breach of Contract or other Injury,” &c.—84, which provides for the granting of such Writ on an *ex parte* application, by the

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\* That the powers conferred on the Courts of Common Law, as to Injunctions, by this section, are not commensurate with those exercised by Courts of Equity, see Kerr's treatise on the “Common Law Procedure Act, 1854,” 51.

plaintiff, to the Court or a Judge, "at any time after the commencement of the Action, and whether before or after judgment,"—85, which empowers defendants, in ordinary actions, and plaintiffs in Replevin, when entitled to relief on equitable grounds, "to plead the facts which entitle them to such relief,"\*—86, which provides for Equitable defences, grounded on matter arising "after the lapse of the period, during which it could be pleaded"—and 87, which enables any of the parties, with the leave of the Court or a Judge, "to reply in answer to any pleading of the opposite, facts which avoid such pleading upon equitable grounds."

But, whether those enactments are sufficient to secure the observance of the condition above mentioned, by making the Courts of Law apply their new powers, on the same principles, when applicable, and as effectively, as Courts of Equity do, remains to be discovered, by experience of their working, and the solution of the problem of "how far judges, many of whom never decided a point of Equity, in their lives, and have been, necessarily, estranged from its peculiar doctrines, for many years, can, by the mere passing of an Act of Parliament, become suddenly so imbued with the details of that intricate science, as to rival, in their knowledge of it, the Sugdens and the O'Loughlens!" Much as we revere our Common Law Bench—and feel a national pride, as Irishmen, at the ability that adorns it—we fear much, that this task is unreasonably severe for its distinguished occupants, and that, assuming those enactments to be, in the abstract, useful (which we believe) a considerable time must elapse, before their benefits can be felt extensively. It is remarkable, that, although "The Common Law Procedure Act 1854," containing analogous provisions for England, has been now in force two years, very few decisions on them are to be found in the English reports, and a contemporary publication has said of one of them (the section relating to Equitable Defences †) that "probably no enactment ever gave a prospect of such an extensive change in the law, and

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\* As to the nature of the equitable defence given by this section, see the judgment of Parke, B. in *Mines Royal Societies v. Magway*, (10 Ex. Rep. 489,) where he says, "In my opinion, the equitable defence allowed to be pleaded by the Statute, means such a defence as would in a court of Equity, be a complete answer to the plaintiff's claim, and would, as such, afford sufficient ground for a perpetual injunction."

† Section 83 of the "Common Law Procedure Act, 1854," analogous to Section 85 in the new Act.

has resulted in altering it so little\*—an observation, that might almost apply to others also. The miscellaneous nature of Irish practice, however, gives our Law Judges this advantage over their English brethren, that they all have had some, and many of them great, experience in Equity, while at the Bar. We here submit sections 55, 56, 81, and 85, to the perusal of our readers, to which the remaining three we have named are merely supplemental, as are others, also, in a more minute degree, to which we have, therefore, not alluded.

**L.V.** Upon the Application of either Party to any Action, Suit or other Civil Proceeding in any of the Superior Courts, upon an Affidavit by such Party of his Belief that any Document, to the Production of which he is entitled for the Purpose of Discovery or otherwise, is in the Possession or Power of the opposite Party, it shall be lawful for the Court or Judge to order that the Party, against whom such Application is made, or if such Party is a Body Corporate that some Officer to be named of such Body Corporate, shall answer on Affidavit, stating what Documents he or they has or have in his or their Possession or Power relating to the Matters in dispute, or what he knows as to the Custody they or any of them are in, and whether he or they objects or object (and if so, on what Grounds,) to the Production of such as are in his or their Possession or Power; and upon such Affidavit being made the Court or Judge may make such further Order thereon as shall be just.

**L.VI.** In all Causes in any of the Superior Courts, by Order of the Court or a Judge, the Plaintiff may, with the Writ of Summons and Plaintiff, and the Defendant may, with the Appearance and Defence, or either of them, by Leave of the Court or a Judge, may, at any other Time, deliver to the opposite Party or his Attorney (provided such Party, if not a Body Corporate, would be liable to be called and examined as a Witness upon such Matter) Interrogatories in Writing upon any Matter as to which Discovery may be sought, and require such Party, or in the Case of a Body Corporate any of the Officers of such Body Corporate, within Ten Days, to answer the Questions in writing by Affidavit, to be sworn and filed in the ordinary Way; and any Party or Officer omitting, without just Cause, sufficiently to answer all Questions as to which a Discovery may be sought within the above Time, or such extended Time as the Court or a Judge shall allow, shall be deemed to have committed a Contempt of the Court, and shall be liable to be proceeded against accordingly.

**LXXXI.** In all Cases of Breach of Contract or other Injury, where the Party injured is entitled to maintain and has brought an Action, he may, in like Case and Manner as herein-before provided with respect to Mandamus,† claim a Writ of Injunction against the Repetition

\* 27th Law Times, 222.

† As to the section 70, applicable to Mandamus, see Pages 721 and 723, which section, although it precedes the above section, in the Act, we have



or Continuance of such Breach of Contract or other Injury, or the Committal of any Breach of Contract or Injury of a like kind, arising out of the same Contract, or relating the same Property or Right; and he may also in the same Action include a Claim for Damages or other Redress.

LXXXV. It shall be lawful for the Defendant in any Action, and for the Plaintiff in any Action for Replevin of Goods, in any of the Superior Courts, in which, if Judgment were obtained, he would be entitled to Relief against such Judgment on equitable Grounds, to plead the Facts which entitle him to such Relief, and the said Courts are hereby empowered to receive such Pleading, provided that such Pleading shall begin with the Words "For Defence on equitable Grounds," or Words to the like Effect.

But, besides the Equitable powers given by these sections, in aid, or in restraint, of proceedings in their own courts, the Act has, by its 91st section, conferred upon the "Superior Courts of Common Law, or any Judge thereof," the power of exercising, upon summary application, by rule or order, "Such and the like jurisdiction as may, under section 514 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, be exercised by any Court of Equity"—with respect to which provision, we shall only say, that, unless the intention be, ultimately, to consolidate the two jurisdictions *in toto*, we see no very definite reason for it, that would not apply to giving to the same Courts, the cognizance of Redemption and Foreclosure, Suits, or any other exclusively equitable jurisdiction.

The reproach to which Courts of Common Law were open of being able to afford no relief, except by damages, for breaches of duty and contract, and for other injuries, and of having no direct means of enforcing the observance of the one,

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been obliged to postpone the consideration of it to that page, for the reasons therein given.

\* Section 514 of "the Merchant Shipping Act" (17, & 18 Vic. c. 104,) enacts that—"In cases where any liability has been or is alleged to have been incurred by any owner in respect of loss of life, personal injury, or loss of or damage to ships, boats, or goods, and several claims are made or apprehended in respect of such liability, then, subject to the right heretofore given to the Board of Trade of recovering damages in the United Kingdom, in respect of loss of life or personal injury, it shall be lawful in England or Ireland for the High Court of Chancery, and in Scotland for the Court of Session, and in any British possession, for any competent Court, to entertain proceedings at the suit of any owner, for the purpose of determining the amount of such liability subject as aforesaid, and for the distribution of such amount rateably amongst the several claimants, with power for any such Court to stop all actions and suits pending in any other Court in relation to the same subject matter."

or of preventing the other, is mitigated, to a great extent, not only by the sections \* relating to injunctions before mentioned, but also by sections 70, and 80, which we here insert, the former of them being followed, in the Act, by some subsidiary sections.†

**LXX.** The Plaintiff in any Action in any of the Superior Courts, except Replevin and Ejectment, may claim in the Writ of Summons and Plaint, either together with any other Demand which may now be enforced in such Action or separately, a Writ of Mandamus commanding the Defendant to fulfil any Duty in the Fulfilment of which the Plaintiff is personally interested.

**LXXX.** The Court or a Judge shall have Power, if they or he see fit so to do, upon the Application of the Plaintiff in any Action for the Detention of any Chattel, to order that Execution shall issue for the Return of the Chattel detained, without giving the Defendant the Option of retaining such Chattel upon paying the Value assessed, and that if the said Chattel cannot be found, and unless the Court or a Judge should otherwise order, the Sheriff shall distrain the Defendant by all his Lands and Chattels in the said Sheriff's Bailiwick till the Defendant render such Chattel, or, at the Option of the Plaintiff, that he cause to be made of the Defendant's Goods the assessed Value of such Chattel; provided that the Plaintiff shall, either by the same or a separate Writ of Execution, be entitled to have made of the Defendant's Goods the Damages, Costs, and Interest in such Action.

The new remedies for breach of contract, however, are confined to those by injunction (when applicable) as given by sections 81 and 84, for, although it might, at first, appear, that section 70 confers a power of *enforcing the specific performance of contracts*, such does not seem to be the true construction of it, for (as a very clear writer observes, with reference to the analogous section, in the English Act.‡)

It is submitted, that no such power is given, and, that the words "duty in which &c.," do not include duties resulting from express private contracts between two parties, and for breach of which an action of tort lies, (see *Boorman v. Browns*, 3. Q. B. 511), but is confined to another class of cases, where a *private* wrong is occasioned by the non-fulfilment of some official duty, or one imposed by Act of Parliament, for the benefit of individuals; as, for instance, where a private company, which has the option of taking land, gives a notice, under an Act of Parliament, *to treat*. This would be held a declaration of their option *to take*, and a contract of purchase, of

\* Pages 717, 718, 719, and 720.

† Sections 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, and 76.

‡ Section 68. See "The Common Law Procedure Act, 1854," by Holland and Chandless, 245.

which the Court would compel specific performance. (See per Patterson, J. in *R. v. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests*, 15. Q. B. 774.)

We are further informed, by the same authority—

That a clause expressly empowering Courts of Law to grant specific performance of contracts, was struck out of this Act, in the House of Lords, on the ground, that it would not be advisable to give the Court such a power. The right, therefore, sought to be enforced, and the 'duty in the fulfilment of which the plaintiff is personally interested,' remain the same; the same demand and refusal are necessary, before commencing the action under those sections, as were, heretofore, required, before moving for the rule for a writ of Mandamus; and the discretion of the Court, in granting, or withholding, the Mandamus, has been carefully preserved, by Section 71,† which empowers the Court, *if it shall see fit*, to issue the peremptory writ. The novelties introduced are, that the proceedings for a Mandamus, to enforce the performance of a duty, in which an individual is personally concerned, may be commenced, in any one of the Superior Courts;‡ and, that the machinery of an ordinary action is to be applied to such proceedings. There is, further, a new provision, in Section 74§ empowering the Court, besides, or instead of, proceeding by attachment, to cause the work to be done by the plaintiff, or some other person, at the expense of the defendant.

Even before the passing of "The Common Law Procedure Act, 1854," however, there had been long a tendency to apply the operation of writs of Mandamus—which, originally, were strictly confined to cases, where relief was required in respect of the infringement of some *public* right, or duty—to the enforcement of the rights of private individuals; the progress of which tendency is well described, in the following passage, from the second Report of the Common Law Commissioners, which may be interesting to our readers. The Commissioners say:—

It is true that besides the proceeding by action at law, there exists, in cases where a public inconvenience or private wrong is occasioned by the omission of a public or official duty, or one imposed by Act of Parliament for the benefit of individuals, and no sufficient remedy is afforded by action for damages, a process, by the writ of Mandamus, to compel the performance of the particular duty. This proceeding is not common to all the Courts, but peculiar to the Court of Queen's Bench; and it appears to have been, originally,

\* See "The Common Law Procedure Act, 1854," by Holland and Chandless, 245.

† Section 73, in the Irish Act.

‡ The power of enforcing the performance of duties, by Mandamus, was before confined to the Court of Queen's Bench, and is still confined to it, in cases not coming within these sections, its previous powers being left untouched. See sec. 77, of the Irish Act.

§ Section 76 in the Irish Act.

confined, in its operation, to a very limited class of cases, affecting the administration of public affairs; such as the election of corporate officers, the restoration of officers improperly removed, the compelling inferior Courts to proceed with matters within their jurisdiction, or public officers to perform duties imposed upon them by common law or by statute, as to make a rate or the like; and there can be little doubt that the extreme hardship arising out of the defect in the law which we have pointed out, was one considerable motive for the extension of the remedy in recent times to cases in which the rights of private individuals, only, were concerned.

The Mandamus given by the Act is, therefore, nothing else than a modification of the Prerogative Mandamus, peculiar to the Court of Queen's Bench, for which reason, although it precedes, and is referred to, by section 81,\* relating to injunction, we have reserved its consideration for this place, in conformity with the classification of the sections, which we have chosen, it not properly coming under any head of Equitable Jurisdiction. And section 80 we have likewise reserved, for a similar reason—it being merely an improvement on the old proceedings in Detinue.

We next invite attention to sections 63, 64, 65 and 66, which speak for themselves.

**LXIII.** It shall be lawful for a Judge, upon the *ex-parte* Application of a Judgment Creditor, and upon Affidavit by himself or his Attorney stating that Judgment has been recovered, and that it is still unsatisfied, and to what Amount, and that any other Person is indebted to the Judgment Debtor, and is within the Jurisdiction, to order that all Debts owing or accruing from such Third Person (herein-after called the Garnishee) to the Judgment debtor, shall be attached to answer the Judgment Debt; and by the same or any subsequent Order it may be ordered that the Garnishee shall appear before the Judge or Master, as such Judge shall appoint, to show Cause why he should not pay the Judgment Creditor the Debt due from him to the Judgment Debtor, or so much thereof as may be sufficient to satisfy the Judgment Debt.

**LXIV.** Service of an Order that Debts due or accruing to the Judgment Debtor shall be attached, or Notice thereof to the Garnishee, in such Manner as the Judge shall direct, shall bind such Debts in his Hands.

**LXV.** If the Garnishee does not forthwith pay into Court the Amount due from him to the Judgment Debtor, or an Amount equal to the Judgment Debt, and does not dispute the Debt due or claimed to be due from him to the Judgment Debtor, or if he does not appear upon Summons, then the Court or a Judge may order Execution to

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\* Pages 719, and 720.

issue, and it may be sued forth accordingly, without any previous Writ or Process, to levy the Amount due from such Garnishee towards Satisfaction of the Judgment Debt.

LXVI. If the Garnishee disputes his Liability, the Court or a Judge, instead of making an Order that Execution shall issue, may order that the Judgment Creditor shall be at liberty to proceed against the Garnishee by Writ, Calling upon him to show Cause why there should not be Execution against him for the alleged Debt, or for the Amount due to the Judgment Debtor, if less than the Judgment Debt, and for Costs of Suit; and the Proceedings upon such Suit shall be the same, as nearly as may be, as upon a Writ of Revivor issued under "The Common Law Procedure Act" Amendment Act, Ireland, 1853."

That the principle enunciated by these sections, of the judgment creditor being entitled to seek satisfaction of his own debt, out of those due to his debtor, is, in the abstract, just, no man can doubt; but, that, suddenly applied, in its present shape, to existing interests, in this country, it will be found productive of much utility, we certainly entertain very great misgivings. In fact, we forebode from it, the two following very serious evils—first, that it will encourage fraudulent collusion, between debtors and creditors, for the purpose of exacting the payment of doubtful or imaginary debts, from third parties, by false or distorted statements—and, secondly, that it will act as a check upon commercial intercourse, by preventing, not the *giving* (hitherto the grand impediment) but, what is just as formidable, the *taking* of credit. Men will, henceforth, be exposed not only to the process of their own creditors, but to that of the creditors of those creditors, likewise; the peril of which position, it is reasonable to suppose, will cause many a speculation to be nipped in the bud, which, if allowed to reach maturity, might yield wealth to its promoters, and comfort to a whole neighbourhood of our laboring population. With respect to debts charged on land, the owners whereof are also personally liable, it is difficult to say, how these sections will operate; but, it is to be feared, that, unless the Common Law Judges use, in administering them, a discretion, tantamount almost to an equitable jurisdiction (such as perhaps the legislature meant to give them, by using no imperative words, in their regard, therein), mortgagors and judgment debtors will, sometimes, find themselves assailed, for the recovery of the amount of tradesman's bills, and such other debts, due by their creditors, notwithstanding

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\* This mistake occurs in the original section.

that they had paid them, punctually, the interest on their loans, and that they had taken those loans, without suspecting, that they could ever be subjected to such molestation.—section 63 making no distinction, as to the debts chargeable in the hands of the Garnishee, or for which he is to be made liable, by sections 65 and 66, and consequently, including everything that amounts to a *legal debt*! So far as decisions have, as yet, gone, we are glad to observe, that the learned judges are disposed to construe these sections strictly, in favour of the Garnishee, requiring the applicant to make out a clearer case against him, than can, possibly, in many cases, be made out in Ireland, where there exists no statutable machinery, for previously discovering the debts due to the judgment debtor—section 60 of the English Act of 1854, which provides such machinery, by the oral examination of that debtor, being, by a curious omission, not inserted in the Act before us.

Mentioning two more sections of this Act of Parliament—viz., section 93, which enables the Court or a Judge, to compel the abandonment of actions, by reason of the death of parties, in certain cases, and section 97, which is a re-enactment of the well known 40th section of the Civil Bill Act, 14 and 15 Vic. Chap. 57, repealed by “The Common Law Procedure Amendment Act (Ireland) 1858,” we now conclude our examination of its provisions, repeating, what we said, in the commencement of this article, that it contains “the germs of some improvement, in our legal system,” but that, still, what with its omissions, which we have pointed out, and, what with the inaccuracy and insufficiency of some of its enactments, it is one of those hastily conceived, and ill-digested pieces of legislation, of which “Modern Law Reforms” exhibit but too many samples. Its very title, which ought to be (as Lord Coke says of a preamble)\* “a good mean to find the meaning of a statute,” is insufficient for that purpose, for that title being, “An Act farther to amend the procedure in, and enlarge the jurisdiction of, the *Superior Courts of Common Law*, in Ireland,” and thereby indicating, that the Act refers *only* to those Courts, the 14th section,† notwithstanding, includes, and confers a new jurisdiction upon, *our Courts of Equity*, and fifteen different sections are, by the 98th section,‡ extended,

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\* Co. Litt. 70, a.      † Page 711.      ‡ Pages 710 & 711.

some to *every Court of civil*, and the rest, to *every Court of civil and criminal, judicature*, in this country. Now, we protest against this species of legislation. When institutions are affected by any section of an Act of Parliament, it ought to be shown, that they are so, either by that section itself, or by the title, or preamble, of the Act containing it. Yet, here are fifteen sections of an Act having no preamble, which apply to all our inferior, and twelve of them to all our criminal, tribunals, from not one of which sections, nor from the title of the Act, can it be gathered, that it so applies, nor is that fact disclosed, at all, save by the single section above mentioned, introduced among the 103 sections, of which the Act consists! This is quite of a piece with the partial extension to Ireland of the Act of 1854, on which we have commented.\* We must say, that such half-concealed extensions are, too frequent amongst our laws, and are the causes of much of their obscurity and complication. Such faults as they, however, are not, generally attributable to the framers of our Acts of Parliament, so much as to the system by which they are carried through the Legislature, when, after each of several members, has introduced, in committee, his own amendment of the bill—one altering a phrase, another adding a section, and another striking out a sentence, or a word—there exists no public officer, on whom it is incumbent to see, that all those variations quadrate with each other, and that the entire measure is not alone consistent with itself, and with existing laws, but clear in its expression, and convenient in its shape. Until such an officer is appointed, it is needless to expect, that, amidst the mountains of legislation, which every session heaps together—like Pelion upon Ossa, and both upon Olympus—any reasonable degree of order or uniformity can prevail; and it is, therefore, that we highly commend Mr. Napier's project of establishing a "Minister of Public Justice," whose duties would embrace the foregoing, with other tasks. Such an officer is possessed by other nations, who do not want him so much as we do. Let us hope, that their example will be followed amongst us, and that so manifest a deficiency will be soon supplied! "*Legum custodiam nullam habemus. —Græci nec diligentius, apud quos ~~κατασκευαζονται~~ creantur: nec hi solum litteras (nam id quidem etiam apud majores nostros erat) sed etiam facta hominum observabant, ad legesque revocabant.*"†

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\* Page 701.

† Cic. De Leg. Lib. 3.

### ART. III.—WOMAN'S WORK.

1. *Sisters of Charity, Catholic and Protestant, at Home and Abroad.* By Mrs. Jameson. Second Edition. London: Longman and Co. 1855.
2. *The Communion of Labour: a Second Lecture on the Social Employments of Women.* By Mrs. Jameson. London: Longman and Co. 1856.
3. *National Education; its Present State and Prospects.* By Frederic Hill. 2 Vols. London: Charles Knight. 1836.

There is an old legend telling that Saint Mona had a harp which, touched by the fingers of the Saint, gave out the sweetest and most melodious music, but, struck by stranger hands, the strings jarred and jangled into wildest dissonance. Whilst reading and noting the two latest works of Mrs. Jameson, and which we have placed first as the subjects of this paper, the old legend has frequently come back upon our memory, and we have thought how truly that harp, touched by the Saint, is typical of the peculiar and ever-charming manner in which, in all their phases and forms, Mrs. Jameson has made the heart, life, passion, feeling, duty, rights and wrongs of women her own admitted subject of description and of commentary. Other women have essayed to be the champions or the advocates of their sex, but the fine strung harp has jarred beneath their fingers, and recovers its tone only at the touch of its mistress.

And yet in all her works, devoted to this subject—Woman—in all from the *Characteristics of Woman*, to *The Loves of the Poets*, from the *Common Place Book*\* to these volumes now before us, Mrs. Jameson is never “a woman’s rights” advocate; she is as far removed from Lady Mary Montague, as from Mary Wollstonecraft, from Miss Martineau as from Mrs. Bloomer—she is, in fact and in brief, that which she should ever best be—Mistress Anna Jameson. It is not her eloquence, it is not her good sense, it is not the ever fresh illustrations of her subject, it is not the truth and beauty around and over her thoughts and fancies, it is not any or all

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\* For a review of this volume, see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. V. No. 17, p. 173.



of these that make her books, precious as they are good, and brilliant as they are precious—it is in the full deep-hearted womanly feeling evinced in each, the great moral of all teaches us how truly she, as *Alda*, in the Introduction to the *Characteristics*, declares to *Medon* :—

“ I have endeavoured to illustrate the various modifications of which the female character is susceptible, with their causes and results. My life has been spent in observing and thinking ; I have had, as you well know, more opportunities for the first, more leisure for the last, than have fallen to the lot of most people. What I have seen, felt, thought, suffered, has led me to form certain opinions. *It appears to me that the condition of women in society, as at present constituted, is false in itself, and injurious to them,—that the education of women, as at present conducted, is founded in mistaken principles, and tends to increase fearfully the sum of misery and error in both sexes.*”

Twenty-six years have passed since these truths were written ; great triumphs in science, in art, in all things, have been the achievements of our Nation since that period, but the quarter of a century has done, *comparatively*, little to ameliorate the evils indicated in that portion of the last quoted passage, which we have placed in italics—and still may the cynic snarl, with too frequent proof, the sweet, suffering *Isabella's* rely to *Angelo*—

“ Women ! help Heaven ! men their creation mar  
In profiting by them.”

Mrs. Jameson has no beautiful utopian views of woman's perfect and sublimated existence in regions beyond our work-day sphere. No bright particular star-world, whose violet robed doctresses and deep-cyed deanesses shall rule the girl sophisters, like the fair fancies of *The Princess*. She contemplates none of these things, she confines, and wisely confines, herself to the solution of these following questions,—“ Whether a more enlarged sphere of social work may not be allowed to woman in perfect accordance with the truest feminine instincts ? Whether there be not a possibility of her sharing practically in the responsibilities of social, as well as domestic life ? Whether she might not be better prepared to meet and exercise such higher responsibilities ? And whether such communion of labor might not lead to the more humane ordering of many of our public institutions, to a purer standard of morals, to a better mutual comprehension and a finer har-

mony between men and women, when thus called upon to work together, and (in combining what is best in the two natures) becoming what God intended them to be, the supplement to each other?"\*

Mrs. Jameson will not allow that man is to be the worker and woman the dreamer—they must be, and in our mind she shows how they can be, thoroughly and throughly "the supplement to each other",—in the education of those girls who will one day be the women of our country; in softening the agony of sickness, or in tending the closing hours of life; in the gaol amongst men and women, making a sunshine in the blackness, not of the prison cell, but of the prisoner's mind and heart, teaching as man cannot teach, so gracefully or so gently, that the world is not all hard, unforgiving, and careless of those against whom law and society are often more unjust in punishing than they, the prisoners, are guilty in offending. In the Reformatory woman can aid; there, amidst the young of both sexes, is a place peculiarly the sphere of woman, a place which has been already so nobly filled by Mary Carpenter. In the Asylum for the fallen penitent woman, is a mission where woman may minister as Christ himself has taught we should minister, in tenderness, in forgiveness, and in humble recollection of our own imperfect following of our exemplar. In all these phases of life, working out the glory of God and the happiness of our neighbour, lies the Communion of Labor; in these duties we learn the great truth, *Laborare est Orare*, whilst we blot out "the chronicles of wasted time," and man and woman work in unity of purpose at last, "and," in Mrs. Jameson's eloquent words, "combining what is best in the two natures, become what God intended them to be, the supplement to each other."

These are not the sentiments of a woman's rights advocate. Woman is not to be man's guide or mistress, she is to be a part of his being and existence; they are to work together, to be "the supplement" to each other. She writes:—

Morally a woman has a right to the free and entire development of every faculty which God has given her to be improved and used to His honour. Socially she has a right to the protection of equal laws; the right to labour with her hands the thing that is good; to select the kind of labour which is in harmony with her condition and her powers; to exist, if need be, by her labour, or to profit others by

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See "The Communion of Labour," p. 3.

it if she choose. These are her rights, not more nor less than the rights of the man. Let us therefore put aside all futile and unreal distinctions. I go back to the principle laid down in my former Lecture, and I appeal against human laws and customs, to the eternal and immutable law of God. When He created all living creatures male and female, was it not His will that out of this very disparity in unity, this likeness in unlikeness, there should spring an indissoluble bond of mutual attraction and mutual dependence, increasing in degree and durability with every advance of sentient life? And when He raised *us*, His human creatures, above mere animal existence, did He not make the union, by choice and will, of the men and the woman the basis of all domestic life? all *domestic* life the basis of all social life? all *social* life the basis of all national life? How, then, shall our social and national life be pure and holy, and well ordered before God and man, if the domestic affections and duties be not carried out, and expanded, and perfected in the larger social sphere, and in the same spirit of mutual reverence, trust, and kindness which we demand in the primitive relation? It appears to me that when the Creator endowed the two halves of the human race with ever-aspiring hopes, with ever-widening sympathies, with ever-progressive capacities,—when He made them equal in the responsibilities which bind the conscience and in the temptations which mislead the will,—He linked them inseparably in an ever-extending sphere of duties, and an ever-expanding communion of affections; thus, in one simple, holy, and beautiful ordinance, binding up at once the continuation of the species and its moral, social, and physical progress, through all time.

Let these premises be granted, and hence it follows as a *first* natural and necessary result, and one which the wisest philosophers have admitted, that the relative position of the man and the woman in any community is invariably to be taken as a test of the degree of civilisation and well-being in that community. Hence, as a *second* result equally natural and necessary, we find that all that extends and multiplies the innocent relations, the kindly sympathies, the mutual services of men and women, must lead to the happiness and improvement of both. Hence, *thirdly*, if either men or women arrogate to themselves exclusively any of the social work or social privileges which can be performed or exercised perfectly only in communion, they will inevitably fail in their objects, and end probably in corrupting each other. Hence, in conclusion, this last inevitable result; that wherever the nature of either man or woman is considered as self-dependent or self-sufficing, their rights and wrongs as distinct, their interests as opposed or even capable of separation, there we find cruel and unjust laws, discord and confusion entering into all the forms of domestic and social life, and the element of decay in all our institutions. In the midst of our apparent material prosperity, let some curious or courageous hand lift up but a corner of that embroidered pall which the superficial refinement of our privileged and prosperous classes has thrown over society, and how we recoil from the revelation of what lies seething and festering beneath! How we are startled by glimpses of hidden pain, and covert vice, and horrible wrongs done and suffered! Then come strange trials

before our tribunals, polluting the public mind. Then are great blue books piled up before Parliament, filled with reports of inspectors and committees. Then eloquent newspaper articles are let off like rockets into an abyss, just to show the darkness—and expire. Then have we fitful, clamorous bursts of popular indignation and remorse; hasty partial remedies for antiquated mischiefs; clumsy tinkering of barbarous and inadequate laws;—then the vain attempt to solder together undeniable truths and admitted falsehoods into some brittle, plausible compromise;—then at last the slowly awakening sense of a great want aching deep down at the heart of society, throbbing upwards and outwards with a quicker and a quicker pulse; and then—what then? What if this great want, this *something* which we crave and seek, be in a manner a part of ourselves?—lying so near to us, so close at our feet, that we have overlooked and lost it in reaching after the distant, the difficult, the impracticable?\*

These lectures, it must be remembered, were delivered to a circle of private friends and at their request, and in each volume Mrs. Jameson keeps clearly before her audience, or readers, that the last quoted passages express her views and opinions without conditions or reservations. She holds that what women have done in other countries, women may accomplish in England. She will not admit that Catholicity is better adopted for the development of woman's work than Protestantism. She contends that the Catholic Church wisely turns every bent of the human mind to the service of God, and she is right. Thus it is that active charity has its home amongst the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy; thus it is that in another branch it is found amongst the *Béguines*; thus it is that he who fears to take upon him the great office of Priest may become the instructor of youth amongst the Christian Brothers; thus it is that Angela of Brescia, mourning over the loss of her dead sister, for the love of that sister's memory becomes the instructress of young girls; imitated by *Françoise de Saintonge*, her work goes on, and from the garret of Dijon, with its five poor girl scholars, springs up the noble Order of Ursulines, who are to women as the Jesuits to men, the best instructors in all that makes men or women what God intended they should be, his servants in their own peculiar spheres.†

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\* See "The Communion of Labour," p. 17.

† The following passage from "The Ursuline Manual," the ordinary prayer book of those educated by the Ursuline Nuns in these Kingdoms, reads like one of Mrs. Jameson's own thoughtful pages:—

Truly the Catholic Church does turn each bent of mind to the service of God ; and in Angela and in Ignatius, in Dominick and in Francis Xavier, in Vincent de Paul and in Philip Neri, in every order by which she gains servants for God and soldiers for his Church, the abiding, ruling spirit of Catholicity is, to secure volunteers for each particular branch of the Church militant, ever combining what is best in the natures of men and women, making them thus, what God intended they should be, "the supplement to each other."

Thus it is the Catholic Church has ever acted, but thus it is *not* that the Protestant Church has acted, and why ? Thus Mrs. Jameson replies : —

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"Consider that the hidden life of Jesus Christ is a model which you should continually study, because it was during those years that Jesus has given you an example, that you should follow his footsteps. (1 Peter, ii. 21.) During thirty years of subjection and labour, Jesus deigned, in a peculiar manner, to become the model of all Christians. Contemplate that model attentively, and consider with astonishment, that he who had descended from heaven to instruct, convert, and save the whole universe, employed the greater part of his life in seclusion : showing no otherwise the perfection of the Divinity which resided in him, than by obeying his parents, serving and assisting them, and fulfilling in all things the will of his heavenly Father. The accomplishment of that adorable will was the only object of his most vehement desires ; it was so necessary to his happiness, that he himself declared it to be his food, the support of his existence, the end of his mission on earth. This pure, upright and divine intention of accomplishing the will of God, so dignified and enhanced the merit of our Redeemer's actions, that one word, one sigh, one tear, one thought of Jesus Christ, was more meritorious in the sight of God, than the labours and austerities of all the saints. Learn then, from the hidden life of Jesus, that lesson of perfect conformity to the will of God, by which alone you can resemble him, and attain true sanctity. Resolve, in every stage of your life, to place all your perfection in being about the business of your heavenly Father ; that is, in faithfully discharging the duties which Providence has allotted you, whatever they may be. If you be firmly convinced that this faithful, cheerful, persevering discharge of duty, is true sanctity, and a real imitation of Jesus Christ, you will carefully avoid that disedifying system of devotion pursued by many of your sex, who say long prayers ; spend, or rather lose much time in chapels ; who frequent the sacraments, yet whose hands are empty before God, because they do their own will, and not his ; because their devotion is little better than sloth, which leads them, under cover of piety, to neglect those domestic duties which God had allotted them, and which should be their conscientious pursuit and their glory.—(See the *Holy Woman*, Prov. xxxi. 10.)—See "The Ursuline Manual, or a Collection of Prayers, Spiritual Exercises, &c., interspersed with the various Instructions necessary for Forming Youth to the Practice of solid Piety, arranged for the Young Ladies educated at the Ursuline Convent, Cork." Dublin: 1847, p. 258. This book is sold by all Catholic booksellers in Ireland.

In England it is not the form of Christianity we profess which is against such an organisation of feminine aid in good works as I would advocate ;—God forbid ! Yet some of our greatest difficulties may be ascribed to the deep-rooted puritanical prejudices bequeathed to us by our ancestors. It is worth considering that the first effect of the Calvinistic reaction against the dominant Church, and against the errors, and exaggerations, and gross materialism which had been connected with the worship of the Virgin Mother, was not favourable to women. In the earlier times of the Christian Church, whenever certain women distinguished themselves by particular sanctity or charity, or exercised any especial moral or intellectual influence, the Church absorbed them, claimed them, held them up to reverence during life and canonised them after death ; and still their beautiful images shine upon us from our cathedral windows, or stand out in sculptured forms in all the dignity of their hallowed office and venerable religious attributes. But after these fair superstitions had been abrogated by the severity of the early reformers, and were succeeded by the strongest prejudice against women exercising any kind of open and authorised religious or spiritual influence, still there were women who did exercise such influence—the natural power of strong intellect, or strong enthusiasm. The superiority could not be denied ; but as it could no longer be referred to a larger measure of heavenly gifts, it must be derived from demoniac power. Men had repudiated angels and saints, but they still devoutly believed in devils and witches. The benign miracles of female charity were the inventions and impositions of a lying priesthood ; but woe unto him who doubted in the power of an old woman to ride on a broomstick, or of a young woman to entertain Satan as her emissary in mischief ! All the women who perished by judicial condemnation for heresy in the days of the inquisition did not equal the number of women condemned judicially as witches—hanged, tortured, burned, drowned like mad dogs—in the first century of the Reformed Church ; and these horrors were enacted in the most civilised countries in Europe, by grave magistrates and ecclesiastics, who were proud of having thrown off the Roman yoke, and of reading their Bibles, where apparently they found as many texts in favour of burning witches as ever did the Inquisitors in favour of burning heretics. It was characteristic of the two diverging superstitions, that in the former age Dante conceived his Beatrice as the type of loving, wise, and spiritual womanhood, leading her lover into Paradise ; while Milton's type of female attraction was Eve, the temptress to sin and death. The time is come, let us hope, when men have found out what we may truly be to them, not worshipping us as saints, or apostrophising us as angels, or persecuting us as witches, or crushing us as slaves ; revering us for that power we are allowed to possess, not jealous of it, nor throwing it into some indirect or unhealthy form ; profiting by our tenderness, not oppressing us because of it ; taking us to themselves as helpers in all social good, not leaving our undirected energies to wear away our own lives, and sometimes trouble theirs.

It is better than a dozen sermons on toleration, to count up the

women who, during this half-century, have left the strongest and most durable impress on society—on the minds and the hearts of their generation. First, there is Mrs. Fry, the Quakeress, to whom we owe the cleansing of our prisons, and in part the reform of our criminal code; Caroline Chisholm, the Roman Catholic, with her strong common sense, her decision and independence of character, who may be said to have reformed the system of emigration; Mary Carpenter, the Dissenter, who has become an authority in all that concerns the treatment of juvenile delinquents; and Florence Nightingale, the Churchwoman, who in our time has opened a new path for female charity and female energy. And let us remember that there is not one of these four admirable women who has not been assailed in turn by the bitterest animosity, by the most vulgar, so-called religious abuse from those who differed from them in their religious tenets, or from those who contemned them and would have put them down merely as women; not one of them who has not outlived prejudice and jealousy; not one of them who could have carried out their large and beneficent views without the aid of generous and enlightened men,—men who had the nobleness of mind to accept them as fellow-workers in the cause of humanity, to admit them on equal terms into the communion of labour and the communion of charity.

The chief portions of Mrs. Jameson's Lectures are devoted to a detail of the various institutions of the continent in which women are employed, and amongst these Hospitals and Prisons are, of course, the most prominent. She shows what has been done abroad, she shows what has not been done at home, and from various portions of the two books we condense the following eloquent descriptions:—

It is in the seventh century that we find these communities of charitable women first mentioned under a particular appellation. We read in history that when Landry, Bishop of Paris, about the year 650, founded an hospital, since known as the Hotel Dieu, as a general refuge for disease and misery, he placed it under the direction of the *Hospitalières*, or nursing-sisters of that time,—women whose services are understood to have been voluntary, and undertaken from motives of piety. Innocent IV., who would not allow of any outlying religious societies, collected and united these hospital-sisters under the rule of the Augustine Order, making them amenable to the government and discipline of the Church. The novitiate or training of a *Sœur Hospitalière* was of twelve years' duration, after which she was allowed to make her profession. At that time, and even earlier, we find many hospitals expressly founded for the reception of the sick pilgrims and wounded soldiers returning from the East, and bringing with them strange and hitherto unknown forms of disease and suffering. Some of the largest hospitals in France and the Netherlands originated in this purpose, and were all served by the *Hospitalières*; and to this day the Hotel Dieu, with its one thousand beds, the hospital of St. Louis, with its seven hundred beds, and that

of *La Pitié*, with its six hundred beds, are served by the same sisterhood, under whose care they were originally placed centuries ago.

For about five hundred years the institution of the *Dames* or *Sœurs Hospitalières* remained the only one of its kind. During this period it had greatly increased its numbers, and extended all through western Christendom; still it did not suffice for the wants of the age; and the thirteenth century, fruitful in all those results which a combination of wide-spread suffering and religious ferment naturally produces, saw the rise of another community of compassionate women destined to exercise a far wider influence. These were the *Sœurs Grises* or Grey Sisters, so called at first, from the original colour of their dress. Their origin was this:—the Franciscans (and other regular orders) admitted into their community a third or secular class, who did not seclude themselves in cloisters, who took no vows of celibacy, but were simply bound to submit to certain rules and regulations, and united together in works of charity, devoting themselves to visiting the sick in the hospitals or at their own homes, and doing good wherever and whenever called upon. Women of all classes were enrolled in this sisterhood. Queens, princesses, ladies of rank, wives of burghers, as well as poor widows and maidens. The higher class and the married women occasionally served; the widows and unmarried devoted themselves almost entirely to the duties of nursing the sick in the hospitals. Gradually it became a vocation apart, and a novitiate or training of from one to three years was required to fit them for their profession.

The origin of the *Béguines*, so well known in Flanders, is uncertain; but they seem to have existed as hospital sisters in the seventh century, and to have been settled in communities at Liege and elsewhere in 1173. They wear a particular dress, (the black gown, and white hood,) but take no vows, and may leave the community at any time,—a thing which rarely happens.

No one who has travelled in Flanders, visited Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, or indeed any of the Netherlandish towns, will forget the singular appearance of these, sometimes young and handsome, but always staid, respectable-looking women, walking about protected by the universal reverence of the people, and busied in their compassionate vocation. In their few moments of leisure the *Béguines* are allowed to make lace and cultivate flowers, and they act under a strict self-constituted government, maintained by strict traditional forms. All the hospitals in Flanders are served by these *Béguines*. They have besides, attached to their houses, hospitals of their own, with a medical staff of physicians and surgeons, under whose direction, in all cases of difficulty, the sisters administer relief; and of the humility, skill, and tenderness with which they do administer it, I have never heard but one opinion; nor did I ever meet with any one who had travelled in those countries who did not wish that some system of the kind could be transferred to England.

In the fifteenth century (about 1443), when Flanders was under the dominion of the Dukes of Burgundy, a few of the *Béguines* were summoned from Bruges to Beaune to take charge of the great hospital founded there by Rollin, the Chancellor of Philip the Good.



They were soon joined by others from the neighbouring districts' and this community of nurses obtained the name of *Sœurs de Ste. Marthe*, Sisters of St. Martha. It is worth notice that Martha, who is represented in Scripture as troubled about household cares while her sister Mary "sat at the feet of Jesus, and heard his words," was early chosen as the patroness of those who, instead of devoting themselves to a cloistered life of prayer and contemplation, were bound by a religious obligation to active secular duties. The hospital of Beaune, one of the most extensive and best managed in France, is still served by these sisters. Many hospitals in the South of France, and three at Paris, are served by the same community.

In Germany, the Sisters of Charity are styled "Sisters of St. Elizabeth," in honour of that benevolent enthusiast, Elizabeth of Hungary, whose pathetic story and beautiful legend have been rendered familiar to us by Mr. Kingsley's drama. When Joseph II. suppressed the nunneries throughout Austria and Flanders, the Elizabethan Sisters, as well as the Bèguines, were excepted by an especial decree, "because of the usefulness of their vocation." At Vienna, a few years ago, I had the opportunity, through the kindness of a distinguished physician, of visiting one of the houses of these Elizabethan Sisters.—There was an hospital attached to it of fifty beds, which had received about 450 patients during the year. Nothing could exceed the propriety, order, and cleanliness, of the whole establishment. On the ground floor was an extensive "Pharmacie," a sort of Apothecaries' Hall; part of this was divided off by a long table or counter, and surrounded by shelves filled with drugs, much like an apothecary's shop; behind the counter two Sisters, with their sleeves tucked up, were busy weighing and compounding medicines, with such a delicacy, neatness, and exactitude as women use in these matters. On the outside of this counter, seated on benches or standing, were a number of sick and infirm, pale, dirty, ragged patients; and among them moved two other Sisters, speaking to each individually in a low gentle voice, and with a quiet authority of manner, that in itself had something tranquillising. A physician and surgeon, appointed by the Government, visited this hospital, and were resorted to in cases of difficulty or where operations were necessary. Here was another instance in which men and women worked together harmoniously and efficiently. Howard, in describing the principal hospital at Lyons, which he praises for its excellent and kindly management, as being "so clean and so quiet," tells us that, at that time (1776), he found it attended by nine physicians and surgeons, and managed by twelve Sisters of Charity. "There were Sisters who made up, as well as administered, all the medicine prescribed; for which purpose there was a laboratory and apothecary's shop, the neatest and most elegantly fitted up that can be conceived."

Louise de Marillac—better known as Madame Legras, when left a widow in the prime of life, could find, like Angela da Brescia, no better refuge from sorrow than in active duties, undertaken "for the love of God." She desired to join the Hospitalières, and was met at the outset by difficulties, and even horrors, which would have extinguished a less ardent vocation, a less determined will. She set

herself to remedy the evils, instead of shrinking from them. She was assisted and encouraged in her good work by a man endued with great ability and piety, enthusiasm equal, and moral influence even superior, to her own. This was the famous Vincent de Paul, who had been occupied for years with a scheme to reform thoroughly the prisons and the hospitals of France. In Madame Legras he found a most efficient coadjutor. With her charitable impulses and religious enthusiasm, she united qualities not always, not often, found in union with them: a calm and patient temperament, and that administrative faculty, indispensable in those who are called to such privileged work. She was particularly distinguished by a power of selecting and preparing the instruments, and combining the means, through which she was to carry out her admirable purpose. With Vincent de Paul and Madame Legras was associated another person, Madame Goussaut, who besieged the Archbishop of Paris till what was refused to reason was granted to importunity, and they were permitted to introduce various improvements into the administration of the hospitals. Vincent de Paul and Louise Legras succeeded at last in constituting, not on a new, but on a renovated basis, the order of Hospitalières, since known as the Sisterhood of Charity. A lower class of sisters were trained to act under the direction of the more intelligent and educated women. Within twenty years this new community had two hundred houses and hospitals; in a few years more it had spread over all Europe. Madame Legras died in 1660. Already before her death the women prepared and trained under her instructions, and under the direction of Vincent de Paul (and here we have another instance of the successful communion of labour), had proved their efficiency on some extraordinary occasions. In the campaigns of 1652 and 1658 they were sent to the field of battle, in groups of two and four together, to assist the wounded. They were invited into the besieged towns to take charge of the military hospitals. They were particularly conspicuous at the siege of Dunkirk, and in the military hospitals established by Anne of Austria at Fontainebleau. When the plague broke out in Poland in 1672, they were sent to direct the hospitals at Warsaw, and to take charge of the orphans, and were thus introduced into Eastern Europe; and, stranger than all! they were even sent to the prison-infirmaries where the branded *forçats* and condemned felons lay cursing and writhing in their fetters. This was a mission for Sisters of Charity which may startle the refined, or confined, notions of Englishwomen in the nineteenth century. It is not, I believe, generally known in this country that the same experiment has been lately tried, and with success, in the prisons of Piedmont, where the Sisters were first employed to nurse the wretched criminals perishing with disease and despair; afterwards, and during convalescence, to read to them, to teach them to read and to knit, and in some cases to sing. The hardest of these wretches had probably some remembrance of a mother's voice and look thus recalled, or he could at least feel gratitude for sympathy from a purer, higher nature. As an element of reformation, I might almost say of regeneration, this use of the feminine influence has been found efficient where all other means had failed.

In my former lecture I mentioned several of the most famous of these hospitals: during my last visit to Paris I visited an hospital which I had not before seen,—the hospital Laborrissière, which appeared to me a model of all that a civil hospital ought to be, clean, airy, light, and lofty, above all, cheerful. I should observe that generally in the hospitals served by Sisters of Charity, there is ever an air of cheerfulness caused by their own sweetness of temper and voluntary devotion to their work. At the time that I visited this hospital it contained 612 patients, 300 men and 312 women, in two ranges of building divided by a very pretty garden. The whole interior management is entrusted to twenty-five trained Sisters of the same Order as those who serve the Hôtel-Dieu. There are besides about forty servants, men and women,—men to do the rough work, and male nurses to assist in the men's wards under the superintendence of the Sisters. There are three physicians and two surgeons in constant attendance, a steward or comptroller of accounts, and other officers. To complete this picture, I must add that the hospital Laborrissière was founded by a lady, a rich heiress, a married woman too, whose husband, after her death carried out her intentions to the utmost with zeal and fidelity. She had the assistance of the best architects in France to plan her building: medical and scientific men had aided her with their counsels. What the feminine instinct of compassion had conceived was by the manly intellect planned and ordered, and again by female aid administered. In all its arrangements this hospital appeared to me a perfect example of the combined working of men and women.

In contrast with this splendid foundation, I will mention another not less admirable in its way.

When I was at Vienna, I saw a small hospital belonging to the Sisters of Charity there. The beginning had been very modest, two of the Sisters having settled in a small old house. Several of the adjoining buildings were added one after the other, connected by wooden corridors: the only new part which had any appearance of being adapted to its purpose was the infirmary, in which were fifty-two patients, twenty-six men and twenty-six women, besides nine beds for cholera. There were fifty Sisters, of whom one-half were employed in the house, and the other half were going their rounds amongst the poor, or nursing the sick in private houses. There was a nursery for infants, whose mothers were at work; a day school for one hundred and fifty girls, in which only knitting and sewing were taught; all clean, orderly, and, above all, cheerful. There was a dispensary, where two of the Sisters were employed in making up prescriptions, homœopathic and allopathic. There was a large airy kitchen, where three of the Sisters with two assistants were cooking. There were two priests and two physicians. So that, in fact, under this roof we had the elements on a small scale of an English work-house; but very different was the spirit which animated it.

Before I leave Piedmont, I must mention two more hospitals, because of the contrast they afford, which will aptly illustrate the principle I am endeavouring to advocate.

The hospital of St. John at Vercelli, which I had the opportunity

of inspecting minutely, left a strong impression on my mind. At the time I visited it, it contained nearly 400 patients. There was besides, in an adjacent building, a school and hospital for poor children. The whole interior economy of these two hospitals was under the management of eighteen women, with a staff of assistants both male and female. The superior, a very handsome, intelligent woman, had been trained at Paris, and had presided over this provincial hospital for eleven years. There was the same cheerfulness which I have had occasion to remark in all institutions where the religious and feminine elements were allowed to influence the material administration; and everything was exquisitely clean, airy, and comfortable. In this instance the dispensary (*Pharmacie*) was managed by apothecaries, and not by the women.

Now, in contrast with this hospital I will describe a famous hospital at Turin. It is a recent building, with all the latest improvements, and considered, in respect to fitness for its purpose, as a *chef-d'œuvre* of architecture. The contrivances and material appliances for the sick and convalescent were exhibited to me as the wonder and boast of the city: certainly they were most ingenious. The management was in the hands of a committee of gentlemen; under them a numerous staff of priests and physicians. Two or three female servants of the lowest class were sweeping and cleaning. In the convalescent wards I saw a great deal of card-playing. All was formal, cold, clean, and silent; no cheerful, kindly faces, no soft low voices, no light active figures were hovering round. I left the place with a melancholy feeling, shared as I found by those who were with me. One of them, an accomplished physician, felt and candidly acknowledged the want of female influence here.

One of the directors of the great military hospital at Turin told me that he regarded it as one of the best deeds of his life, that he had recommended, and carried through, the employment of the Sisters of Charity in this institution. Before the introduction of these ladies, the sick soldiers had been nursed by orderlies sent from the neighbouring barracks—men chosen because they were unfit for other work. The most rigid discipline was necessary to keep them in order; and the dirt, neglect, and general immorality were frightful. Any change was, however, resisted by the military and medical authorities, till the invasion of the cholera; then the orderlies became, most of them, useless, distracted, and almost paralysed with terror. Some devoted Sisters of Charity were introduced in a moment of perplexity and panic; then all went well—propriety, cleanliness, and comfort prevailed. "No day passes," said my informant, "that I do not bless God for the change which I was the humble instrument of accomplishing in this place!"

Very similar was the information I received relative to the naval hospital at Genoa; but I had not the opportunity of visiting it.

Another excellent hospital at Turin, that of St. John, contained, when I visited it, 400 patients, a nearly equal number of men and women. There were, besides, a separate ward for sick children, and two wards containing about sixty "incurables"—the bedridden and helpless poor, of the same class which find refuge in our work-

houses. The whole of this large establishment was under the management of twenty-two religious women, with a staff of about forty-five assistants, men and women, and a large number of medical men and students. All was clean, and neat, and cheerful. I was particularly struck by the neatness with which the food was served; men brought it up in large trays, but the ladies themselves distributed it. Some friends of the poor sick were near the beds. I remember being touched by the sight of a little dog which, with its fore-paws resting on the bed and a pathetic wistful expression in its drooping face, kept its eyes steadfastly fixed on the sick man; a girl was kneeling beside him, to whom one of the Sisters was speaking words of comfort.\*

In this hospital and others I have found an excellent arrangement for the night-watch: it was a large sentry-box of an octagon shape, looking each way, the upper part all of glass, but furnished with curtains: and on a kind of dresser or table were arranged writing materials, all kinds of medicine and restoratives which might be required in haste, and a supply of linen, napkins, &c. Here two Sisters watched all night long; here the accounts were kept and the private business of the wards carried on in the daytime: a certain degree of privacy was thus secured for the ladies on duty when necessary. The Superior, whom we should call the matron, was an elderly woman, wearing the same simple convenient religious dress as the others, and only recognised by the large bunch of keys at her girdle.

The Marchese A——, one of the governors of the *Hospice de la Maternité*, described to me in terms of horror the state in which he

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\* Go into yon spacious hospital, provided with all that wealth, and skill, and knowledge can combine to heal or to ameliorate bodily suffering: see the floors how clean, the linen how spotless, the beds how comfortable! the most celebrated of our surgeons and physicians are in attendance; students from every part of England crowd thither;—it is one of the best of our medical schools. Let us approach a bed;—it is a poor pale girl, dying of a slow decline; she has been stretched there for eleven months; the chaplain duly visits her once or twice a week in her turn, for he has about five hundred other human souls to attend to. The physician, as he goes his rounds, pats her on the head; asks her, in a tone of unusual pity, the usual questions; then, perhaps, turns to two or three students who follow him, and almost aloud expresses his wonder to find her still alive. The nurse duly administers the prescription, and on pain of dismissal sees that every want is attended to. Is nothing else needed? Is anything else supplied? A melancholy religious tract, perhaps; but for the spontaneous action of mind upon mind,—for tender, human, sympathising love,—for help to the sinking spirit,—where are they? It is no answer to appeal to individual cases; to cite one or two hospitals, in which thoughtful and kindly women of the higher classes have been permitted to visit;—in which the superior intellect and administrative faculties of the matron for the time being have exercised an improving influence. These are the exceptions; and until larger, higher principles of action are generally recognised, they will continue to be accidental exceptions to the prevalence of a narrow-minded mechanical system.—See *Sisters of Charity*. Preface, p. vi.

had found the establishment when under the management of a board of governors who employed hired matrons and nurses. At last, in despair, he sent for some trained Sisters, ten of whom, with a Superior, now directed the whole in that spirit of order, cheerfulness, and unremitting attention, which belongs to them. The Marchese particularly dwelt on their economy. "We cannot," said he, "give them unlimited means (*des fonds à discretion*), for these good ladies think that all should go to the poor; but if we allow them a fixed sum, we find they can do more with that sum than we could have believed possible, and they never go beyond it: they are admirable accountants and economists."

I could relate much more of what I have seen in hospitals at home and abroad: but this Lecture is intended to be suggestive only, and for this purpose I have said enough. Yet, before I pass on to another part of my subject, I must be allowed to make one or two observations on the testimony before me relative to the moral and medical efficiency of the lady-nurses sent to the East.

In the midst of many differences of opinion, in one thing all are agreed: all to whom I have spoken, without one exception, bear witness to the salutary influence exercised by the lady-nurses over the men, and the submission and gratitude of the patients. In the most violent attacks of fever and delirium, when the orderlies could not hold them down in their beds, the mere presence of one of these ladies, instead of being exciting, had the effect of instantly calming the spirits and subduing the most refractory. It is allowed also that these ladies had the power to repress swearing and bad and coarse language; to prevent the smuggling of brandy and raki into the wards; to open the hearts of the sullen and desperate to contrition and responsive kindness. The facts are recorded, and remain uncontradicted; but the natural inference to be drawn from them does not seem to have struck our medical men.

With regard to the feeling between the nurses and the patients, here is a page of testimony which can hardly be read without emotion.

"We have attended many hundreds of the sick in the British army, suffering under every form of disease—the weary, wasting, low typhus fever or dysentery; or the agonies of the frost bite; and they were surrounded by every accumulation of misery. For the fevered lips there was no cooling drink, for the sinking frame no strengthening food, for the wounded limb no soft pillow, for many no watchful hands to help; but never did we hear a murmur pass their lips. Those whose privilege it was to nurse them noticed only obedience to orders, respectful gratitude, patience, and the most self-denying consideration for those who ministered. Even when in an apparently dying state they would look up in our faces and smile."

She adds in another place, with deep natural feeling, "It was so sad to see them die one after another; we learned to love them so!"

"We were trained" she says, "under the hospital nurses at home receiving our instruction from them; and what we saw *there* of disobedience to medical orders and cruelty to patients would fill pages, and make you shudder." "More of evil language was heard in one

hour in a London hospital than met my ears during months in a military one."

The drawbacks in regard to our volunteer ladies, were not want of sense nor want of zeal, but the want of robust health, experience, and sufficient training.

The experiment of a staff of the volunteer lady-nurses from St. John's House,\* with paid and trained nurses under their orders, has lately been made in King's College Hospital. I think I may say that it has so far succeeded. I have the testimony of one of the gentlemen filling a high official situation at the hospital, (and who was at first opposed to the introduction of these ladies, or at least most doubtful of their success,) that they have up to this time succeeded; that strong prejudices have been overcome, that there has been a purifying and harmonising influence at work since their arrival. The testimony borne by the ladies themselves to the courtesy of the medical men and the students, and the entire harmony with which they now work together, struck me even more.

The same conquest was obtained by the volunteer ladies in the East. One of them says, "So misrepresented were the army-surgeons that the Sisters and Ladies feared them more than any other horrors." "We were told to expect rebuff, discouragement, even insult. We never during this whole year experienced any other than assistance, encouragement, gentlemanly treatment, and, from many, the most cordial kindness." Of course there were some exceptions, but this was to be expected; and in reference to the principle for which I am now pleading, "the communion of labour," I consider this testimony very satisfactory.

So far for the effects of woman's work in the Hospital, let us now see what she has done in the Gaol and in the Asylum:—

A prison governed chiefly by women—and the women as well as the men who directed it responsible only to the Government, and not merely subordinate like the female officers in our prisons—was a singular spectacle; and I hope it will be distinctly understood that in describing what I have seen, it is not with any idea that these arrangements could be, or ought to be, *exactly* imitated among us. I only suggest the facts as illustrative of the principle I advocate, and as worthy of the consideration of humane and philosophic thinkers.

This prison at Neudorf is an experiment which as yet has only had a three years' trial, but it has so completely succeeded up to this time that they are preparing to organise eleven other prisons on the same plan. From a conversation I had with one of the Government officers, I could understand that the economy of the administration is a strong recommendation, as well as the moral success. Its origin is worth mentioning. It began by the efforts made by two humane ladies to find a refuge for those wretched creatures of their own sex

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\* The training institution for nurses, in Queen Square, Westminster.

who, after undergoing their term of punishment, were cast out of the prisons. These ladies, not finding at hand any persons prepared to carry out their views, sent to France for two women of a religious order which was founded for the reformation of lost and depraved women; and two of the Sisters were sent from Angers accordingly. After a while this small institution attracted the notice of the Government. It was taken in hand officially, enlarged, and organised as a prison as well as a penitentiary; the original plan being strictly adhered to, and the same management retained.

At the time that I visited it, this prison consisted of several different buildings and a large garden enclosed by high walls. The inmates were divided into three classes completely separated. The first were the criminals, the most desperate characters, brought there from the prisons at Vienna, and the very refuse of those prisons. They had been brought there six or eight at a time, fettered hand and foot, and guarded by soldiers and policemen.

The second class, drafted from the first, were called the penitents; they were allowed to assist in the house, to cook, and to wash, and to work in the garden, which last was a great boon. There were more than fifty of this class.

The third class were the voluntaries, those who, when their term of punishment and penitence had expired, preferred remaining in the house, and were allowed to do so. They were employed in work of which a part of the profit was retained for their benefit. There were about twelve or fourteen of this class. The whole number of criminals then in the prison exceeded 200, and they expected more the next day.

To manage these unhappy, disordered, perverted creatures, there were twelve women, assisted by three chaplains, a surgeon, and a physician: none of the men resided in the house, but visited it every day. The soldiers and police officers, who had been sent in the first instance as guards and jailors, had been dismissed. The dignity, good sense, patience, and tenderness of this female board of management were extraordinary. The ventilation and the cleanliness were perfect; while the food, beds, and furniture were of the very coarsest kind. The medical supervision was important, where there was as much disease—of frightful, physical disease—as there was of moral disease, crime, and misery. There was a surgeon and physician, who visited daily. There was a dispensary, under the care of two Sisters who acted as chief nurses and apothecaries. One of these was busy with the sick, the other went round with me. She was a little, active woman, not more than two or three and thirty, with a most cheerful face and bright, kind, dark eyes. She had been two years in the prison, and had previously received a careful training of five years—three years in the general duties of her vocation, and two years of medical training. She spoke with great intelligence of the differences of individual temperament, requiring a different medical and moral treatment.

The Sister who superintended the care of the criminals was the oldest I saw, and she was bright looking also. The Superior, who presided over the whole establishment, had a serious look, and a pale, care-worn, but perfectly mild and dignified face.



The difference between the countenances of those criminal who had lately arrived, and those who had been admitted into the class of penitents, was extraordinary. The first were either stupid, gross, and vacant, or absolutely frightful from the predominance of evil propensities. The latter were at least humanised.

When I expressed my astonishment that so small a number of women could manage such a set of wild creatures, the answer was, "If we want assistance we shall have it; but it is as easy with our system to manage two hundred or three hundred as one hundred or fifty." She then added devoutly, "The power is not in ourselves, it is granted from above." It was plain that she had the most perfect faith in that power, and in the text which declared all things possible to faith.

We must bear in mind that here men and women were acting together; that in all the regulations, religious and sanitary, there was mutual aid, mutual respect, an interchange of experience, but the women were subordinate only to the chief civil and ecclesiastical authority; the internal administration rested with them.

When I was at Turin, I visited an institution for the redemption of "unfortunate girls," (as they call themselves, poor creatures!) which appeared to me peculiarly successful. I did not consider it perfect, nor could all its details be imitated here. Yet some of the *natural* principles, recognised and carried out, appeared to me most important. It seemed to have achieved for female victims and delinquents what Mettrai has done for those of the other sex.

This institution (called at Turin *il Refugio*, the Refuge) was founded nearly thirty years ago by a "good Christian," whose name was not given to me, but who still lives, a very old man. When his means were exhausted he had recourse to the Marquise de Barol, who has from that time devoted her life, and the greater part of her possessions, to the objects of this institution.

In the Memoirs of Mrs. Fry there may be found a letter which Madame de Barol addressed to her on the subject of this institution and its objects, when it had existed for three or four years only. The letter is dated 1829, and is very interesting. Madame de Barol told me candidly, in 1855, that in the commencement she had made mistakes; she had been too severe. It had required twenty years of reflection, experience, and the most able assistance, to work out her purposes.

The institution began on a small scale with few inmates; it now covers a large space of ground, and several ranges of buildings for various departments, all connected, and yet most carefully separated. There are several distinct gardens enclosed by these buildings, and the green trees and flowers give an appearance of cheerfulness to the whole.

There is, first, a refuge for casual and extreme wretchedness. A certificate from a priest or a physician is required, but often dispensed with. I saw a child brought into this place by its weeping and despairing mother—a child about ten years old and in a fearful state. There was no certificate in this case, but the wretched little creature was taken in at once. There is an infirmary admirably

managed by a good physician and two medical Sisters of a religious order. There are also convalescent wards. These parts of the building are kept separate, and the inmates carefully classed, all the younger patients being in a separate ward.

In the penitentiary and schools, forming the second department, the young girls and children are kept distinct from the elder ones, and those who had lately entered from the others. I saw about twenty girls under the age of fifteen, but only a few together in one room. Only a few were tolerably handsome; many looked intelligent and kindly. In one of these rooms I found a tame trush hopping about, and I remember a girl with a soft face crumbling some bread for it, saved from her dinner. Reading, writing, plain work, and embroidery are taught, also cooking, and other domestic work. A certain number assisted by rotation in the large, lightsome kitchens and the general service of the house, but not till they had been there some months, and had received badges for good conduct. There are three gradations of these badges of merit, earned by various terms of probation. It was quite clear to me that these badges were worn with pleasure: whenever I fixed my eyes upon the little bits of red or blue ribbon, attached to the dress, and smiled approbation, I was met by a responsive smile—sometimes by a deep modest blush. The third and highest order of merit, which was a certificate of good conduct and steady industry during three years at least, conferred the privilege of entering an order destined to nurse the sick in the infirmary, or entrusted to keep order in the small classes. They had also a still higher privilege. And now I come to a part of the institution which excited my strongest sympathy and admiration. Appended to it is an infant hospital for the children of the very lowest orders—children born diseased or deformed, or maimed by accidents,—epileptic, or crippled. In this hospital were thirty-two poor suffering infants, carefully tended by such of the penitents as had earned this privilege. On a rainy day I found these poor little things taking their daily exercise in a long airy corridor. Over the clean shining floor was spread temporarily a piece of coarse grey druggert that their feet might not slip; and so they were led along, creeping, crawling, or trying to walk or run, with bandaged heads and limbs—carefully and tenderly helped and watched by the nurses, who were themselves under the supervision of one of the religious Sisters already mentioned.

There is a good dispensary, well supplied with common medicines, and served by a well instructed Sister of Charity, with the help of one of the inmates whom she had trained.

Any inmate is free to leave the Refuge whenever she pleases, and may be received a second time, but not a third time.

I was told that when these girls leave the institution, after a probation of three or four years, there is no difficulty in finding them good places, as servants, cooks, washerwomen, and even nurses; but all do not leave it. Those who, after a residence of six years, preferred to remain, might do so: they were devoted to a religious and laborious life, and lived in a part of the building which had a sort of conventual sanctity and seclusion. They are styled "*les Magdeleines*"

(Magdalens). I saw sixteen of such, and I had the opportunity of observing them. They were all superior in countenance and organisation, and belonged apparently to a better class. They were averse to re-entering the world, had been disgusted and humiliated by their bitter experience of vice, and disliked or were unfitted for servile occupations. They had a manufactory of artificial flowers, were skilful embroiderers and needlewomen, and supported themselves by the produce of their work. They were no longer objects of pity or dependent on charity; they had become objects of respect—and more than respect, of reverence. One of them who had a talent for music, Madame de Barol had caused to be properly instructed: she was the organist of the chapel and the music mistress: she had taught several of her companions to sing. A piano stood in the centre of the room, and they executed a little concert for us: everything was done easily and quietly, without effort or display. When I looked in the faces of these young women—the eldest was not more than thirty—so serene, so healthful, and in some instances so dignified, I found it difficult to recall the depth of misery, degradation, and disease out of which they had risen.

The whole number of inmates was about 140 without reckoning the thirty-two sick children. Madame de Barol said that this infant hospital was a most efficient means of thorough reform; it called out what was best in the disposition of the penitents, and was indeed a test of the character and temper.

Here are results which should bring reflection to the minds of our Irish Poor Law Guardians and Prison Boards, who declare that the Church is in danger, if one of the quiet, gentle, pious Sisters is admitted within the walls of the Poor House or of the Gaol. Here are results to show what the Communion of Labor can do when woman's best nature, combining with man's best, they become what God intended them, "the supplement to each other." *Society* may smile at these results, it may cry out, as it cried out, and sneer, and with damning insinuations meet the brave offer of Miss Nightingale to face disease and death, and all discomfort; and yet in reforming our Eastern Hospitals, a woman did the work, and succeeded, where the "hard-headed Scotch surgeons," and all the stiff, routinish, priggish, full and assistant surgeons, failed, though backed by the rough hospital orderlies, and the drunken harpies, called nurses, who raved, blasphemed, and were obscene, around the writhing hero who struggled for life amongst these fiends, or closed his eyes amid scenes and sounds which exceeded all that is recorded in Howard's *Lazar-ettes*, or in *Roderick Random*.

Oh! these things all do very well in a Popish country, but

are not suited to a Protestant state, where freedom of individual action in its full development is the very soul of the religion. But is this true? Is Miss Nightingale's success a fiction? Is Mary Carpenter's triumph a fable? Is the St. James's Back Ragged School at Bristol a folly? Is Mrs. Sawyer's Home for Hopeful Discharged Female Prisoners a myth? These are all Protestant Institutions; in each the individual will of the promoters, or helpers, was developed, and all the chief agents are English.

We trust, however, none will contend that charity is limited by country—and as to its being confined by religion, let Mrs. Jameson answer:—

I am no friend to nunneries. I do not like even the idea of Protestant nunneries, which I have heard discussed and warmly advocated, I conceive that any large number of women shut up together in one locality, with no occupation connecting them actively and benevolently with the world of humanity outside, with all their interests centred within their walls, would not mend each other, and that such an atmosphere could not be perfectly healthy, spiritually, morally, or physically. There would necessarily ensue, in lighter characters, frivolity, idleness, and sick disordered fancies; and in superior minds, ascetic pride, gloom, and impatience. But it is very different with the active orders, and I should certainly like to see amongst us some institutions which, if not exactly like them, should supply their place.

In speaking on the subject with intelligent and experienced men and women, I have generally met with the strongest sympathy; but sometimes also with the vague, sweeping objection, that such communities are quite contrary to the spirit of the Reformed Church, and among Protestants quite impracticable. The worse for us, if it were true; but is it true?

The experiment *has* been tried, an attempt *has* been made, to found such an institution in a Protestant community, though not in this country; it has not yet stood the test of centuries, but let us see what has been done within a period of thirty years.

At Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, a small town near Dusseldorf, a manufactory had been established during the last war, in which the workmen employed were almost all Protestants. In 1822 the manufactory became bankrupt, and the workmen were reduced to poverty. Their pastor, Mr. Fliedner, then a very young man, travelled through Holland and England to collect from sympathising friends the necessary funds to support a church in his small parish. In this, we are told, he fully succeeded, and, it is added, "this was the smallest part of the result of his journey." While in England he became acquainted with Mrs. Fry. It was the meeting of two most congenial minds, and his attention was at once turned to the objects which then occupied her. On his return home he originated at Dusseldorf the first society in Germany for the improvement of

prison discipline. Experience in prisons pointed out to him some ways of doing good which came within his then small means. He had been struck with compassion for the desolate condition of women who, when discharged from prison, already depraved by bad habits and without the means of subsistence, "are in a manner forced back into crime." With one female criminal, and one voluntary assistant, he founded his penitentiary in a little summer-house in his garden. This was in 1833. In the following year he met with a second volunteer assistant, and collected together nine more penitents, of whom eight had been more than once in prison. This part of the institution, memorable as the first beginning of an establishment, which has since extended to so many and various branches, has always been kept entirely separate from the rest. A general hospital, a lunatic asylum, an orphan asylum, an infant school, became so many seminaries for training hospital nurses, teachers (*i. e.* instructing sisters), and visitors of the poor (called parish deaconesses). On these I do not dwell at present, for we must confine ourselves to the theme in hand. It is the hospital at Kaiserswerth which constitutes the most important part of the establishment, and is likely to be the most extensive and permanent in its effects.

In 1836 Mr Fliedner established his hospital in the deserted manufactory. He had been led to think of it partly from the want of good nurses for the sick; partly from regret, as he said himself, to see "how much good female power was wasted," partly from a perception that the women who had voluntarily come forward to assist him required a larger sphere for the exercise of their faculties. He began, as usual, humbly enough—with one patient and one nurse. Within the first year the number of voluntary nurses was seven and the number of patients received and nursed was sixty, besides twenty-eight nursed at their own houses. The hospital contained in 1834, 120 beds, which were generally full, and more than 6,000 patients have been received since its commencement.

But the chief purpose of this hospital is to serve as a training-school for nursing sisters. Every one who offers herself (and there is no want of offers) is taken on trial for six months, during which she must pay for her board and wears no distinctive dress. If she persists in her vocation and is accepted, she undergoes a further probation (like the novitiate of the Roman Catholic Sisters) of from one to three years. She then puts on the hospital dress and is boarded and lodged gratis. The male wards are served by men-nurses, of whom there are five, who have been educated in the hospital and are under the authority of the Sisters. They sleep in the male wards and sit up in case of need. It is added that "the most fastidious could find nothing to object to in the intercourse which takes place between patients, surgeon, and Sisters."

As no inducement is offered to these Protestant Sisters any more than in the Catholic Orders, no prospect of pecuniary reward, or praise or reputation, nothing in short but the opportunity of working for the sake of God and humanity, so, if this does not appear sufficient for them, they are dismissed. After they have been accepted and made their profession, they receive yearly a small sum for

clothing, and nothing more; they can receive no fee or reward from those they serve, but in age or illness the parent institution is bound to receive and provide for them.

A certain number of these Sisters obtain a particular education to fit them for parish visitors. The absolute necessity that women should be especially trained in order to make good and efficient parish visitors is apparent; for it is wonderfully and often pathetically absurd to see with what a large stock of goodness and conscientious anxiety, and what a small stock of experience, knowledge, and sympathy with their objects, some excellent women set off on their task as lady visitors of the poor. A number of the Sisters, trained properly, have been sent to distant towns and villages, at the request of clergymen and visiting societies. Others are occupied in nursing in private families, their services being repaid to the parent institution. The excellent Mr. Flidner and his wife still conduct it, and receive their best reward, had they sought any, in the success of their undertaking. There are at present on the establishment 190 Sisters, of whom sixty-two are still probationers or learners. Of the Hospital Sisters, eighty are stationed in different hospitals in Germany; five in London; three at Constantinople (they are probably by this time at Scutari); five at Jerusalem; two at Smyrna, and two at Pittsburg in the United States;—making in all, ninety-seven women, properly trained and educated, and fully employed in their beneficent vocation.

Let me add, for it is a matter of interest at present, that Miss Florence Nightingale went through a regular course of training at Kaiserswerth, before she took charge of the Female Sanitarium in London.

In imitation of Mr. Flidner's establishment, a similar institution for the training of Protestant nurses and teachers has been opened at Paris; another at Strasbourg; another at Berlin, under the especial protection of the Queen of Prussia, and under the direction of the Baroness Bantzau, who had previously gone through a complete course of instruction and experience at Kaiserswerth. The number of nursing sisters in the Berlin hospital is twenty-eight, and there are twelve probationers. A similar establishment was founded at Dresden by the late excellent and amiable Countess Alfred Hohenthal (*née* Princess Biron), in which twenty-one women are under a course of instruction. There are besides ten other institutions, which I find described as existing in different localities, but all emanating from the same origin, and containing altogether not less than 429 members. So that it seems no longer a question as to whether, in Protestant communities, a number of women can be properly trained and organised for purposes of social benefit, authorised and employed by the Government, aided and directed by intelligent and good men, and sustained by public opinion. I consider that the question has been answered; and I must repeat my strong conviction, that such a communion of labour and of love as I have endeavoured to describe is not a thing of country, creed, or custom, but is founded in the very laws of our being;—in that selfsame law which is the basis of domestic life: that it is one of the main conditions of social happiness and morals: and that the neglect of it in any country or

community strikes at the heart of all that is best in men and women, increases the faults of both and their ignorance of each other, and tends consequently to the ultimate degradation and misery of all society.

There are two institutions in which woman's work is likely to find full employment; the Reformatory Schools, male and female, and the Workhouse. Many years ago, Frederic Hill advocated the adoption of a system by which women of zeal and piety could be permitted to devote their attention, to the prisoners in our Gaols; but it was considered, if it received attention at all, as impracticable. However, so many things considered impracticable fifteen years ago, are now considered absurdly common-place, that Mr. Hill has, we presume, thought himself justified in again shocking those people who believe anything novel, *to them*, as impracticable, for we find him thus expressing himself, in his account of his recent visit to Mettray, read at the Bristol meeting of the National Reformatory Union, held last August, and printed in *The Law Amendment Journal*, No. 22, p. 162 :—

To return to Mettray. If I may be allowed to suggest an improvement in what is already excellent, I would urge an extended use of female influence. To some extent this most humanizing power is even now called into requisition by means of the kind Sisters of Charity, who take part in the proceedings; but their exertions, though very valuable, are chiefly confined to the sick; whereas, to carry into full operation that family principle which is the foundation of the system at Mettray, female influence is required for all, whether sick or well, and at all hours of the day.

Even on grown-up men I have known great and beneficial effects to be wrought by a kind and intelligent matron of a prison; and under good arrangements, such influence—nature's own provision—should always be at hand; but for young boys, for those who in more favoured circumstances would be under a kind mother's roof, with sisters as companions and playmates, female counsel and sympathy are doubly important.

All who may have been sceptical as to the practicability of obtaining the assistance of judicious and delicate-minded women in the management of headstrong and uneducated men must, I think, have had their doubts removed by the noble spectacle which we lately witnessed in our Military Hospitals in the East; but to any who may be still unconvinced I would recommend a perusal of the evidence, on this subject, collected by Mrs. Jameson, and brought forward with the earnestness and ability for which she is so much distinguished.

To call Monsieur De Metz's attention to this point will, I am sure, be sufficient to secure for it the fullest and most candid con-

sideration; for seldom have I met a man, himself possessed of so wide a knowledge and yet so ready and desirous to receive information and advice from others. It is no doubt owing to this distinguished characteristic, to his deep insight into human nature, and to his enthusiasm, perseverance, social rank, genuine eloquence, and great kindness and courtesy, that his eminent success is in great part due, and that he has been able to draw around him such a body of assistants.

These are Mr. Hill's opinions now, and we believe few who know the question of Prison Discipline will deny that he is right. We believe that our Irish Directors of Convict Prisons, seeing the success of the Female Refuge for Exemplary Prisoners, managed by the Sisters of Mercy, at Golden Bridge, are desirous that their Prisons should be visited by these ladies, but it is amongst young girl and boy criminals we should look for their chiefest and most patent success.

Upon this subject Mrs. Jameson has the following admirable observations :—

If what I have said of the salutary effects of female influence in prisons carry any weight, yet more does it apply to the employment of superior women in the Reformatory schools for young criminals. Profligate boys, accustomed to see only the most coarse and depraved women (their own female relatives are in general examples of the worst class), would be especially touched and tamed by the mere presence of a better order of women. I observe that in the last report of the school at Mettrai, mention is made of the nine Sisters of Charity who are employed to superintend the kitchen and infirmary; which last consists of a ward with about ten beds, and a corridor where the Sisters receive the out-patients; and to the constant watchfulness, medical skill, and gentle influence of these women much good is attributed.

Mr. Hill, in his work on Crime, in speaking of the officials in the reformatory prisons for boys, says expressly that some of these officials ought to be women "for the sake of female influence, and to call into action those family feelings, which Mr. Sidney Turner and Miss Carpenter think of such vital importance in the process of reformation." This is precisely the principle for which I am pleading, and in organising the new reformatory institutions it might be advantageously kept in view.

"It should be remembered," adds Mr. Hill, "that up to the time of his commitment, a criminal has often had no one to give him counsel or sympathy, no virtuous parent or kind relative to feel for him or guide him aright, and that there is consequently in his case a void which is perhaps first filled up by a kind prison officer. This may account for the almost filial affection often shown, particularly by the younger prisoners, towards a good governor, chaplain, or



matron." What we have now to do is to enlarge the application of this principle.

The extreme difficulty of finding masters at the best of all our reformatory schools, that at Redhill, was the subject discussed in a recent meeting of benevolent and intelligent men, interested in this institution. I happened to be present. I heard the qualifications for a master to be set over these unhappy little delinquents thus described:—He must have great tenderness and kindness of heart, great power of calling forth and sympathising with the least manifestations of goodness or hopefulness; quick perception of character; great firmness, and judgment, and command of temper; skill in some handicraft, as carpentering and gardening; a dignified or at least attractive presence, and good manners,—the personal qualities and appearance being found of consequence to impress the boys with respect. Now it is just possible that all these rare and admirable qualities, some of which God has given in a larger degree to the woman and others to the man, might be found combined in one man: but such a man has not yet been met with, and many such would hardly be found for a stipend of 30*l.* or 40*l.* a year. Then, in this dilemma, instead of insisting on a combination of the *paternal* and the *maternal* qualifications in one person, might it not be possible, by associating some well educated and well trained women in the administration of these schools, to produce the required influences—the tenderness, the sympathy, the superior manners, and refined deportment on one hand, and the firmness and energy, the manly government, and skill in handicrafts and gardening, on the other? This solution was not proposed by any one of the gentlemen who spoke; it did not seem to occur to any one present; and yet is it not worth consideration? At all events I must express my conviction that, going on as they are now doing, without the combination of those influences which ought to represent in such a community the maternal and sisterly, as well as the paternal and fraternal, relations of the home, their efforts will be in vain: their admirable institution will fall to pieces sooner or later, and people will attribute such a result to every possible cause except the real one.

The reformatory schools for perverted and criminal girls present many more difficulties than those for boys. I do not know how it is intended to meet these especial difficulties, nor what consideration has as yet been given to them, nor in whose hands the administration of these reformatory schools is to be placed; for all I have as yet heard upon the subject, and all the pamphlets and authorities I have been able to consult, have reference principally to the treatment of delinquent boys, and very little mention is made of the poor female children of the "perishing and dangerous class"—(*perishing and dangerous* in every sense of these words they too surely are!) One thing is most certain, that in their case the supervision of pure-minded, humane, intelligent, and experienced men will be as necessary as the feminine element in the reformatory schools for boys; and for similar reasons, medical knowledge will be required in addition to the moral and religious influences. This has, I think, obtained too little consideration, and it is one of great importance.

It is worth noticing that a proposal, made during this last session of parliament,\* to aid the female penitentiaries by a grant of public money, however small, and thus obtain from the Government the mere recognition of the existence of such institutions and their necessity, fell to the ground; even the usual deprecatory intimation that it would be "considered and brought forward next session,"—the common device by which troublesome propositions are stifled or shuffled off,—was not here vouchsafed: the motion was received with absolute silence, and set aside by a few words from the speaker.

I can conceive that there might be many reasons for this reluctance to discuss such themes officially. It might not only offend the nice decorum of our House of Commons; it might perhaps awaken in some generous and conscientious minds a keener touch of retrospective pity, a more acute and self-reproachful pain. Let us, therefore, set the past aside; let us accept the excuse that a far lower standard of feeling and opinion existed on this miserable subject some years ago; and let us think with gratitude of the more hopeful present, of the wiser and better future which we may anticipate both for men and women.

And since these female reformatories must eventually find their place among the public exigencies to be considered, one may ask, what makes the case of poor, depraved, delinquent girls far worse in itself, far more difficult to deal with, far more hopeless altogether, than that of depraved delinquent boys? How is it, that, below the lowest class of men, there is a lower class of women, abased by the total loss of self-respect, and perverse from a sense of perpetual wrong? It is so, we are told; but why is it so? Does it arise from the greater delicacy of the organisation—from the perpetual outrage to the *nature* of the creature thus sacrificed? I cannot go into these questions at present. I must leave them to be considered and settled by such of our medical men and our clergy who may be—what all of them ought to be—what our Saviour was on earth—meritists and philosophers; for these questions are of the deepest import, and must be settled sooner or later. Meantime it is allowed that the female reformatories now existing are utterly insignificant and inadequate in comparison to the existing amount of evil and misery; it is allowed that they present peculiar and unmanageable difficulties, that they are not successful, even the best of them. You hear it said that a hundredfold of the money, the labour, expended on them ought not to be regarded as thrown away, if but *one* soul out of twenty were redeemed from perdition. All very proper and very pious. But how is it that in this case nineteen souls out of the twenty are supposed to be consigned to a perdition past cure, past hope, past help? The truth is, that it is not merely the peculiar difficulties, nor the horror of corrupting influences, which interpose to prevent success: it is the incredible rashness and almost incredible mistakes of those who ignorantly, but in perfect good faith and self-complacency, undertake a task which requires all the aid of long training, experience, and knowledge, combined with the impulses of

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\* July 15, 1856.

benevolence, the support of religious faith,—and, I will add, a genuine vocation such as I have seen in some characters.

Readers who know little of Prisons, of Reformatories, or of Hospitals, are, through the squabbles of Poor Law Guardians, the autocratic mandates of Commissioners, or the cases of assaults brought against Workhouse authorities, somewhat better acquainted with what the virtuous and indignant newspapers call the Bastiles of the Poor. We have heard it stated, on good authority, that ninety per cent. of the girls brought up in one of our great Dublin Workhouses are prostitutes, and that it *must* be so, as long as officers rude and brutal, and internal arrangements, are continued as at present. So it is in many cases in England, in many cases in Ireland. Virtue in rags side by side with vice in tatters. Brazen, bold-faced, sin-scarred women, beside the young girl who has been carefully if poorly reared. No hand to help, no voice to soothe, an iron reality of official, cold, unsympathizing duty, meeting the poor at every side, until the pauper fancies himself a prisoner, and poverty hangs around him like a gaunt spectre, haunting his steps as the shadow of his victim dogs the life of the murderer. And yet these Poor-houses sprang from a sense of religious duty, but we have diverted them from their original mode of management, and where religion and kindness should stand mercifully beside those who, guiltless of their own poverty, yet are struck down by the wise hand of God, or who are the evident causes of their own misery, we have placed around the inmates, official stolidity, drunken attendants, inefficient religious instruction, and too frequently vicious companions in misery. Let us take one passage from Mrs. Jameson, showing what our Workhouses are :—

Then, as to the feminine element, I will describe it. In a great and well ordered workhouse, under conscientious management, I visited sixteen wards, in each ward from fifteen to twenty-five sick, aged, bed-ridden, or, as in some cases, idle and helpless poor. In each ward all the assistance given and all the supervision were in the hands of one nurse and a " helper," both chosen from among the pauper women who were supposed to be the least immoral and drunken. The ages of the nurses might be from sixty-five to eighty; the assistants were younger. I recollect seeing, in a provincial workhouse, a ward in which were ten old women all helpless and bed-ridden: to nurse them was a decrepit old woman of seventy, lean, and withered, and feeble; and her assistant was a girl with one eye, and scarcely able

to see with the other. In a ward where I found eight paralysed old women, the nurse being equally aged, the helper was a girl who had lost the use of one hand. Only the other day I saw a pauper nurse in a sick ward who had a wooden leg. I remember no cheerful faces: when the features and deportment were not debased by drunkenness, or stupidity, or ill-humour, they were melancholy, or sullen, or bloated, or harsh:—and these are the sisters of charity to whom our sick poor are confided!

In one workhouse the nurses had a penny a week and extra beer: in another the allowance had been a shilling a month, but recently withdrawn by the guardians from motives of economy. The matron told me that while this allowance continued, she could exercise a certain power over the nurses—she could stop their allowance if they did not behave well; now she has no hold on them! In another workhouse, I asked the matron to point out one whom she considered the best conducted and most efficient nurse. She pointed to a crabbed, energetic-looking old woman: “*She* is active, and cleanly, and to be depended on so long as we can keep her from drink. But they all drink! Whenever it is their turn to go out for a few hours they come back intoxicated, and have to be put to bed:”—put to bed intoxicated in the wards they are set to rule over!

The patients often hate the nurses, and have not fear or respect enough to prevent them from returning their bad language and abuse. Of the sort of attention paid to helpless creatures under their care you may perhaps form some idea. I know that in one workhouse a poor woman could get no help but by bribery: any little extra allowance of tea or sugar left by pitying friends went in this manner. The friends and relations, themselves poor, who came to visit some bed-ridden parent, or maimed husband, or idiotic child, generally brought some trifle to bribe the nurses, and I have heard of a nurse who made five shillings a week by thus fleecing the poor inmates and their friends in pennies and sixpences. Those who would not pay this tax were neglected, and implored in vain to be turned in their beds. The matron knows that these things exist, but she has no power to prevent them; she exercises no *moral* authority: she sees that the beds are clean, the floor daily scoured, the food duly distributed; what tyranny may be exercised in her absence by these old hags, her deputies, she has no means of knowing; for the wretched creatures dare not complain, knowing how it would be visited upon them. I will not now torture you by a description of what I know to have been inflicted and endured in these abodes of pauperism,—the perpetual scolding, squabbling, swearing. Neither peace, nor forbearance, nor mutual respect is there, nor reverence, nor gratitude. What perhaps has shocked me most was to discover, in the corner of one of these wards, a poor creature who had seen better days: to be startled when I went up to speak to one whose features or countenance had attracted me, by being answered in the unmistakeable tone and language of the well-bred and the well-born: and this has happened to me, not once, but several times. I never can understand why some discrimination should not be shown, unless it be that not one of those employed is of a grade, mental or moral, to be entrusted with such a power of

discrimination. It is thought that no distinction ought to be made, where the necessary condition of entrance—poverty—is common to all; that no more regard should be had in the workhouse to the causes and antecedents of poverty, than in a prison to the causes and antecedents of crime. Then there is the rule, that this refuge for the poor man is to be made as distasteful to the poor man as possible. But cannot some means be used to exclude the undeserving? Why should this last home of the poor be not only distasteful but deteriorating?

I should say, from what I have seen, that it is in the men's wards of the workhouses, and yet more especially those of the boys, that female supervision is required, and where lady visitors would do essential good. Will they venture there? or will they think it "very improper?"

I was lately in a workhouse ward containing twenty-two beds; twenty-one were filled with poor decrepit old women in the last stage of existence. The nurse was, as usual, a coarse old hag. In the twenty-second bed was a young person of better habits, who had been an invalid, but was not helpless; she was there because she had no home to go to. There was no shelf or drawer near her bed to place anything in; this was not allowed, lest spirits should be concealed: the book she was reading—anything she wished to keep for herself—was deposited in her bed or under it: nothing was done for comfort, and very little for decency. The power of retiring for a little space from all these eyes and tongues was quite out of the question; and so it was everywhere. A poor, decent, old woman, sinking into death, in a ward where there were twenty-five other inmates, wished to be read to; but there was no one to do this: she thought she would try to bribe one of the others to read to her, by the offer of "a hap'orth of snuff;" but even this would not do.

Let us now see what woman's work could do for these earthly Purgatories for the good, and foreshadowings of Hell for the bad. Mrs. Jameson writes:—

I have not found in my limited travels any institutions exactly similar to our workhouses, that is, charitable institutions supported by enforced contributions. There are, however, two institutions at Turin which struck me as very remarkable, and which may be said, each in its way, to fulfil some of the purposes for which our workhouses were originally instituted.

One of these is a community of women called *Rosines*, from the name of their founder, Rosa Governo, who had been a servant girl. It cannot be styled a religious community, in the usual sense, as neither vows nor seclusion are required: it is a working joint-stock company, with a strong interfusion of the religious element, without which I believe it could not have held together. Here I found, wonderful to tell, nearly 400 women of all ages, from fifteen and upwards, living together in a very extensive, clean, airy building (or rather assemblage of buildings, for they had added one house to another), maintaining themselves by their united labour, and carry-

ing on a variety of occupations, as tailoring, embroidery (especially the embroidery of military accoutrements for the army), weaving, spinning, shirt-making, lace making—everything, in short, in which female ingenuity could be employed. They have a large, well-kept garden; a school for the poor children of the neighbourhood; an infirmary, including a ward for those whose age had exempted them from work; a capital dispensary, with a small medical library; here I found one of the women preparing some medicines, and another studying intently a French medical work.

This female community is much respected in Turin, and has flourished for more than a century. It is entirely self-supported, and the yearly revenue averages between 70,000 and 80,000 francs. The women are ruled by a superior, elected from among themselves, and in their workrooms were divided into classes, or groups, each under direction of a monitress to keep order. The rules of admission and entrance and the interior regulations are strict. Any inmate may leave at once whenever she pleases, but (as I understood) cannot be re-admitted. The costume, which is that worn by the lower classes in 1740, when the community was founded, is not becoming, but not very peculiar. All looked clean and cheerful.

I have been assured by some of my friends, who ought to understand these matters, that such an institution would be "quite impossible" in England, because the education given to the girls of the working class renders it "quite impossible" for a number of them to dwell together in unity, or in voluntary submission to a controlling power. If it be so, so much the worse!—but is it so?

The other institution I have alluded to, is yet more extraordinary, and of recent origin.

A few years ago a poor priest, who had served as chaplain in an hospital, being struck by the dreadful state of the convalescent women, who, after being dismissed as cured while yet too weak for labour, were obliged to have recourse to vice or to starve, fitted up a garret with four old half-rotten bedsteads, into which he received four wretched, sick, sinful creatures, and begged for their support. Such was the beginning of the "*Casa della divina Provvidenza*," called also "*La Casa Cotonengo*," from the name of its founder, who died about two years ago.

When I visited this extraordinary place, I found that the garret and its four old bedsteads had gradually extended to many ranges of buildings, for different purposes.\* There is an hospital with 200 beds; another hospital especially for wretched, diseased women out of the streets; another for children, containing fifty beds; a refuge for forsaken infants; a small school for deaf and dumb (children and others); a ward especially for epileptic patients and *crétins*. The attendance on this vast congregation of sick and suffering beings is voluntary, and considered by the physicians, nurses, and sisters as an act of religion. There were about 200 attendants, men and

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\* The original "four old bedsteads" are preserved in *memoriam*, and were pointed out to me.

women. The number of inmates constantly varied, and no regular account was kept of them: one day it was calculated to be about 1300, patients and nurses all included. The deaths are about six daily. All who would be rejected from other hospitals, who have incurable, horrid, chronic, diseases, who are in the last stage of helpless, hopeless, misery, come here; none are ever turned away. *There are no funds, and no accounts are kept*; nor, I must confess, is there any of the order and neatness of a regular hospital. All the citizens of Turin, more especially the poorer class, contribute something; and so "one day telleth another." "We trust to divine Providence, and have hitherto wanted for nothing," was the reply to my inquiry. "Sometimes our coffer is empty, sometimes it is full. If we are poor to-day, we shall be richer to-morrow. God helps us!"

In England, a political economist or a poor-law commissioner would have been thrown into fits by such a spectacle of slovenly charity. Too true it is—

"The wise want love, and they who love want wisdom;  
And all good things are thus confused to ill!"

It will have appeared to all our readers that Mrs. Jameson desires to see woman's work an active work; a work springing from love, supported by love, and ever soaring to lofty and glorious heights of duty. Duty she would make the main-spring of all woman's work. Her complaint is, not that woman is unwilling, unable, to take her place amongst the workers of the world, but that she is not educated for this work; and when, despite her want of this special education, she surmounts all the difficulties of this want, she is still kept from the Communion of Labor, because, in these countries, unmarried woman has no recognized sphere of labor, save the ball room, the milliner's shop, the governesses' room, the various menial employments, and—the streets.

Our last Census shows that the population of women is half a million in excess of that of men. Of what use are those 500,000 women? At present, and according to our conventionalities, of little; but the real question is, of what use shall the excess of female population be in the Census of 1861? Mrs. Jameson declares she does not desire to see any woman withdrawn from the discharge of any domestic duty. All domestic duties are the joint duties of husbands and wives, brothers and sisters; and here it is that mind acting upon mind makes each "the supplement" of the other. But there are thousands of women who waste their lives in external mummeries of devotion, tract distributing, active collections for out of the way missions to unpronounceable pagans in un-

approachable places, who could be, and who would be, glorious workers if the field were open; if conventional barriers were thrown down, and, before all, if early training were extended to them.\*

The difficulty is, that whilst Catholics have the opening for each phase of self-devotion to religion, active, semi-active, and contemplative, in these countries Protestants have not one of the three, save that opening afforded by attention to schools. Years ago, Southey and Dr. Gooch were anxious to see Protestant *Béguines* established in England, and it is painful to read how earnestly, how hopefully, yet how hopelessly Southey wrote to his friends upon this subject. Even the Nurses' Training Institution, in which his heart was so much interested, failed, and he tells us he fears that the Dissenters would never permit its success, through their insatiable spirit of proselytism.†

Writing thus fairly and candidly, as Catholics, we do not understand why proselytism should interpose its hideous, soul-grasping hand to spoil this work of charity, this achievement of National usefulness, the Communion of Labor. Here, in Dublin, we have Saint Vincent's Hospital, exclusively the *property* of, and tended by, the Sisters of Charity, and the most scrupulous care is taken that Protestant patients shall have any clergyman of their own Church they please to name, called to attend them. In Jervis street Hospital the Sisters of Mercy attend, and there patients of all religions and of no religion are received, yet no complaint of attempted proselytism has ever been made. During the woman's work of the Irish Sisters of Mercy in the Crimea, works which have received no earthly recognition whatever from any, save the soldiers attended, no complaint of attempted proselytism was made; and knowing these things we hope, nay, we believe, the time when proselytism could interpose to prevent the observance of charity has passed away for ever, and earnest, deep-hearted women are prepared to show that amidst the quiet wards of home hospitals and amongst the prisoners of our gaols, amongst the young "City Arabs" and "Home Heathens" of our Reformatories, amongst the squalid rooms of our

\* See Appendix, at end of this paper, for Mr. Frederic Hill's opinions on this subject.

† See "Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey, LL.D.," By his Son. Vol. IV. p. 156. Vol. VI. p. 60, 61.



Workhouses, they can be as useful and more heroic in duty than when attracted to the East by the eclat of the service, and as steady and determined in Southwark as they and their fellow laborers proved themselves in Scutari. Mrs. Jameson writes:—

“Would you make charity a profession?”

“Why not? why should not charity be a profession in our sex, just in so far (*and no farther*) as religion is a profession in yours? If a man attires himself in a black surplice, ascends a pulpit, and publicly preaches religion, are we, therefore, to suppose that his religious profession is merely a profession, instead of a holy, heartfelt vocation? If a woman puts on a grey gown, and openly takes upon herself the blessed duty of caring for the sick, the poor, the perverted, are we, therefore, to suppose that charity is with her merely a profession? Here we have surely a distinction without a difference! No doubt we should all be religious, whether we assume the outward garb or not; no doubt we should all be charitable, whether in white, black, or grey; but why should not charity assume functions publicly recognised—openly, yet quietly and modestly exercised? Why is female influence always supposed to be secret, underhand, exercised in some way which is not to appear?—till even our good deeds borrow the piquancy of intrigue, and we are told practically to seek the shade, till morally we fear the light? Why can we not walk bravely, honestly, and serenely, yet simply and humbly along the path we have chosen, or to which it hath pleased God to call us, instead of creeping about in a spirit of fear as if quite overcome by the sense of our own wonderful merits, and obliged to throw over them a veil of conventional humility?”

“Our pretension to such avocations as I have mentioned, may possibly be met by just the same arguments which fifty years ago were launched against ‘literary ladies;’ and if sneers at ‘blue stockings’ and female pedants could have turned women from the cultivation of their minds, and crushed every manifestation of genius, no doubt it would have been done. Luckily, two admirable and gifted men,—Professor Playfair, with his profound science, and tender, generous feeling, and Sydney Smith, with all the force of his strong masculine sense, and all the splendour of his wit,—came to our rescue at a most critical period. The former claimed for us the department of science; the latter, that of literature and independent thought.

This is twenty or thirty years ago. There are men now, equally manly and far-sighted, eager to instruct us and sustain us in well doing, eager to recognise in us fellow-labourers by divine appointment, companions by the grace of God, without whom no step in social progress can be attained, no lasting good achieved."

True, all true; but, as Mrs. Jameson wisely declares, women must be *reared* to know that they have duties like men, though not of the same class. At present an unmarried woman has but three phases of existence, eating and dressing and sleeping, for one; hoping for, and attempting to catch a husband, for a second; idling ingeniously, for a third. She has nothing to work for, she hopes like a child, she knows not what, and, like a child, all her pleasures are in the future, every pleasure depending on external circumstances; whilst her employments are but, as we have stated, ingenious idlenesses. Why should she do woman's work? Why should she hope—for she is objectless, and as Coleridge beautifully says:—

"Work without hope draws nectar in a sieve,  
And hope without an object cannot live."

Woman alone can do nothing. She may be as self-immolated as Magdalen, as fervid as Teresa, she may be as wide-souled as Mary Carpenter, as earnest as Florence Nightingale, and as eloquent, high-hearted, clear-minded, persevering, and womanly, as Anna Jameson, yet without the co-operation of man, without that working together, and rendering each mind "the supplement" of the other, there can be no success for woman's work.

Mrs. Jameson never, for one moment, permits this point to pass from before her audience, or readers, and hence the genuine strength of all she wrote a quarter of a century ago, and of all she has written since, even to a quarter of a year ago. She sees that women are to be found to do woman's work; she knows that from her own efforts have come results such as would, in old days, have gained for her the highest and most noble testimony from Church and State. But times like these are times in which we fight out proofs and battle around theories. This Mrs. Jameson herself well knows, but with the faith, the working faith, that breathes only in charity, she hopes and works. True, all she tells us was fact four years ago. Four years ago women lived in far off quiet country

places, and thought they could do all that we now know they have done for God's honor and for the love of England, but how, amidst the dreary stagnation of a life weary as poor Mariana's in the Moated Grange, could they hope?—for never more than then, (four years ago) amidst Bloomerism, and Baby Shows, and Woman's Rights meetings, and Frederica Bremer's petticoat convention, was woman's work so hopeless of development, and we doubt not that many a golden-hearted woman felt the truth of Shelley's thought—

“The Good want power, but to weep barren tears.

The Powerful goodness want : worse need for them.

The Wise want love ; and those who love want wisdom ;

And all best things are thus confused to ill.”

What is the scope, philosophy, and tendency of all we have written and quoted in our paper?—this, in brief, as Mrs. Jameson eloquently and wisely puts it—

“I would place before you, this once more, ere I turn to other duties, that most indispensable yet hardly acknowledged truth, that at the core of all social reformation, as a necessary condition of health and permanency in all human institutions, lies the working of the man and the woman together, in mutual trust, love, and reverence.

“I would impress it now for the last time on the hearts and the consciences of those who hear me, that there is an essential, eternal law of life, affirmed and developed by the teaching of Christ, which if you do not take into account, your fine social machinery, however ingeniously and plausibly contrived, will at last fall into corruption and ruin. Wherever men and women do not work together helpfully and harmoniously, and in accordance with the domestic relations—wherever there is NOT THE COMMUNION OF LOVE AND THE COMMUNION OF LABOUR—there must necessarily enter the elements of discord and decay.

“Despair we cannot, dare not.

“If men bring their conventionalities and practicabilities, into conflict with the natural law of God's divine appointment, we know which must in the end succumb. Meantime I would, if possible, assist in diminishing the duration and the pain of that conflict. If any thing I have now spoken carry conviction into the kind hearts around me, help ! those who can and will,—and God help us all !”

AMEN, AND AMEN.

## APPENDIX.

The following passage from Mr. Frederic Hill's work on National Education is worthy the very deepest and most attentive consideration. It is taken from the first volume of the book, page 214. The whole work forms the best history of the educational aspect of the Nation before the benefits of a wise and comprehensive system was attempted:—

*Mental Education of Females among the Middle Classes.*—Public attention has lately been called by several excellent articles in the Journal of Education and elsewhere to this subject; and we trust that enlightened views respecting it have already made considerable progress: and that a silly admiration for Oriental ignorance and mental torpor among females, will soon give way to just appreciation of the superior beauty of a vigorous intellect and a cultivated mind.

Limited, however, as in the present range of female education,—devoid as it is in so many respects of matter to call forth the reasoning and inventive powers,—little as it is calculated, even in its engrossing province of ornament, to accommodate different tastes and various talent,—it is not during the period passed at school that the inferiority to male education is principally marked. The musical gamut is in our opinion quite as intellectual as the *propria quæ maribus* of the Eton grammar: and the poor girl, who, without any taste for natural beauty, love of imitation, or idea of form and colour, is forced to pass hour after hour in trailing her pencil over the leaves of a drawing-book, is not more unprofitably occupied than the boy who is driven through page after page of authors who are treating on subjects in which he takes no interest,—employing a style the beauties of which are entirely lost upon him,—and using a language the acquisition of every word of which is to him an irksome and disgusting task.

It is not, then, in school education that female instruction is so far behind that of males; it is in the time immediately following the period passed at school that the disparity is greatest. It is then that a young man chooses his occupation for life, and sets vigorously to work to qualify himself for its successful pursuit. With a clear object before him, and seeing how the acquirement of various kinds of knowledge will facilitate his progress, he no longer looks upon study as a burdon to be avoided by all possible contrivances. Formerly, he was like an obstinate child taking medicine; who does not admit one more drop into his mouth than is forced into it. He now takes willing and copious draughts at the fountain of knowledge; and months do more for him than years under the old régime.

Meantime, how is the young female situated? What objects can she select for attainment, and pursue with steadiness, as the main business of life? The road to wealth and distinction, even by the most quiet and unobtrusive paths, is, for the most part, closed upon her: and what is opened in its stead? On what course of persevering exertion has she any sufficient inducement to enter? It is too evident, that however great and varied may be her talent, she has scarcely

any of the ordinary motives for cultivating it. Hence to a great extent the frivolous habits too often contracted or indulged in at this period of life ; and hence a want of mental energy and a dearth of knowledge.

Nor is the intercourse with the other sex often such at all to correct this evil. Rarely meeting, except at times of relaxation, our youth naturally avoid such subjects as call for a vigorous exercise of the understanding ; and our young countrywomen are led to suppose that the most important questions on which they shall be called upon for an opinion, or on which they must presume to reflect, do not go beyond the merits of the last published novel, the prima donna of the Italian opera, the oratory of some fashionable preacher, or the illustrations to a new batch of annuals. Unhappily, women are not true to their own cause in protesting against this state of mental slavery ;—a state to which we doom them, partly from a selfish desire to retain all power in our own hands, partly from an overweening idea of the strength of our own minds, (backed by an unfounded conception that those of females will not bear labour), and partly from a persistence in the customs and feelings of by-gone ages of ignorance.

Nor when we reflect for a moment, is it surprising that women who have grown up under this bad system should be opposed to its amendment. Many must feel that their best age for acquiring knowledge has passed, and that in the new career they should soon be outstripped by their juniors.

We have no doubt that to a like motive may be attributed the continuance of many an objectionable system besides the one under consideration. A man who has spent the best portion of his youth in the exclusive study of Latin and Greek, for example, is not likely, unless he be of a superior cast of mind, to look with a friendly eye on proposals for giving more extended education to those who in a few years may become his competitors in the world. This motive may not be present to his mind—he may not even suspect its existence ; but that it does exist, and is powerful in its operation, can, we think, admit of no doubt.

To return to female education. Doubtless it is more easy to enlarge upon an evil than to point out the remedy ; but we think that among others inquiries as to the cause of the evils we have pointed out, it might be worth while examining whether that rule of modern schools by which the sexes are kept entirely apart has not been carried somewhat too far ? Under defective management, indeed, a departure from this rule might be very objectionable ; but where active supervision is combined with sound discretion, would such deviation be equally objectionable ? Many an instrument which is useless and dangerous when wielded by an ignorant man, has only to be put into skilful hands to become the means of effecting great good ; and perhaps the fear with which we have shunned what we consider the mistake of our forefathers on this point, may in a measure have arisen from the badness, not of the plan, but of its administration : any change, however, would have to be made with caution. It is possible that the monastic and nun-like system of education is the less of two evils ; though an evil it certainly is.

Without any wish to see girls become boys, or boys girls, we hope we may safely desire that the character of the former had somewhat more of strength, and that of the latter somewhat less of coarseness and disregard of the feelings of others. To us it appears worth considering, whether, with a view to these desirable changes, the established rule might be so far relaxed as to allow boys and girls to associate occasionally in some of those studies which are common to both. We are sometimes inclined to hope that such a measure would be followed by advantages which are at present little expected from such a source. We are sometimes inclined to imagine that much of the feeling which gives rise to impure thoughts, and precocious love-fits, may be fairly ascribed to the nervous anxiety that exists in parents, guardians, and teachers, on the subject of separation :—an anxiety which is constantly forced on the attention of those concerned, and which endows the proceedings of each sex with a mysterious interest which does not naturally belong to them. We cannot but hope that the occasional presence of their sisters, cousins, and other females of the same rank as their own, would in general be an effectual check to the boys in the expression of coarse ideas or rude language ; and we should also anticipate a favourable effect on their deportment to each other at times when they are alone. The female character too would, we trust, be benefited by this occasional association. We cannot but think that, by the greater mental energy which would be thus infused, and the interest which would be thus awakened on a variety of important subjects, the young female would be better fitted for the high task she has to perform as man's companion and helpmate,—the sharer of his joys, and his comfort in affliction.

#### ART. IV.—NOVELS OF THE DAY.

The novelist, like the historian, has a double mission to fulfil; if the latter is required not only to detail facts, but to detail them impartially as well as correctly, the former is expected to deal with the acts, motives, and characters of human life, not as his own passions or prejudices might direct him to pourtray them, but as they are. Both historian and novelist mistake the real utility of their callings egregiously when they suffer their minds to be warped by particular distastes, or carried away from their proper vocation by one-sided views, in the hope to please or find favor with one section of the community, rather than to enlighten and elevate all. With the historians of the day, we have at present nothing to do, but before we commence our observations on some of the popular fictions of the past season, we must hazard a few remarks on the spirit in which many of them have been conceived and executed.

Any one who takes up either the *Moral or Fashionable Tales* of Maria Edgeworth, will perceive that the most wholesome and salutary lessons may be inculcated in a form perfectly free from either political or religious bias, and therefore the more likely to extend their own utility by not giving offence to any one. She was too wise to convert a good novel into an imperfect sermon; and far too prudent to weaken *real* religious feeling by making her heroes and heroines speak like saints, and act like sinners, with tags of Scripture perpetually in their mouths, and a spirit greatly opposed to it in their hearts. To take up a book of "Light reading," and to find it a heavy homily, is to go into a theatre and find it turned into a conventicle; there are theological essayists enough who are perfectly well able to fight the partisan battles of disputed opinion, and therefore it is altogether out of place to expect, or to desire, that novel writers should perform a double duty, and give us scraps from the Pentateuch and sentiments fresh from London drawing rooms at the same time and in the same page. This want of artistic propriety is a monster of modern

growth, and the sooner its hydra heads are cut off as unseemly excrescences, the better. When the authoress of "Evelina" put to shame and to flight the circulating library impurities which Sir Anthony Absolute called "an evergreen tree of diabolical knowledge," she did so not by a semi-theological jargon which sickens the sense and disgusts the taste, but by giving us pictures of character, individualized by the discrimination of genius, but untainted by the puritanical leaven which seems to be fast superseding the functions of nature herself, in the present day. In all the multitude of characters given us by Jane Austen (clergymen included), we find nothing approaching to it. As we have said before, it would vainly be looked for in the multifarious volumes of our accomplished countrywoman, Maria Edgeworth, and still more vainly in those of Lady Morgan, who in her utter dislike to it, sometimes ventured a little too far the other way. If we look to the superior order of masculine spirits who have made novels the vehicles of instruction and amusement, we will, for the most part, find the same diffidence in making an *olla prodriva* of the sacred and the profane. Sir Walter Scott, indeed, has shown his distaste to the old religion of Christendom, by painting monks and abbots with huge appetites and unspiritual propensities, but these caricatures are the least happy of his efforts, and to those who feel sore on the subject, the *tu quoque* argument might present itself, by contrasting the lordly equipage of a "mitred prelate" of our own day, proceeding in state to a court festival, with the "sumptuous housings" of Prior Aymer's "palfrey," or the dinner *carte* of Lambeth Palace on a company day, with the venison repasts of Abbot Boniface in his more unpretending "refectory," surrounded not by "dissipated nobles," but simple monks.

We believe, as far as we can trace their origin, that it is to America belongs the honor and glory, such as they are, of introducing what are now known by the name of "Religious Novels," as a new kind of manufacture in the literary workshop. They certainly all have a smack of "the camp-meetings" and the "love feasts" of our transatlantic friends, and, in the curious jumble they treat us to, are redolent of "spiritual embracings", and other innocent exercises, which "high religious enthusiasm" may sanction, but which a less fervent christianity could very well do without. "A religious novel" is, in itself, a paradoxical sort of production, which contains—and neces-



sarily ~~must~~ contain—an incongruous mixture of heaven and earth, calculated, perhaps, to satisfy the consciences of those who wish to indulge in a taste for "light literature," and to be excited by the trials and sorrows of persecuted heroines, but, at the same time, who fancy that roses require supplementary names to smell sweet, and that the simple word novel, without the "religious" prefix, could hardly be tolerated in serious families, the members of which look upon stage plays as snares of the evil one, and, until lately, treated tales, novels, and romances as if they contained a similar bait. Of course, every author or authoress who writes a book wishes that peace as well as praise should sweeten their labors and reward their toil, and as the manufacture of the religious novel was found to pay in America, it very soon found its way into England, where it was set up as an ostensible antidote to those French works of imagination which every body censures, purchases, and reads, but, in reality, because publishers found the speculation turn to profitable account, and therefore pushed it into its present morbid growth. Moreover, to authors themselves, it saves a great deal of trouble and a good deal of thought, and helps them to spin out a second volume, and earn for themselves a very righteous title at the same time. When *Sir John* begins to grow dull or to want something to do or to say, it is easy enough to bring in *Saint John* to assist him; and where the story halts and incidents grow few, an opportune chapter on "scriptural christianity," with strong and feeling allusions to all who are supposed to be opposed to it, keeps the press moving, and winds up the reader to the proper pitch of enthusiasm for the reception of the grand finale, where all are made happy in the usual orthodox way.

Now, the worst of all this is—and we think of it and say it with great regret—that it is attended with considerable danger to religion itself; and if we were inclined to draw a somewhat illogical conclusion from the premises in hand, we might offer it as a curious coincidence that "startling crimes" of greater magnitude than usual have been perpetrated since this hybrid class has made its appearance on the scene. If Strahan and Paul ever admitted novels at all under their luxurious roofs we are quite sure they were religious ones; and, although the labors of the elder Dumas may have contributed to the chemical manipulations of Palmer and Dove, we should suspect that the "Provisions of Lady Evelyn," *et hoc genus*

*omne*, were added as a makeweight to their library, as well as to those of the defaulting directors of banks, railways, and other undertakings of a similar kind, who generally rank in the category of "serious family men."

Let us not be mistaken, however; indeed we hope there is no danger that we should. We do not object to controversial works, even though bigotry and bad taste mark every page of them, because such perversions of intellect are sure, in the long run, to work their own cure and to bring their own reward; but what we *do* object to is the interweaving of one-sided religious views into a theme where no one expects or wishes to find them. Catholic writers, so far as we know, have had the good sense to leave such delicate matters untouched, even though the provocation has been by no means small to tempt them to forego it; but the question is, how long will this abstinence hold? and it is a matter for novel readers to consider, whether they would like to have doctrinal points largely discussed instead of sentimental ones, and whether it will be an additional pleasure to them to have "creedal errors," and such like matters, staring them in the face, when the most they look for is "an interesting conversation" between Mrs. A. and Miss B. as to the difficult point of determining whether the "fast man" Lord George is a safe *parti* to encourage, or whether it would not be better to take up with plain Mr. Allworthy, although he adds an H to his oats and an R to his window, and had a grandfather who cashed bills or sold calicoes.

Having made these prefatory observations, we turn to the novel of "*EVELEEN*," by E. L. A. Berwick, not because it is the most perfect one on our list, but because it is altogether free from the controversial taint to which we so much object. It is moral and suggestive, without being spiritual at all. It is a daring attempt to make women better than they are, by increasing their self-dependence and elevating their views, and when an author has such utilitarian objects steadily in his eye, we shall not think it needful to point to minor discrepancies obvious in the execution of his plan. The plot is not novel, but it is admirably worked out, and the conception of the heroine herself is spirited and good. *EVELEEN* is the narrator of her own story; she is the niece of Mr. Barrington, who marries a second wife, and sinks from a comfortable house-keeper into a henpecked poltroon. Of course, having a tyrant

to rule him, he has no will of his own, and his niece is obliged to take up the cudgels and meet the despot, not only in her own defence, but in the defence of others as well. This she does in capital style. Mary, her cousin, a gentle creature to whom she is exceedingly attached, falls ill, and change of air is prescribed. They are allowed by the careless stepmother to go by themselves, and when on the sea shore, they get into danger from the waves, and are rescued from it by the two heroes of the book. From this point the main interest of the work begins, and the character of EVELLEN unfolds itself. There may be improbability about it, but there is great consistency, great strength of principle, great strength of mind, and great readiness of wit and of resource. She discovers, in a very dramatic way, that her hero-preserver, instead of being, as she supposed, a simple commoner, is "a belted Earl," rejoicing in a rent-roll of forty thousand a year. Yet she refuses him her hand, even while she acknowledges (to herself) that her heart is his. But he is indolent, captious, voluptuous—in fact good for nothing except to despise everything and enjoy nothing, and poor, illused, and dependent as she is, she looks at the matter with an unaccustomed and unselfish eye, and still refuses to become Lady Landore, because she feels that as a Countess she might be still more unhappy than she is. But her womanly influence continues, and her spirited and seasonable remonstrances are not thrown away. We lose sight of the young noble for a season, but he is not idle, as we hear. Love lights the lamp of Reason, and prompts him to the exertion which EVELLEN has often recommended, and which he has the good sense to pursue. Meanwhile, the intricacies of the plot continue, and are made more complicated by the introduction of Mr. Cabbell O'Fea into it, a smooth and villainous compound, whom we hate for his hypocrisy and admire for the calculating coolness of his subtle and serpent-like mind. It will be at once conceived that this "domestic demon" is at last found out and punished, and that EVELLEN and her *bien aimée* meet at the altar and are as happy as heart could wish.

Now there is an excellent "moral" couched in all this, and we think that the more female readers dwell on it, the more they will perceive its drift. In ordinary life, it is no libel on the gentle sex, or on the author, to say that the proceedings of EVELLEN would be in the highest degree improbable. There

are few friends would sanction them; there is hardly "a candidate" who, whatever her own misgivings might be, who would not grasp at so glorious a prize, and hope for the best hereafter, when it was secured. And yet the reasonings of the young but high-minded girl are correct, and the sacrifices of feeling and position consequent on them, as corollaries, are felt to be equally so. The mist which Cupid and Pluto conjoined, sometimes spread over the female vision, is like the mirage of the desert, so celebrated in song and story, and often tempts the victims into pitfalls and quagmires, when they think they are going to inhabit cottages embowered in roses or castles overburdened with wealth. A "capital match" is not always a capital thing. Hymen must be worshipped not only with willing but with disinterested hearts, or his lamp is extinguished almost as soon as lighted, and not all the splendor of the world can relume it again. There can be no question, therefore, that the hesitation of Mr. Berwick's heroine was founded in virtuous prudence, and is worth pondering over by those to whom it is particularly addressed. We like to see such efforts and inculcations proceeding from thoughtful minds, even though a little exaggeration may be observable as we go along; and although the whole subject is one that at every page would have admitted of scriptural appeals, references, and allusions, we are most happy to say that the author has had the good taste to avoid more than one or two which were called for, and are therefore apposite and sure to be well received. As to a controversial or offensive phrase, there is not such a thing in the book.

In Mr. Reade's still more popular novel, "**IT IS NEVER TOO LATE TO MEND**," we find the same absence of the introduction of ill-placed matter which we so much deplore. We have, indeed, the agency of a clergyman, where any other agent could not well be supposed to have the power to do so much good, but then his references to holy names and things are in their proper place, and even if in some few instances he oversteps the just limits, we willingly bear with them when we perceive the wholesome results which spring from his determination to combat tyranny and make "prison discipline" what it ought to be, not what it is. In style and manner of handling, Mr. Reade vibrates between Dickens and Thackeray, but with very little of the clumsy manipulation of the latter, and a great deal of the force and finish of the former. At the

same time he is not an imitator of either ; nor has he need to be. Taken as a whole, Mr. Thackeray has never yet written a novel that can be said to equal "It is Never too Late to Mend," nor do we think he ever will ; and although there are chapters and characters in some of Mr. Dickens's best works which are superior to any that can be found in it, still we doubt if in the naturalness of both scenes and portraiture, there is not sufficient material to stand a comparison with even the great novelist in his plainest mood. The adventures of Mr. Dickens's hero in America, are poor indeed when compared with the stirring and life-like scenes of Australia given us by the new candidate, who, if he has no Frank Tapley to carry off his insipidities, has the regenerated burglar and his vivid spirit of accurate observation and daring courage to create our warmest sympathies in his fortunes and his fate.

In the authoress of "JOHN HALIFAX, Gentleman," we welcome a practised hand, whose last novel led us to expect a great deal—more, perhaps, than we have actually received. In "The Head of the Family" we had charming domestic scenes charmingly painted, with exquisite delicacy of touch and the nicest discrimination, while there were no violent contrasts, if we except the mad actress, whose appearance, we suppose, could not well be avoided, although, from the first, we never desired to see her face again. In JOHN HALIFAX, as it strikes us, there is a greater grasp at power with less nerve to sustain it. Taken, *per se*, Gentleman John is a character of great merit, which few novelists of the present day, would venture to grapple with, and in which the majority of them would fail if they did ; but then he is surrounded by a whole bunch of fellow-performers, who, with the exception of his excellent wife, are, if not positive failures, next door to it, at all events. Surely, the obtrusion of that coarse and repulsive fellow, Squire Brithwood, is altogether a mistake, and his lady another ? It is hardly possible that since the days of Squire Western, the country gentlemen of England have not so far improved as to make such a character a complete exaggeration, and it is out of all keeping to suppose that a man of Doctor Jessop's standing would have tolerated the language used by Brithwood to Halifax—in his own drawing-room, too,—without ordering his ejection from the house by the most summary mode possible. We know that his vulgar insolence is paraded for the purpose of heightening the forbearing courtesy and good temper of John ;

but it shews a want of artistic appreciation to admit a blemish in order to heighten a beauty, and as it is evident that the portraiture of such characters are out of the authoress's line altogether, the introduction might very well have been done without. Had she indeed given us more than she has done of the shadowy Lord Ravenel, it would have been an admirable exchange, for there are great capabilities about the latter, which might have been nurtured into a first rate picture, had the attention given to the Gentleman been divided with the Lord. In Mr. Berwick's novel, of which we have already spoken, the character of Lord Landore resembles that of Lord Ravenel in many points, but the handling is very dissimilar, and we would take the liberty of advising the authoress of "John Halifax" to glance it over, if she have not already done so, in order that she may see how much she has lost by not working out her sketch of the indolent young noble and giving him more work to do.

In the conduct of the story there is an obvious falling off in the last volume, and the worst effect of this is, that it not only diminishes the general interest of the work, but somewhat lowers the hero himself in our estimation. In his own early love-scenes with Ursula Marah, every passage is delicate in touch and full of discriminative beauty, but in the turbulent passion of his son Guy, and the unseemly domestic squabbles which attend it, we seem to have got under another influence altogether. It is not pleasant to suppose that in the rearing and governing of his own children, a man of John Halifax's capacity, should have so utterly failed as the conduct of his sons prove him to have done, and still less is it credible that the French governess, Miss Silver, wishy-washy and uninteresting as she is, could have caused such disturbance as she did, if the most common precautions were taken or vigilance observed. We have an idea that this cunning idiot was an after thought altogether, and most heartily do we wish that she had been left in her native France, where neither Guy nor his brother could have fought for her.

We might, if we so pleased, address ourselves to the unpleasant task of commenting on some of the offensive allusions to the followers of a different creed, which are very needlessly intruded here and there, throughout the book, but we abstain. It is evident enough, that the authoress is no true child of the Pope, but we submit it to her good sense that controversial

views may weaken the interest of a story, without adding to the strength of a Church," and that although prejudice may be conciliated by an unbecoming enlistment of scriptural phrases and inferences, used without rhyme or reason, and often sadly misplaced, both religion and reason revolt at the unwholesome spectacle caused by parading them before the eyes of men, in the pages of a novel, whether from a sanctimonious desire to be applauded by the pious, or the more worldly one of being rewarded by the profane.

Mrs. Marsh's novel of "EVELYN MARSTON," like most of her productions, wears a pious as well as a sentimental air, and is an odd mixture of theology and romance; under any circumstances, this would be distasteful to us, but it is rendered still more so, by the bungling and inartificial nature of the execution of the work. In the "Previsions of Lady Evelyn," we have a gallery of pictures—Glenmore, Green, Canham, the young Countess, Clarinda, and the young tutor, with his unfortunate propensities to fall in love with the last person in the world he ought to do, for his father had been a clergyman, and his mother was almost a saint; and we have scraps of scripture to no end, beginning in the very first paragraph with a quotation from Saint Paul, so that if there was a consistently pious hero in the world it ought to have been Gerald James. But he is not that nor anything like it—in *acts*. He yields to temptations with a very ungodly facility, and encourages others to do the same. Poor Lady Clarinda, as well as her haughty sister, suffers from his basilisk glance, and runs after him from her father's house, in the disguise of a boy. To be sure, when she arrives at his lodging, determined "to throw herself on his protection," as the phrase is; she addresses the servant in scripture form. "A cup of cold water to one of these little ones, shall in no case fail of its reward," said the boy; well might the maid of all work exclaim as she listened, "Well, if I ever! laws! if he don't quote Scripture like any parson!" If she knew but the half of it she might afford to be twice as much surprised, and with double reason, too. Still, we overlook this "seriously" mistaken treatment, in admiration of the many coloured incidents and stir and bustle of the plot. And so it is with the other earlier works of the same clever hand. But her latter productions began to make us wish that she would not write quite so fast, and if she gives us another EVELYN MARSTON, we shall be quite sure to wish

that she should not write at all, or that she should change her vocation and take to writing "Tracts" instead of novels, which might answer her purpose and not so utterly disappoint us. And the worst of it is, clever people, like Mrs. Marsh, are always prone to see the mote in the eye of their neighbours without being able to discover the beam in their own. In her first volume we find her objecting to those who hold "principles of the ancient, strong, stern, but somewhat narrow school, which permitted no tampering with truth, and believed that there was but one form of religious truth, *and that it was theirs.*" The italics are our own. In a few pages farther on she says, "too much of the spirit, alas! still remains amongst us all. We cannot enter a company of our fellows, without detecting, whenever the question of religion is propounded, some prejudice of this description still lingering in the heart. It seems the last to be laid down, *monstrous and unreasonable as it is.*"

As an excuse for the writer of "Evelyn Marston," it may be alleged that her polemical pruriencies form a necessary ingredient in its composition, without the intervention of which it would be impossible to fill a single volume, much less three. What story there is might, perchance, serve for a magazine article, although so meagre is the plot, and so extremely common-place and "used up" are the incidents, that we question if any magazine or periodical of the present day would accept it as a gift, unless it might happen that as its phylactery is long, the pharisees of "Household Words" might take a fancy to it, and adopt it as their own. But trite and worn out as the materials are, there can be no doubt that a great deal more could be made of them, and in the slovenly neglect to work them up, we have full reason to accuse the authoress of debarring us of a pleasure which she was quite competent to give, as well as of nauseating us with matter, which, as reasonable Christians and well-wishers to religion, we are exceedingly sorry to peruse. Of course, Mrs. Marsh will write again; and, with all her faults, we should be sorry to miss her from the annual field; but we honestly hope that she will at length recognize the fact that a good novelist and a good casuist are different things; and that recklessly to run full tilt at the Bible, because it *is* the Bible, and to transcribe whole pages from the Sacred Book into a light and frivolous work, is a degradation to the volume which ought to be treated in a very



different way. Let her, by all means, combat *social* error, and advance sound social reforms, and we shall welcome her again and again. We are overrun with pestilent pictures of the worst phases of life, and the worst characters which disgrace it; we have Sand, Sue, and Dumas' abominations at home as well as abroad—indigenous as well as foreign—and the pen that affords an antidote to them will ever have our warmest commendations; but it will very clearly be seen, by the scope and nature of this article, that we have no stomach for the overloaded piety which seeks to discharge itself in volleys of words, and fancies that it relieves itself of the danger of being accounted a publican from inditing profane stories, by making those stories puritanical and profitable at the same time. Every human thing has its use—and its abuse. To be "a religious novelist," is to put a dagger into the hand of the scoffer instead of a sword into the grasp of those who hold those things dear which the sceptic holds cheap. There have been great novelists who were great moralists at the same time, and yet who scorned the clap-trap of religious reference at every hand's turn, because they knew their own province, they felt their own power, and they shrank from the unseemly contact and combination which are now the vogue, and which they knew were as perilous in reality as they were easy to be done.

"DRED!" Who has *not* read "Dred?" "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and "Jane Eyre," ran their popular race at a period of time not very far distant from each other; and although the absorbing nature of the subject discussed in "Uncle Tom," with the novelty of characters and incidents touched on and introduced, weakened Miss Bronte's production, with its greater mastery of language and passion; still we think, and we fancy the public think with us, that as "Jane" exhausted the powers of her creator, so has "Uncle Tom" played Mrs. Beecher Stowe the same treacherous part—although certainly in not so very perceptible a degree. "Dred," in proportion, is undoubtedly nearer to the authoress's great work, than "Shirley," or "Viletto," is to "Jane Eyre;" but, notwithstanding, like single-speech Hamilton, and his first and last oratorical efforts, we feel, if the authoress does not, that the riches of the mine have been pretty well worked out by the laborer, and that, in all human probability, the lower she goes the less she will get. This, perhaps, was to be expected; one cannot be an intellectual prodigal without suffering by the

excessive expenditure, especially when a particular region is chosen, and a particular object is pertinaciously kept in view. When Thomas Campbell was asked to write a poem similar in style and metre to his "Pleasures of Hope," his answer was, "No ; a man may make a single plunge and bring up a pearl, but he may dive a hundred times after, and find nothing but oyster shells to reward him for his pains." This was not Mrs. Beecher Stowe's view of her own capability, and it could hardly be expected that it could. Enthusiastic as she is as an abolitionist, and successful as she has been as a novelist, either motive might have swayed her to re-enter the lists, but with both to actuate her, impression was impossible. We might as soon have expected Scott to have stopped short at Waverley, or Dickens at Pickwick, or Byron at the Giaour, or Rosa Bonheur to fling by her pencil while the fame of her great picture was yet ringing in her modest ears.

We know not what time it may have taken to compose "Uncle Tom's Cabin;" but it is abundantly evident that its successor has been written in too great a hurry ; and although, in this instance, we could not go so far as to say that Mrs. Stowe's "easy writing is d——d hard reading," still the fact of undue haste is not less patent, and we have a right to complain that we are thereby deprived of a very sensible pleasure which we resent as an unnecessary loss. In the first place, the authoress had no story to tell ; she had an essay to write, and she has thrown it into the form of desultory dialogues, with interlocutors, the greater number of whom are thoroughly uninteresting, and by far too large a number of them coarse, vulgar, and revolting in the extreme. In the second place, the characters, such as they are, do nothing *but* talk ; they have the *vox et proterea* gift to an alarming extent ; but when they come to act, they are as barren of fruit as a fig tree in December. Dred, the hero of the book, in name, is a half-maddened mystic, who lives in the dismal swamp, threatens his tyrants in scriptural language, and is shot down, we are not told how, but certainly without striking a stroke in his own defence, or that of any body else. Nina is allowed to live, until she becomes interesting, and then she is carried off by cholera, as Mercutio is by the sword of Tybalt, just when we particularly wish her not to die. Her gay, bluff, good-hearted old uncle, is finished off in the same manner ; and although Harry and Clayton survive, they are so sketchy and

imperfect as *actors*, that we hardly care a button whether they live or die. The villain of the book, Tom Gordon, outrages all our notions of poetical justice, by being allowed to lynch, whip, tar-and-feather, ravish, rob, exterminate, and commit such like atrocities, without a single hair of his guilty head being the worse of it. He may be getting drunk and blaspheming to this very hour, for aught we know, as when Mrs. Stowe dropped him, he was as prosperous as any slave-holding scoundrel could well be. We have certainly the consolation to hear that "Tiff" survives and prospers, and we are glad of it, inasmuch as we think that he and "Milly" are the only two characters worth a maravedi in the whole list. We might probably include "Tomtit" only that Tom evaporates like the rest, in order to make room for casuists and preachers, who, like almost all the other white people introduced, have little to recommend them but the ability to say much and do nothing.

What we regret particularly to learn from the book, are two disheartening facts; namely, that slavery, as an institution, is fixed and likely to be permanent; and that religion, properly so called, is at the very lowest ebb in the southern states of the American union. The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, is in the hand of every man, woman, and child; black, white, or cream-colored; their songs are biblical, their sayings are biblical; like the devil, they can quote scripture for their purposes, and never hesitate to do so, by any compunctious visitings, or wholesome remorse. But, after all, the utmost extent of the contrition that even the worst amongst them exhibits, is a momentary impulse, and may be typified by the exclamation of preacher Bonnie, over Ben Dakin, at the camp meeting:—"Take this poor sinner, now, O Lord! to thyself, for if you don't he will be drunk again in two days." We are presented with pictures of Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and others, and with the single exception of Dickson, a more selfish, worthless or cowardly set of companions we never travelled with. We suppose that Mrs. Stowe has chosen the least disinterested as examples, but we cannot wonder that the whites are as black as sin can make them, when their spiritual affairs are directed by such men; and it is utterly hopeless to suppose that the blot of slavery can ever be removed, when each sect is afraid of giving its rival sect an advantage by counselling its removal from the national banner. If we required any additional

illustrations of the danger which "the Bible let loose" is capable of doing, Mrs. Stowe's "Dred," affords a series of "notes and comments," which Christians of all creeds would do well to ponder over, and which we cannot but hope will have a salutary effect, if anything can.

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## ART. V.—THE BRISTOL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION :

WITH A GLANCE AT IRELAND.

*The Law Amendment Journal. Being the Weekly Journal of  
The Society for Promoting the Amendment of the Law.*  
Vol. I. No. 22. London : Published at 3 Waterloo Place.

We were passing the door of the office of *The Morning Post*, some weeks since, accompanying an esteemed friend who is one of the chief advocates of the Reformatory Movement, and he stopped before the door and said, "Ten years ago *The Post*, in describing some efforts I and others were making to bring the Reformatory Question before the country, described me as a well-meaning, philanthropic old gentleman, with an absurd crotchet. See what we have now done !—Erasmus was a great man—*Festina Lenti* !"

Doubtless there are few points in the history of Bull's legislation which have required so much support, from what Sydney Smith calls "those affecting circumstances," dates, facts and figures, before he could be induced to give to it even a very small share of support, and a still smaller share of earnest attention, as the Reformatory Movement; but he did attend at last, and we trust that through the zealous efforts of The National Reformatory Union and the Reformatory and Refuge Union, we shall be able to make Bull still more attentive, and shall be able, likewise, in the words of Canon Girdlestone, "to combine for the purpose of presenting a firm and united front to the common enemy"—Juvenile Crime, without sectarian or theological differences interposing to check the work we have in hand and in heart.

In the RECORD of our last Number we inserted a full report of the various Sectional Meetings of the Bristol Conference,

but at the period of our publication, the papers read in the Sections were not before us.

As printed in the number of *The Law Amendment Journal*, placed at the head of this article, these papers were twelve in number, and on the following subjects:—

- 1 On the Reformatory Institutions in and near Bristol. By Mary Carpenter.
- 2 The Inefficiency of Simply Penal Legislation. By Lord Brougham.
- 3 Punishments in Reformatory Schools. By E. B. Wheatley, M.A., one of the Chairmen of the Quarter Sessions of the West Riding.
- 4 Visit to Mettray. By Frederic Hill.
- 5 Transportation and Reformation. By Captain Crofton, Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland.
- 6 On the Industrial Schools of Scotland, and the Working of Dunlop's Act. By Alfred Hill.
- 7 On the Connection between Juvenile Crime and the Drinking Habits of Society. By H. Cossham.
- 8 On the Suggestion of a Measure by which Juvenile Offenders may be Reclaimed, and a regular supply of Seamen be obtained for her Majesty's Service. By Thomas Philpotts.
- 9 On the Liverpool Akbar Hulk Reformatory. By Mr. Brougham.
- 10 On the Relation of Reformatory Schools to the State, and the General Principles of their Management, especially in reference to Female Reformatories. By Mary Carpenter.
- 11 On the Best Means of Providing for the Inmates of Reformatory Schools on their Discharge. By Rev. S. Turner.
- 12 On Previous Imprisonment for Children Sentenced to Reformatories. By Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart.

When the National Reformatory Union was founded at Hardwicke Court, one of its chief objects was declared to be the collection and dissemination of facts and experiences bearing upon and useful in successfully working, the Reformatory Principle. Taking this Bristol Conference as the first general meeting held in accordance with the objects as above stated, the members of the Union may feel fully satisfied with the result.

During the year 1856, the members have been active and earnest in their efforts, not alone to carry out the broad principles of conciliation and non-interference with the religious

feelings of any shade of dissent, but they have been enabled by this honest, wise, enlightened system of co-operation to number, amongst their members, men and women of every religion. Not indeed that they deny that religion is, and must of necessity be, the foundation, and the pervading spirit of reformation, and its strongest and most perfect safeguard. As Canon Girdlestone well and truly wrote, last August, to *The Daily News*, the breadth of the principles of the Union is its chiefest perfection. He writes :—

In seconding a resolution at the late meeting of the National Reformatory Union in this place, I took the opportunity of vindicating the breadth of the basis on which that Union is founded. I have been since told in many quarters, and especially by members of the Reformatory and Refuge Union, that the breadth of the basis on which the National Reformatory Union is founded made it necessary at the meetings at Bristol to ignore all religion, and that it is impossible to expect the blessing of God upon efforts carried out in this manner. I think it right that the attention of the public should be directed to the fact, that religion was not ignored at the Bristol meeting. On the contrary, the absolute necessity of the religious element in all reformatory work was so plainly and earnestly stated, both by Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Miles, on Thursday evening, that it was impossible to add anything to the force of those statements.

With regard to not expecting as much of the blessings of God upon the National Reformatory Union as upon the Reformatory a Refuge Union, the real difference between the two Unions is, not that the one ignores religion and the other does not, or even that one is really more religious than the other, but that the one does not consider it necessary to add to its rules a clause containing the words "Holy Scripture," and that the other does; though by doing so, as has been confessed to me by one of its members, it will in all probability exclude from its committee both Roman Catholics and Unitarians.

Now, this is objectionable, because, even in the abstract, it is better to widen where it is possible rather than contract the basis of mutual co-operation, and to dwell on the points on which all agree rather than on those on which we differ. It is objectionable also, because, in the case of a union, whose object it is not to found or manage any particular school or schools, but to provide such a medium of general intercommunication as may lead to the establishment, by those of various religious persuasions, of schools of the best quality for the reformation of the children of parents of the same persuasion, it is of great importance to interpose no unnecessary obstacle in the way of having persons of all persuasions on the committee. If it be the real intention of this addition, which I hope it is not, to discourage the founding of any Reformatories except those in which the authorized version is read, then it is mischievous in a still greater degree; for surely it is better that young criminals

should be reformed on Roman Catholic or Unitarian principles, than that they should remain rogues and vagabonds.

In short, it appears to me that the breadth of the basis on which the National Reformatory Union is constituted, so far from being open to objection, most thoroughly fulfils the idea suggested by the title National, and to an extent hardly otherwise attainable without sacrifice of principle or reference to theological differences, enables all to combine for the purpose of presenting a firm and united front to the common enemy.

Your obedient servant,

E. GIRDLESTONE, Canon of Bristol.

Amongst the most important of the practical papers read in the Sections, are Mr Wheatley's on Punishment in Reformatory Schools, Miss Carpenter's paper on the Management of Female Reformatories, Mr. Turner's on the Means of Providing for the Inmates of Reformatory Schools on their Discharge, and Sir S. Northcote's on Previous Imprisonment for Children Sentenced to Reformatories. Captain Crofton's letter was also most important, but we referred to it at some length in our September number.

Sir Stafford Northcote is one of the most clear headed, earnest, and able advocates of the Reformatory system, and has brought experience, a high position, a trained intellect, and a powerful pen to back the National Reformatory Union. He has, both in his paper, *Reformatory Schools*, printed in *The Quarterly Review*, and in this paper now before us, shown himself fully capable of, as a friend of his says, "tackling" any difficulties surrounding the Movement.

He considers that *previous* punishment should be inflicted on all committed to a Reformatory who can be shown to have understood that they were criminal in infringing the law. He shows, with great clearness, that although the French principle, *sans discernement*, may be sometimes well founded, yet that in practice it is not acquiesced in by the popular mind of France. He writes :—

Those who have had experience of boy-nature know well that long before the age of 16, the faculties and the moral sense of ninety-nine in a hundred are sufficiently developed to enable the lad to discern clearly what is right and what is wrong, and to estimate the probable consequences of his own actions. It may indeed be true that a bad education and the evil example of those around him may have greatly blunted his conscience and his intellect, and that he may have become an object deserving far more of pity than of indignation; but the same might with equal truth be said of many an adult; and it would be hard to frame an argument which should lead to the acquittal of a

youth of 16, on the ground that he had never been taught anything but evil, and should allow of his conviction at 18, after having gone through two years more of education in depravity, without a ray of light to rouse him to consciousness of his state. We cannot doubt that before an Omniscient tribunal, the advantages which each man has enjoyed will be duly taken into account when judgment is pronounced upon him; but such discrimination is beyond the power of an earthly judge.

There is, however, an argument of which we must take notice. M. De Metz, both in writing and in conversation, upholds the French system of acquittal, on the ground that it is important, both for the tone of the Reformatory establishment and for the prospects of the inmates when the time comes for their leaving it, that they should not have been stigmatized by a condemnation (*flétris par la condamnation*). I will not pretend to say what weight this argument may deserve with reference to the state of feeling in France, but as applicable to this country it seems to me a very weak one. That a boy who has been convicted of an offence before a court of justice loses somewhat of his self respect, and is under a disadvantage in the eyes of the world, is perfectly true; but it must be remembered that even on the French principle, in order to his first admission into a Reformatory School, it is necessary that he should have been charged before a court of justice, and that the offence with which he is charged should be proved to have been committed by him, and that his acquittal is no proof of his innocence, but a mere formality of the law. So far, therefore, as his character is concerned, the fact of his not receiving punishment for his offence does not prevent the stigma of guilt attaching to his name. The shame is in the commission of the offence; punishment stigmatizes by marking that the offence has been committed, and acquittal is honourable as showing that it has not been committed; but do away with this feature of an acquittal, and you turn it, so far as the impression it creates as to the boy's character, into a conviction. On this point I must appeal to the testimony of M. De Metz himself, who speaking of the French system before the establishment of Metray, tells us that there was a difficulty in placing out the young *détenus* (I am forced to use the French term to express the French idea), because "they inspired the master manufacturer who knew their antecedents with a certain distrust, in some respects legitimate, since the latter did not feel themselves sufficiently prepared to combat, in these young assistants whose reformation might be matter of doubt, the vicious tendencies and evil will that might reappear." These children, then, though acquitted as having acted without discernment, were by M. De Metz's own statement, stigmatized as offenders.

Sir Stafford, however, would not allow any portion of the punishment to be inflicted in the Reformatory. He would have no sign of the gaol about the school, and he considers, and considers wisely, that the farmer who sees the inmates of the school working freely and cheerfully, is apt to forget the prisoner in seeing only the boy.



Having stated his opinions thus, it became necessary that he should point out the species of punishment to be adopted, and accordingly Sir Stafford considers that the best previous punishment is separate confinement, the prisoner being carefully watched. He supports this opinion by the authority of M. Demetz, the Rev. S. Turner, Colonel Jebb, and the Rev. Mr. Burt. Flogging he considers unsuited to the class of boys sent to Reformatories, because "dragged up," as they generally are, from the cradle to the dock, knowing nothing of hands but their blows, nothing of lips but their curses, it can do nothing, save harm, to show them that, within the gaol as without it, the rough and ready code of discipline prevails.

He thus concludes his paper:—

I will sum up, then, the views which I have ventured to put forward by expressing generally my conviction that, so long as Reformatory School are confined to children who have been guilty of breaches of the law, such children ought to undergo punishment previously to their admission, and that such punishment should generally be a short term of imprisonment on the separate system. I am quite aware that at present it is only in a small number of prisons that the separate system of confinement is fully carried into effect; and I am no sensible of the evils of associated imprisonment, that I should willingly see a discretion given to committing magistrates as to imprisoning at all, where separation cannot be secured. But I should suppose that in a considerable number of gaols where the system is not adopted in its integrity, the means of separating two or three boys, and there would seldom be more at one time, from the mass of hardened felons might without difficulty be found; and where they do not exist they ought to be provided.

I should here conclude, were it not that I feel bound to add that while approving of the previous imprisonment of boys convicted of breaches of the law, I deeply regret that the benefits of the Reformatory system are still confined to that class alone. We have yet to strike at the root of the mischief of which we are now content to lop the branches. I trust the example which has been set us in Scotland, and many procure the authority to compel the thousands of vagrant children who now swarm through the streets and alleys of our large towns, to come into schools of industry, where they may be properly brought up as useful members of the community. In as far as the necessity for imprisoning a boy, before sending him to a Reformatory, operates to the exclusion of the destitute and perishing vagrant, against whom no crime is proved, in so far the advocates of a change in the law have my heartiest concurrence. But for this something more than the mere abrogation of imprisonment is needed.

The provision we require is one that shall open schools of industry distinct from, but giving the same kind of education as the Reformatory School, to all the children of the poor who may desire to

avail themselves of such advantages. The parents should be made to contribute according to their means; the state, the parish, and private benevolence, might divide the remainder of the expense. To these schools the children of persons receiving parochial relief might be sent at the cost of the Union; and to these or similar schools vagrant and deserted children might be committed under magisterial authority. The Reformatory proper would be confined to those who had actually been convicted of and duly punished for crime, and the admission into it would be no boon to the criminal class, but only an extension to them of a benefit of which all might avail themselves, subject to modifications which would be suitable to the peculiarities of their case. In the adoption of some such system I think we may see our way to the solution of many of the problems with which we are now engaged, including that of Previous Imprisonment.

At the conclusion of Sir Stafford Northcote's paper, a discussion arose in which the Rev. Mr. Osborne, Chaplain of Bath Prison, Mr. Pownall, Chairman of Middlesex Sessions, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Recorder Hill, and Lord Stanley, declared themselves in favor of the addition of previous imprisonment; the Rev. S. Turner was in *favor of previous imprisonment*, and Sir John Pakington said that he had altered his opinion on this subject. Last session he had voted for the proposed clause, which made imprisonment discretionary with the committing magistrate; but he was now convinced that it was better to punish in every case, and that the proper place for that punishment was the prison, and not the school.

So far of the previous imprisonment point; we now turn to the no less important question of punishment within the Reformatory, after the boy shall have been transmitted from the Prison. To the consideration of this subject, Mr. Wheatley has brought knowledge, patient research, and all the qualities which render him worthy our deepest and most earnest attention. Having studied, and thought over, and lectured upon Mettray, that Mecca of the Reformatory School advocate, he is able to measure its points of discipline in every position, and to judge how far they may be adopted, and how many may be adapted to the requirements and peculiarities of these kingdoms. He writes:—

In cases of serious misconduct in a Reformatory, the power given by Mr. Adderley's Act to remit to prison for a period not exceeding three months may sometimes be advantageously exercised. I believe, too, that we shall find it desirable to seek by further legislation on this point for a power analogous to the French *reintegration*—that is, the capital punishment of the code of Mettray and other French Reformatories. When a member of the community

proves himself so corrupt that the hope of benefit to himself does not countervail the danger to the rest, he is returned to prison, never to return to the colony. The effect of that measure, where it has been judged necessary at Mettray, is described as most beneficial, not only to the general body, but even in many cases to the unhappy member thus cut off, in whom, as with many of us in the world, the sense of opportunities neglected, of kindness despised, comes home with tenfold force when forfeited and withdrawn. Such a power I think we ought to seek by further legislation, lest we be forced to sacrifice the hopes of many to the inveterate corruption of one.

For the minor faults of more frequent occurrence, it is desirable that the Reformatory should have within itself a few cells. Simple closets, with windows large enough for ventilation but not for escape, will answer. They should be removed as far as possible from access of other boys and from each other; for if not, the isolation, which is the beneficial essence of the punishment, may be lost. On this point, that the cells should not be within hearing of each other, M. De Metz dwelt much in conversations which I had with him on his last visit to England, after he had seen some of our Reformatories.

He also insisted, with all the energy of manner which those who have seen him well know, on the "indispensable necessity" of having what he called a *cachot*—a dungeon. "A common cellar will do," he said, "with just openings enough to let in air. You should have a few boards and a bit of straw for a bed." Before those of sensitive nerves shrink from the greatest probably of living philanthropists as a savage barbarian, let them hear his meaning: "A boy," he says, "will sometimes, when put into the cell, in the first moment of excitement, hammer and kick the door, and shout as loud as he can by way of defiance. If the cell is your *ultima ratio*, he may continue that course for some time, receiving no benefit himself, and breeding insubordination in others. But if you have your cellar, you can introduce him to that. The straw bed is put there, not that you intend him to sleep on it, but for him to see that provision is made for his doing so in case he continue insubordinate. In an hour or two you visit him again, and find him probably cooled down morally as well as physically, and glad to exchange the cellar for the ordinary cell on condition of quiet submission."

To subdue insubordination there must always be a possible means beyond that actually used. The offender must not know the limit of your power, otherwise the boy of strong will and nerve will often screw his courage up to endure beyond that limit in the hope of obtaining a triumph.

While the cell may thus on the one hand be made of means to check those cases of insubordination, which will be the rarer the better the general management, and rarer still if provision be made for them, it may also be made a means by which punishment can be greatly diminished, if not altogether avoided.

I cannot do better than quote again the words of the directors of Mettray on this most important point in the administration of all punishment (*Rapp.* 1841, p. 28).

"If it be desired that chastisement should produce a salutary effect, it is necessary that he who is subjected to it should receive it with resignation, and should be the first to acknowledge that he has deserved it. To obtain this conviction in the culprit, in the first place, the punishment must be inflicted with calmness and temper; and be dictated by the strictest justice, that power of reason which should convince while it commands; and in the second, he who inflicts the chastisement and he who receives it must both be free from excitement.

"These conditions cannot co-exist while the indignation which is produced by any serious offence prevails.

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"For this reason our labour masters are directed, when they have any complaint against a boy, to send him to an apartment which is our station house (*Salle de Dépôt*) but called the *parloir*, because we seek to avoid any name which may recall the prison to the minds of our boys. Nothing is prejudged by boys being sent to the *parloir*; they even go there of their own accord. As soon as this measure has become necessary in the case of any boy, they come immediately and apprise us. We have time to look to his antecedents, and if necessary to make enquiries.

"During this interval the culprit comes to himself; the master cools; we have an opportunity of considering and advising with one another; and thus when we give our decision with full knowledge of the case and in cool blood, we have security that true fatherly justice is done.

"If hitherto nothing has been made of these boys, it is perhaps because it has been thought possible as regards them to dispense with that patience, that *douceur*—the French word to which I confess I do not know any English equivalent—and above all with that discretion which their age requires, especially when we are dealing with a collection of boys among whom the most intelligent communicates his ideas to the rest, and who mutually inform and stimulate each other."

The *parloir* here spoken of and now called the *Salle de Reflexion*, is simply one of the cells used for punishment. The inferior officers can send a boy there, but he is considered as not in punishment, but awaiting his trial, till seen by the directors. I believe it is scarcely possible to over estimate the importance of this arrangement. Besides the advantage of giving time for cool reflection to all parties, so well pointed out in the extract I have read, it serves further to meet a great difficulty in the practical working of the Reformatory, viz., as to the degree of authority to be given to the inferior and superior officers respectively.

At Mettray the power of inflicting any punishment except the lightest is reserved entirely to the superior; and rightly, for if the inferior is to punish on the spur of the moment, he will often be at once complainant, judge, jury, and executioner; and with so many functions to exercise, is not likely to perform any very well. But by remitting the culprit to the cell for trial, he is enabled to maintain

his own authority and check the spread of insubordination, and at the same time allow of cool and impartial trial before actual punishment be inflicted.

This caution, coupled with the principle of Beccaria before quoted, points out a Scylla and Charybdis, one of many such cases in the course of criminal reformation through which we have to steer.

While on the one hand sufficient time must be allowed between the offence and its punishment to ensure calm judgment and fatherly justice; on the other, the punishment must not be so long delayed that the association between the ideas of that and the fault be lost, lest the act assume in the sufferer's eye rather the aspect of cold-blooded cruelty than of cool justice; and seem to him a gratuitous infliction of suffering.

A few words as to corporal punishment., I am one who inclines to the old-fashioned idea, that in the cases of acute moral disease, the outbreaks of uncontrolled passion and wilful disobedience to which ordinary children are so liable, a counter irritation judiciously applied may often be useful to draw down, as the old herbalists would say, the bad humours from the nobler parts. But I believe its usefulness is limited to cases to which the general tone of the moral constitution is healthy. I have little faith in its efficacy in the chronic diseases, with which we have for the most part to deal in our Reformatories.

From being rather an advocate of corporal punishment for young criminals, I was first led to the opposite view by observations derived from our vast prison in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and from the black books at Quarter Sessions, in which it is remarkable how often, in those long lists of previous convictions which appear against a young criminal, a whipping has been one of the early punishments; and as far as my inquiries into the primary causes of youthful crime have gone, I find none more common than over severity of parents, step-parents, or others.

It is peculiarly difficult, in the administration of corporal punishment, to steer clear of the Scylla and Charybdis before-mentioned. If it follow quickly upon the offence, it assumes the character of a personal conflict, in which the blood of both parties is up, and the submission of the sufferer is in his mind merely that of the physically weaker to the stronger. If on the other hand it be long delayed, it assumes to the sufferer, who from the bluntness of moral sense which is characteristic of the criminal, scarcely realizes the moral wrongness of his fault, the aspect of gratuitous and cold-blooded cruelty.

The former is generally the character of corporal punishment as administered by the rough hands of parents, step-parents and sometimes employers, prompted rather by revengeful passion than by reason or desire for the child's real good.

The latter is, probably, for the most part, the aspect which corporal punishment, as administered by the officers of justice for crime, assumes to the culprit.

Both cases involve the fault so great yet so common, that of causing, from want of attention to the principles of human nature, some of those principles to act against us instead of on our side, in our attempts at moral improvement.

Our great moralist, Bishop Butler, has shown the wise ends for which there is implanted in our nature by its Divine Author a principle of resentment, which he acutely distinguishes into two kinds, hasty and sudden, or settled and deliberate resentment. The former is that instinct which we have in common with the lower animals, which leads us in self-defence to resist sudden force and violence without regard to its justice or injustice.

The latter in its proper use, as distinguished from the many abuses to which it is liable, is that sense of justice which leads us to desire that injustice and wrong, as such, whether done to ourselves or others, should be punished.

Now, the first of these feelings is, from the nature of the case, necessarily called into exercise by corporal punishment.

One great advantage of the cell as a means of correction is, that it avoids the calling this natural feeling into exercise. The solitude and separation from exciting causes tend to allay instead of stimulating sudden resentment.

In dealing with a number of boys whose moral sense has been blunted by neglect, who have been habituated to call evil good and good evil, the first great difficulty is to bring their deliberate resentment, their sense of justice over from the side of wrong to that of right.

This is peculiarly difficult in the case of corporal punishment. The sight, or even the knowledge of acute suffering tends by the natural feeling of compassion to produce in others sympathy with the sufferer. This sympathy will be the stronger as their sense of his fault is weaker.

Where the culprit has little sense of his own moral fault, the sympathy of others both tends further to deaden that sense, and give him strength to endure.

To the boy accustomed to the reckless excitement, the alternations of prodigal sensuality and cold want of a criminal life, it is easy to screw his courage to the sticking place to endure the sharp but short severity of corporal punishment. If by strong nerve, and especially if helped by the sympathy of others, he endure without yielding, he gains a decided triumph—a thing to boast of, a laurel to which the eye of depraved ambition can look beyond the suffering.

Considered, therefore, merely as a deterrent, I believe that corporal punishment is less effective than the cell, because its limit is so soon reached and so plainly visible. The cell is more really formidable, because, though less severe, its mild discipline can be continued almost indefinitely.

Considered as a correction, it can be adjusted with a nicety which corporal punishment does not admit of, to the requirements of the case, and under proper arrangements prolonged from simple temporary preventive detention to long continued isolation as the moral symptoms of the patient, developed from time to time, may seem to require.

In both points of view, both as a corrective and as a deterrent, the plan adopted at Mettray is most important, viz., that the period of detention in the cell should never be fixed beforehand, but should

be regulated according to the effect apparent during its continuance.

For these reasons, though I would not have corporal punishment absolutely excluded from the Reformatory, because, in the infinite variety of cases and characters, it may occasionally be useful and even necessary, yet I do strongly believe that it should be used rarely and with the utmost caution. At Mettray it was at first altogether excluded. Of late years it has been introduced there in the shape of a good cut on the hand with a ferule for slight offences. These were formerly punished by bread and water diet; but with the very hard work required there, that diet was found to operate injuriously on the health, and interfere, as the cell also necessarily does, with labour. It is administered with great caution, not in the presence of the boys in general, but only of other culprits, and of the director or his lieutenant. I am inclined to think that such minor offences are better dealt with negatively, by loss of reward, than by positive infliction of punishment; but that consideration belongs to my other proposed subject—that of rewards.

I have already detained you too long on the subject of punishments; but I must just add, in conclusion, the wise counsel of Montesquieu, which is no less valuable to the schoolmaster or manager in dealing with boys, than to the statesman with men:—

“We must not lead men by extreme measures; we must use with economy (*etre menager de*) the means which nature gives us to guide them withal. If we inquire into the cause of all disorders we shall see that they are owing, not to the mildness of punishments, but to the fact that faults escape punishment altogether.”

In the school let no fault be unpunished, but never use one morsel more of punishment than is absolutely necessary for its correction. To do so is, independently of any consideration of justice or benevolence, bad economy—a waste of motive power.

Considering punishment as deterrent, it is rather certainty than severity that we want.

Considering it as a Reformatory agent, we need, not that which will produce a sudden and violent impression, but that which shall operate surely, continuously, and so permanently—not the rush of the torrent, but the drop that wears the stone.

At the conclusion of the paper Mr. WHEATLEY, in reply to a question, said he believed that a proper system of rewards might almost supersede punishments. At present, however, the rewards given were too few. There should be rewards for the attainment of particular standards, and those standards should be open to all. He was in favour, too, of the principle of collective rewards, so that a boy should not only benefit by his own good conduct, but by that of others. This would give to each an interest in all.

LORD STANLEY observed, that the suggestion that the period of confinement in a cell should be indefinite was an important one; and he considered it would be quite as reasonable for a medical man to persevere in one course of medicine irrespective of its effect upon his patient, as for them to fix the time for the seclusion of the young offender in a Reformatory, regardless of its effect upon him. He

believed rewards to be absolutely necessary in a Reformatory, but was in favour of competitive rewards rather than rewards for good conduct, on the family system, as adopted at Mettray.

**LORD ROBERT CECIL** was in favour of corporal punishment, not that he believed it tended to reform the individual so much as to deter others; and this was one of the main objects of punishment. He also spoke in favour of the system of rewards as adopted at Mettray.

**Dr. WALLIS** thought they should treat criminals as they treated lunatics.

**Mr. SYDNEY TURNER** objected to rewards, but would make the children's luxuries dependant on their own earnings.

**Mr. JELINGER SYMONS** considered that the cell punishment ought to be administered within the Reformatories.

**Mr. ADDERLEY, M. P.**, cautioned the advocates of the system not to reduce the moral philosophy of the subject to a mechanical art, by holding out that, by a certain course of treatment, a bad boy could be reformed into a good boy. He feared too that they might discourage persons if they let it go abroad that the system of the schools was attended with so much intricate and refined philosophy.

The **CHAIRMAN, Mr. Recorder Hill**, congratulated the section on the paper and discussion they had heard; and with reference to the great question of whether punishment should be inflicted within the Reformatory, or be delegated to the gaol, it was one which must soon engage the attention of the Legislature, and which might therefore be well considered out of doors. He had had much consultation with **M. De Metz** on the subject, and he considered that the punishment should be within the institution, as he was then enabled, by frequent visits, to ascertain the precise moment when the boy might be released from the cell and let go free amongst the others. The chairman also offered some remarks on Mettray, defending it against some remarks in the paper, and contending that it was the great model of Reformatory Schools.

The thanks of the section were then voted to **Mr. Wheatley** by acclamation.

Having thus gone over the questions of punishments and rewards as ends towards reformation, the very important question arises—What are we to do with our tame elephants? and here the **Rev. Sydney Turner** offers the results of great, and long continued, and wide spread experience.

He tells us of four openings for the employment of the inmates of the Reformatories, upon their discharge; and as his observations and suggestions are, just now, of vast importance both to England and Ireland, we insert this portion of his paper at length:—

First, they may be apprenticed and placed in service in some part of England remote from their own locality. This I have been oc-



asionally successful in doing, but it is only rarely that the opportunities occur. We have at present no machinery by which we can find or enlist masters in distant towns or country districts. To advertise is generally to invite those who want the premium, rather than desire to assist or protect the boy; country masters also in our ordinary trades ask extravagant premiums; and I have found it very difficult to enforce the agreement or indenture when any difference arise between the master and the boy.

In very few instances have I been able to keep the boy with his employer for any long period; in most cases he has left after a year or two, and returned to his original neighbourhood and his relations, risking and often incurring deterioration and relapse.

Some of the difficulties would be removed, or at least lessened, by the active operation of local Reformatory Committees acting on a settled plan to interchange the boys who are to be placed out. The Red Hill boy being apprenticed or engaged in Somersetshire or Devon; the Kingswood or Bamford-Speke lad in Surrey or Sussex. How far this could be done will depend on the good or evil report which our lads and the school they are in, obtain. I am not sanguine of its success—

1st, because I find that in France, with the advantage of a far more full and methodized system of patronage than we have here, Demetz is dissatisfied, and recommends that the Colonist should be kept and trained till able to go out as the adult workman, engaging on independent terms for the hire of his labour.

2ndly, because I believe that, when carried to any considerable extent, jealousy would be excited, and the Reformatory be accused of giving the criminal better employers than the pauper, or, as would be often the case, of intercepting employment and situations from the boys and girls of the vicinity who would have the first claim to them.

It will be observed that I have spoken chiefly of trade apprenticeship or domestic service. As regards farm work in England, I see no reason why we should not be able to find work with farmers for country lads discharged from country schools, if the committees managing the schools use reasonable exertion. But I fear that the London, or Manchester, or Birmingham boy will not be very easily transformed with any chance of permanence into an agriculturist in this country. Were our farm labourers' condition better it might be otherwise, but the town lad knows pretty well that the tailor or the shoemaker, &c., get their 18s. or 20s. per week, and the farm labourer his 10s. or 12s.; that one is at the top and the other at the bottom of the tree; and though he may for awhile be induced or forced to take up farm labour as training or discipline, he will not give himself to it as a means of livelihood.

It has been suggested that Home Colonies might be formed in Ireland and even in England, with the object of reclaiming and improving the waste and common lands, and on the principle of the labourers attaining a share in the land, and that boys from Reformatory Schools would be induced to work on these with such a prospect before them. I give the suggestion as it was given to me, certainly thinking that the general idea of getting the boys appren-

tioned and employed as farm labourers in some of the more remote and newly-purchased estates in Ireland, is one worth inquiry and thought.\*

It is very evident that the main difficulty in the way of all schemes for the employment of our lads in England is the absence of sufficient guardianship, or as the French term it, "*patronage*." I fear that our fellow-countrymen have all too much to do in most cases to give any hope of this void being filled up. Our clergy and the supporters of our religious societies and institutions might do much, but unfortunately they are as yet but partially interested in the subject, and hitherto have shown more sympathy for a Polish Jew, or a Caffre with a six-syllable name, than for a poor plain "Tom all alone," the London outcast. A healthier feeling, however, is already being stirred up on this point. The Home Mission is beginning to assert its proper weight and greatness, and many opportunities may in time be found by the active friends of the cause for enlisting the aid and sympathy of our religious teachers, as well as of our magistrates and unemployed ladies and gentlemen, in the good work of watering and watching over the seed that the Reformatory School has planted.

A second means of provision in England would be by enlistment in the army. This is the great French Reformatory outlet; one-third of the *colons placés* of Metzray are enlisted. I hope I may not offend the feelings of any of our friends when I say I could heartily wish that this way were practically open to us; aye, and that a considerable number of our *protégés* were entered on it.

Of course no Christian minister can abstractedly admire war as a profession. But the discipline of the regiment provides so exactly for the weakness, the need of external regulation, the want of self-control, and moral self-action which characterises the young offender, and it seems so right that those who have injured their country by their criminal example and pursuits, should make sacrifices and endure toil and hardness in return, in the defence and protection of its interests, that I should be glad if I could place many of our Reformatory scholars in the army. I believe that, in effect, the older inmates of our refuges do frequently enlist. I find that about a dozen of the lads at Saltley have. I believe Mr. Wright's school at Buxton was nearly emptied by the impulse which the war gave to the military spirit of the inmates. I have myself several young friends and former pupils serving their Queen as soldiers, and their conduct and well-doing make me proud of them.

But the difficulties in the way of training the ordinary Reformatory pupil for the army are great. We know, indeed, that practically the recruiting sergeant is not very particular as to the antecedents of his recruits; but these recruits must be of age to act for themselves, and their previous position unknown, or at least not a matter of notoriety, as it would be if they were taken directly from a Reformatory School. And here lies the hindrance. You want to place the boy out at fifteen; he cannot enlist in the ordinary way

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\* See post.

before he is 17. and must be of a certain height. The army is, therefore, practically closed to the English Reformatory.

I cannot help thinking that a Military Reform School might be set apart; that in such a school as Redhill a military class might be formed; and that without any sort of discredit or stain to the service a number of young recruits might be taken to be in the first instance employed for service in India or the Colonies—such lads having the privilege of transfer to the regular army after a certain period of probation and good conduct in this initiative division. As it is, however, the army is an exceptional resource, open only under particular circumstances of age, and physical development and individual inclination.

The same remark applies equally to the navy. Hundreds of the boys that feed our Reformatories would both be fitted for the sea and be most anxious to embrace it as their calling, and would be the better for the control and discipline of a well-regulated man of war. But here, again, the theoretical objection steps in and bars the way. I had some especially likely subjects for the navy examined and approved at the *Rendezvous* last year; but they were refused at the Admiralty, on the ground that if such boys were admitted, honest and respectable boys would be less likely to volunteer. I have no faith at all in the soundness of the objection. I do not believe that the average of language, manners, or conduct would be at all lower. I believe they would be higher, for the Reformatory School would give a higher tone and better preparation. No one need know where the boys came from; and while the numbers so entered would be sufficient to be a valuable assistance to the manning of our navy, it would not be large enough to excite any remark, or arouse any hostile or jealous feeling in other classes of the community. I believe the difficulty to be of the red tape order, especially as I know that a considerable number of boys of the vagrant and criminal class are taken yearly from the *House of Occupation*, as the reports of that establishment show. But at present the obstacle exists; and thus again an important outlet, valuable for the opening it would give to the natural excitability and love of adventure which distinguishes boys of that class, and for the discipline and regulation it would place them under while still young, is closed to us.

With reference to the merchant service, the recent alterations in the mercantile marine make it very difficult to get boys an engagement in it. Formerly, the law required a certain number of apprentices to be taken in every merchant vessel. This is now no longer compulsory; and lads who have not been to sea, and have had no training, find it much more difficult to get themselves engaged.

Naval Reformatories, such as the one lately established at Liverpool, will be the most effectual to give the means and opportunity which are so much wanted for placing Reformatory schoolboys at sea.

But they must not be confined to any one locality; at least there must be several of them. I hope we may ere long see another supported in common by our various Reformatory Schools in the English or the Bristol Channel. There will be plenty of candidates. I could myself send 15 or 20 from Redhill alone.

There remains the fourth, and to us at Redhill the most important of all means of disposal—emigration to the Colonies or the United States.

To me this seems in every way the best of all outlets, if proper means of training be adopted and proper care and discrimination exercised in the choice of those who are allowed the vast advantage it gives.

This effectually separates our young offenders from all former associations, introducing them to new scenes of action, where they can start afresh on the work of life, without any prejudice against them, or any bar or hindrance to their progress; if they be but honest and industrious, they must get on.

To the emigrant and the colony the past is comparatively nothing, the present character and habits, and the future efforts and conduct are everything. Emigration keeps the youth or girl in the labour market, securing society a return from their work, and repaying the country they have left and benefiting the new land that receives them. Every fairly successful emigrant not only makes more room for others at home, and raises the value of their labour, but becomes a customer to them, supporting some one at home by the fresh demand he makes for manufactures, implements, and luxuries abroad. This, too, calls forth all that is vigorous, active, and earnest, in the character of the boys or girls themselves. To turn their back for life, as usually must be the case, on all that they have formerly been used to and connected with—to go out four, five, or ten thousand miles, with the aim and purpose of independent, honest, self support is the act of the firm, earnest and right minded. I have seen in scores of cases the marked change that comes over the boy when once he makes up his mind to “go abroad.” He becomes daily more manly, and vigorous, and self-governing; the cowardly and the idle shrink from it.

Of the success which as a general rule attends the emigration of the boys, I can speak confidently. We have sent out from Red Hill above 400 lads, and have heard of or from above four-fifths of them; out of these many have fallen away and disgraced themselves and us; but the large majority have done us credit, and become useful both to the colonies and themselves.\*

But the difficulties and anxieties that accompany this work of emigration from a Reformatory School can hardly be exaggerated; they are indeed very great. They have been greater than they need have been at Red Hill, and the amount of successful disposal in the colonies less than would have been otherwise, through one or two peculiar circumstances, which I mention not in the way of complaint but of explanation.

You are aware that our work began seven years ago at a period when Reformatory Schools were still at a discount, and Reformatory agency a matter of contempt to many and distrust to all.

No law existed then by which a boy could be detained in the

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\* Up to December 31, 1835, out of 372 sent out, 25 had relapsed into vagrancy or crime.

school. If he came, he came in one of two predicaments; he had either served the full term of his punishment and came to us altogether as a volunteer, or he came under a conditional pardon, having a portion of his penalty of imprisonment remitted on the condition of his placing himself under our care, and remaining till we thought it right to discharge him. In the former case the boy was free to leave when he thought fit; and to keep him in the school became the more difficult in proportion as you succeeded in kindling in him the desire to emigrate and reform in earnest. We had therefore to help him out in many cases before we felt quite certain of his steadfastness or industrial ability, or to let him discharge himself upon the world at home, with every chance of his relapsing into crime. In the other case, the boys whom we had from the Government for the first two or three years of our connection with them were usually lads of 15 or 16 years of age, who had been many years in the criminal profession, who had passed through the minor stages of short imprisonment, and had received their sentences to 9, 12, or 18 months' imprisonment, as graduating higher and higher in the criminal class. In these we had to deal with lads who wanted the longest Reformatory training, and who were at the same time the least willing and least likely to submit to it, and who in fact came to us very much upon the understanding that 12 months' good conduct would earn their fresh start into life. I was obliged therefore in scores of cases to trust to hope rather than experience, and to send them out, not because by long training and effectual proof I had full reason to depend on them, but because they were of such an age, and had so far fulfilled the conditions of their admission, that I could not well detain them.

That many of the lads so sent out disappointed me I cannot be surprised; I think it is a great evidence of the intrinsic goodness of motive and feeling that can be stirred in lads of this class, and of the effects of the industrial and religious discipline they were subjected to at Redhill, that so large a portion have done well. But I have no hesitation in saying, both as regards the colony and the boy, he ought not to be sent out under nearly three years' training. You want to uproot and supplant bad habits, putting good ones in their place. You want to ingraft a steady control of temper and appetite. You want to make the lad really industrious and efficient. You cannot do so except under a sufficiently long period of probationary instruction.

But supposing that you have arranged these preliminaries to your satisfaction, there are difficulties still behind. You depend necessarily on certain friends whom you invite and enlist to help you. Your correspondents are willing perhaps to receive and help the lad, but they expect him to prove steady and useful, and above all to stay in his place at the wages they offer, wages necessarily rather lower than the average of the wages in the colony. The boy soon finds out that he is hired at a lower rate. He has eight or ten offers of better places from chance employers whom he meets with who would take no interest in his welfare, and who have no relation with you, but happen to want a hand for a few weeks or months, and willingly engage him, to cast him off when done with. You have

no power to apprentice him, He has strong instincts of restlessness and change from his previous life. He leaves his place. Your friend, after a few trials of the sort, becomes disgusted; he has much trouble, and very little return, and you may expect that after aiding a few, he will say he finds his engagements too pressing and the boys too changeable to allow of his befriending any more. It may be worse, and often will be worse, than this. Of the boys you send out some turn out very badly. A serious case of misconduct occurs. One of your lads commits some serious misdemeanor, the influence of his bad conduct is felt at once. One bad fellow stops the passage more effectually than ten good ones can open it. The anti-convict prejudice is at once stirred: there are plenty of people in the colony who make the worst of the case. Your connection with a whole colony is, for a time at least, wholly arrested; worse too, the delinquent boy remains there to be a snare and injury to those who are sent out afterwards. He has a wonderful aptitude in finding out the boys from the same school, and seducing them into idleness and crime. Repeatedly, also, you find that the boys have been placed in situations the very reverse of those you wish for—retained in towns, made clerks, shopboys, and house servants, when you want them to be only out-door laborers employed in farms or in stock keeping; exposed that is to the very temptations and dangers which you have sent them abroad to avoid.

Many of these difficulties will, I should hope, disappear, or be greatly lessened, as the Reformatory system is more established, its objects more understood and recognized, and the experience of its agents and promoters more enlarged.

I have laid down for myself stricter rules and conditions at Redhill; and if enabled, as gradually I expect to be, to detain the boys much longer and so train them thoroughly, and to receive them on the average younger and less hardened, I look forward very confidently to so improving the article to be sent out, that it will be readily received and welcomed; and I think that every Reformatory School should make it a fixed law, in reference to emigration, that it is the reward and provision for the deserving, not a means of getting rid of the troublesome.

Further, I think that in every Reformatory proposing to give its inmates the advantage of emigration, the habits, training, &c., in the school should be carefully adapted to the sort of life, prospects, and employment, that the colonies present. Amidst the many disappointments I have had from boys' fickleness or dishonesty, I have hardly ever had a complaint on the score of idleness; on the contrary, I have had scores of acknowledgments that the Farm School lads understand labour, both what to do and how to do it, and are ready and willing to work. Their usefulness indeed has often counteracted the hindrances and prejudices arising from their changefulness or misconduct, the neighbours of their employers being often induced, from what they see of their industrial ability, to take others from the school. Their very fault of changefulness has indeed its root partly in the desire they have to get on and better themselves, and their sense of their own efficiency; they want to prosper and become independent,

only they forget that if a man wants a good harvest, he must use not only exertion to sow, but patience to let it grow and ripen.

All schools proposing to send their boys abroad must give a prominence to industrial occupation. The working hours should be, for at least the last year of the lad's stay, eight or nine hours a day. They must carefully encourage and stimulate the ability and the will to work, by connecting the boy's labour with his self interest, his pleasure, his ambition, leading him to like it, value it, and be proud of it. They must make their dietary such as will promote muscular efficiency and endurance, not giving soup and gruel to swell and satisfy, but a fair proportion of meat, say twice a week, and especially bread to strengthen and develop growth. The rule should be, if a man will not work, neither shall he eat, on the one hand, and if he will work he shall have the fruit of his labour on the other.

They must give the boys as much general knowledge, both in school and in work as possible. I would have every boy know how to mend if not make his own clothes, and patch his own shoes. But the main thing is farm and garden work, including the use of the axe and mattock; the handling and feeding of horses and stock, and the milking of cows. If you have a brickfield, or the opportunities for grubbing and draining, so much the better. The out-door labourer is the man for the colony. The tailor and the shoemaker had better stop at home.

With reference to moral character and conduct, no boy should be allowed to go out unless he has maintained a thoroughly good, steady, and trustworthy character for many months previous to his going, and to ensure a reasonable dependence on him, the discipline and system of the school should be such as to try and prove him—such liberty being allowed, such an amount of self-government required of him as may secure you against mere prison submission on the one hand, and hypocrisy on the other. It is on this point that so many of our prison philosophers have erred, fixing their thoughts chiefly on the mere temporary interval of the man's punishment, they forget or overlook the most important question, what he is to do when that punishment is over. On the one hand they sequester him and pamper him into an artificial state of body and mind, unfitting him for the rough work and conflict of life; and on the other, they so watch and compress and subjugate him, that he loses all his habit and capacity for self-action and self-control, and becomes helpless and dependent.

We must beware of these mistakes in the Reformatory if we desire to see our lads successful emigrants. Everything that is active, open, and manly, must be encouraged; all that is timid and servile, proscribed. Better that the lad be a little rough, if he is but ready, resolute, and able, than that he should be a model of order and civility, and, like the pet prisoner, supple and cunning, indolent and useless, a humbug or a drone. Better on every account that you encounter, as best you may, relapse and discouragement at home, than, by sending out the uncertain and half improved lads, incur hinderance and opposition abroad, and prejudice the prospects of the trustworthy and the good, who would else be welcomed.

With reference to the reception and guardianship of the young emigrants in the colonies, we ought to have a regular Reformatory

Union agent at each of the chief colonies, through whom the boys sent out could be engaged, and by whom they should be superintended and reported on. It would be an important security for the boys' well doing and well being, if committees of protection could be formed at the chief colonial ports, not to act, so to speak, in a collective capacity as an united body, but on the system of each member interesting himself in the care and disposal of the boys that arrived, in turn. Each man would have his circle of connections and friends, among whom he could place a few lads from time to time. The boys would thus be scattered and distributed; and that gathering of them in one neighbourhood avoided, which is always objectionable as tending to make them marked, and give them a class aspect and position, and which in case of the fault or miscarriage of any becomes so dangerous and harmful, by the certainty of infection which it entails. This I think the managers and supporters of Reformatory Schools should aim at; it can be done through the links and connections which most of us have with one or other branch of our colonial empire; only let there be due care to avoid anything like trade or traffic in the young emigrant—let there be no bargaining for his or her services and labour without fair wages, in return for a free passage. If the boy or girl are to really do well in the colony, they must land there as free, with no shadow of slavery or judicial servitude upon them.

It is a question which seems open to discussion, whether any form of agreement, or indenture, can be devised that will be binding in the colony if entered into here; or whether, if such a thing were legalized and could be practically enforced, it would be worth the while of any colonial employer to use the power so given. Those whom I have consulted have generally inclined to the opinion that, in a country where it is so easy to leave the master and so hard to follow and trace the apprentice, and where the servant has so many opportunities of making his compulsory service so useless or mischievous to the employer, it is better to depend on voluntary service, and on the ordinary relations between labour and wages, than to have any forced apprenticeship. Yet one would think that a two years' engagement under indenture might be managed, and would be at once valuable for settling and steadying the boy, and useful and available as securing to the master his fair amount of service.

It remains to speak of the expenses of this form of disposal, and of how they can be met. I do not believe that cheap emigration answers. If the boy be sent out in an ill-found ship, with chances of fever and disease about him, and with insufficient outfit and assistance at starting, it usually comes back upon you either in expense or hinderance, and gives you cause for regret, at least if your operations are continuous and considerable; yet how, then, provide for the heavy costs of passage, clothing, and landing—costs which, taking one colony with another, can scarcely be brought under an average of from £18 to £20 per head? It seems to me that this is the most appropriate field for individual benevolence to occupy in the Reformatory enterprise. The prevention and diminution of crime is so directly a matter of public policy that we seem to have a right to demand what is



necessary for the maintenance and proper training of the young offender from public resources; that by Government contribution and local rating, severally or jointly, the Reformatory should be supported and maintained in due efficiency. But the assisting the offender to another country on his discharge from the Reformatory, though clearly the best thing that can be done for him, is not a necessary or natural item in his Reformatory treatment, and can hardly be paid from such sources. It is more rightly, I think, a matter of charity and private aid; and I would have our donations and subscriptions specially reserved and applied to make, what we may call a patronage or disposal fund, from which the charges either of apprenticeship or emigration may be defrayed. I have little doubt but that if the training in the school be really good, and proper discrimination be exercised in the choice of subjects, so that the **REALLY IMPROVED** and **WELL MEANING** boy, and he alone, be sent out, we shall find this disposal fund assisted by contributions from the Colonies themselves, and so the burden on the resources of our schools essentially lightened.

Mr. B. BAKER, referring to the observations of Mr. Turner on the lowness of the wages of agricultural labourers, compared with those of tailors and carpenters, and that class of workmen, pointed out that the expenses of the former in regard to house rent, &c., was much smaller. Of 35 boys he had put out of his establishment, "only five had been recommitted, but not more than one-half were doing exactly as he could desire.

Mr. MILES, M.P., agreed that the subjects for Reformatories, or those who had been in them, should be removed as far as possible from their old haunts, and for this purpose he would have committees in various places to communicate with each other, so that, for instance, a person in Sussex could be sent to Somerset, and *vice versa*. He spoke highly of the Ship Reformatory established at Liverpool, and said he had no doubt that if the Government would place at the disposal of managers of Reformatories, vessels, on board of which boys might be taught the duties of seamen, no difficulty would be experienced in obtaining for those boys engagements in the merchant service.

Mr. HASTINGS wished to draw attention to the answers sent by certified Reformatories to the Patronage Committee of the Union. By these returns it clearly appeared that no difficulty existed at present in getting rid of well-trained boys. The older the school was, the less difficulty there seemed to be—the managers of the Glasgow House of Refuge, which had been in existence for 22 years, having stated that they easily obtained situations for the large number who left there every year. There were difficulties enough for the Reformatory movement to overcome, and it was not wise to raise up imaginary ones.

After some observations from Mr. SYDNEY TURNER, in reply to Mr. Hastings—

Lord STANLEY said that the difference was one more in words than in substance. Mr. Hastings thought there was no *present* difficulty, and in this he was borne out by facts; what might come hereafter no one

could at present foresee. He thought it would not be well to make it a recognized feature in the army or navy, that they annually received a certain number of these boys, as it would be throwing difficulties in the way of enlistment among other classes of the community. Also, with regard to emigration, if they were to establish a regular organization on a large scale of sending out to a particular colony large numbers of these boys, they would very soon find in that colony a feeling of suspicion and hostility if the boys turned out badly. He would have them so distributed and dispersed as to become lost in the community; and the Union should endeavour to establish an agent in each of the principal colonies, to gather round him a committee of Colonists interested in these matters, and each should render himself chargeable with the guardianship of one or more of the boys.

Miss Carpenter, to whom the Reformatory Movement owes so very much, in addition to her interesting report on the *Reformatory Institutions in and near Bristol*, read a most valuable paper, reviewing the relation of Reformatories to the State, combined with some admirable observations on *Female Reformatories*. It will be perceived that Miss Carpenter is fully in favor of the separate cell, as a mode of punishment, both during the previous imprisonment, and during the period of committal to the Reformatory, whenever punishment may be necessary; it is also evident that she considers the power of committal to previous imprisonment should be optional and should be "*absolutely limited to fourteen days.*"

She is writing of the *Juvenile Offenders' Act*, and continues:—

Many difficulties in details of execution will of course occur in the working of this Act, which will be remedied as experience suggests improvements in its machinery. But there are two points on which additional legislation is imperatively called for:—

First, instead of merely giving *permission* to magistrates and judges to send children to a Reformatory, "it may be lawful," not *enforcing* their doing so, the law should absolutely *direct* that *all* children on a second conviction should be sent, and all on a first, unless security be given for their future good behaviour. It has been sufficiently demonstrated to the Government and to the public how inefficacious and injurious as well as costly is the old system of short imprisonments. There is little danger of our Reformatories being over filled, for those in existence are not yet half filled, and new ones are in process of establishment. The effect of the system in diminishing the crime of the country has not a fair trial until the schools are absolutely brought to bear on so large a mass of juvenile vice as the statistics laid before this meeting, prove to exist in one city only.

Secondly, the law for adults should be *entirely abrogated* in the case of children; and if it is deemed necessary that they should have

some imprisonment, the length of it should be absolutely *limited* to fourteen days, and its duration should be shortened as much as the discretion of the judge or magistrate may suggest in the particular case.

The question of imprisonment will be discussed elsewhere, and neither that nor the theoretic principle of punishment will be here considered; but it may be right to state that the experience of the last four years has led me to the conclusion, that while a long imprisonment has a *very injurious* effect upon girls and boys, both physically and morally, yet a short period of *seclusion* in a *separate cell* under the good influences now happily administered to such prisoners, prepares those wild and lawless children to comprehend the necessity of yielding to discipline, and to receive in a more grateful and submissive spirit the advantages and the control of the school. Such preparatory seclusion could not with advantage be maintained in a school, which the child should enter with the opportunity of beginning with a new character.

It has been feared by many that these schools would hold out a premium to vice. The fallacy of such a supposition, under the existing state of the law more particularly, has been so frequently demonstrated, that no arguments on the subject will be here repeated. The following facts may, however, be valuable. A few weeks ago, a poor little girl, nine years of age, was received into the Red Lodge at the request of Mr. Thomas Wright, the well known visitor of prisons, on her discharge from three months' imprisonment for picking pockets, the mother being a notoriously bad character, and the eldest sister also having been in prison. The child came by herself from Manchester. On Saturday last the mother came with three other children from Liverpool and took her away, though expressing the warmest appreciation of the character of the school and the kindness shown her child. Since the establishment of the Lodge, in October, 1854, more than thirty applications for admission have been made without the child being received. About ten of these were inadmissible on account of age. In the cases of five, when all arrangements were made, the parents refused to let the child go; and in that of two others, the girls themselves refused. The remainder of the parents evidently applied for the admission of their children to relieve themselves from the trouble of controlling them, and withdrew when they found that payment *in advance* would be required. About six of the girls for whom application was made, appeared from the representations of the parents to be so thoroughly thievish that there was no prospect of their being otherwise than confirmed criminals if left at large. In the inability of the parents to pay, the law was explained to them; and they were advised to have the girl taken up and charged before the magistrate with the offence, the next time she committed one, in order that she may be sent under sentence to Red Lodge after fourteen days' imprisonment. *In no one case has this been done!* The law does not then allure to crime, and confer a premium on vice.

The Reformatories have hitherto been spoken of only in connection with the legal disposal of the children who have fallen into the hands of the law. The Government when directing them to be placed in

these schools, allows a sum to the managers to defray the expense of their food and clothing, but no more. Provision for education and industrial training is left entirely to private effort, and is not made from the Treasury. The Committee of Council on Education has long watched over and aided the efforts made for the education of the labouring classes in this country, and has distributed the public money intrusted to it for that purpose, according to various regulations, most judiciously framed to meet the wants of ordinary schools for this part of the community. But these regulations were by their very nature quite inapplicable to Reformatory and Ragged Schools, which evidently needed more than any others both the pecuniary aid, and the benefit of visits from experienced inspectors. This their Lordships have perceived, and have recently framed a series of minutes expressly adapted to the wants of these schools, and calculated to give efficient assistance, both as regards rent, salaries, industrial apparatus, and the training of masters, for their very peculiar work. These schools are now therefore placed on a footing both in a legal and educational point of view, in which it only requires devoted and persevering effort on the part of managers to make them really good.

The Reformatories being all under voluntary management, there will of course be considerable diversity in the manner in which they are conducted. It is well that this should be the case, for the subject is yet in its infancy in our country; and a servile copy of institutions, which under different circumstances have succeeded well in distant countries, would be most unwise. It is desirable, with a view to the future success of these institutions and the eventual adoption of the best plans, that experiments should be tried by those who, having confidence in them, will give them a fair trial. All managers will, however, agree in believing that the instilling of moral and religious principles is of fundamental importance; that the Scriptures should be made the basis of religious instruction; and that no religious teaching will be availing unless religion is made a *living principle* in the hearts both of teacher and children. All will consider industrial training of great importance in these schools, especially such kinds of it as will best develop and train the faculties of the children, and fit them for future life. All will endeavour to give in the school the sound elements of common knowledge; and will make such arrangements for food, clothing, and sanitary operations, as, while offering no undue attraction or indulgence to the child, are most conducive to health and moral training.

A school for boys is necessarily different in many respects from one for girls. They are to be fitted for independent, active life; and when the tone of the institution is once established, "*le claf des champs*," as De Metz calls it, should be the only one employed. But girls are to be fitted for the *home*; and while the same preparation for an independent life is not required for them, a far greater degree of neatness, order, and propriety of demeanor is desirable.

The requirements of convicted children of the female sex have been hitherto overlooked; nor would it appear to be generally understood how many of these exist, and how dangerous is their position both with regard to themselves and the community; for we

learn from the accompanying Table of Returns, of all the convicted girls who have been sent to Reformatories since the passing of the Act, that the whole number does not exceed those who have been sent to one Boys' School alone; and that throughout the whole of England and Wales only two large towns, Liverpool and Birmingham, and only two counties, Devonshire and Gloucestershire, have availed themselves to any considerable extent of the opportunities presented to them of rescuing young girls from a life of crime.

The fact that girls of the *criminal class* are far more degraded, dangerous to society, and difficult to control, than boys, is well known to those whose experience has enabled them to compare the two sexes. The proofs and causes of this state of things cannot be here entered on; the fact is in part referable to the greater natural delicacy and susceptibility of the nature of girls, which renders them open to a deeper impress both of good and evil. They have also been more directly exposed to the evil influences of bad homes, and the affections, which are very strong in these girls are therefore in close sympathy with vice. Their desire for excitement of every kind is strong, as also for the gratification of the senses. They are generally devoid of any good principles of conduct, particularly addicted to deceit, both in words and actions, of fine but misdirected powers, of violent passions, extremely sensitive to imagined injury, and equally sensitive to kindness.

In the work of endeavouring to restore the young girl to the natural condition of childhood, and to prepare her for future life, the experience of the writer during the last four years with this class, leads her to consider the following as important principles of management:—

1st. The physical condition of these girls will generally be found very unsatisfactory; and it is well known that the moral state is much influenced by the physical. All sanitary regulations for ventilation, regular and sufficient personal ablutions, suitable temperature, &c., should be strictly attended to. The advantage of agricultural labour not being procurable, regular walks beyond the premises, as well as outdoor play, should be regularly taken by the girls, and as much bodily exercise as possible should be devised for them in their daily industrial work as an exercise of their physical energies. The food should be sufficient, and of a more nourishing description than is allowed in most pauper schools. On this point considerable stress has been laid by medical men of high scientific experience. These children have been accustomed to a stimulating life, to feasting and fasting, and to various exciting stimulents. Unless the system is properly sustained under the change, it will sink.

2nd. The young girl is to be placed, as far as possible, in the same kind of position as children in a well ordered family in the working classes. She has been accustomed to be independent of authority, and to do only what is right in her *own eyes*. She must now feel under steady, regular restraint, administered with a firm, equal, but loving hand. Her irregular impulses must be curbed. She must insensibly but steadily be made to feel that it is necessary for her to submit to the will of *others*, and especially to be obedient to *her*.

The regular training of the schoolroom will greatly contribute to this, and all those nameless arrangements and manœuvres to preserve order and discipline, which are found so valuable in good British and National Schools.

3rd. Children of this class have hitherto felt themselves in a state of antagonism with society, and totally unconnected with the virtuous portion of it. The matrons, chaplains, and even governors of the gaols they came from, have usually been the only persons whom these children had been even able to call their friends, and are often most gratefully remembered by them. They must, as far as possible, be brought to feel themselves a part of society, regarded by it with no unkind feeling, but rather, having been outcasts, welcomed into it with Christian love, and entering into it as far as their own conduct renders this possible. Nothing in their dress or appearance should mark them out as a separate caste; as far as it is found safe and expedient, they should be enabled to associate with others; and, under judicious restrictions, persons of virtuous character and loving spirit should be encouraged to visit the school, and have intercourse with them.

4th. The affections must be cultivated as much as possible in a healthy direction. The love of their families must not be repressed, and the natural ties must be cherished as far as can be done without evil influence being exerted over them. The school must be made a home, and a happy one; but the children must be led to feel that the possibility of this depends on their own forbearance and kindness towards each other. Mutual dependence must be cultivated, as in actual society, they must be made to feel that all must often suffer through the misconduct of one, while the good conduct of every individual is a benefit to the whole number, to the school in general. They will then learn to feel it a duty and a pleasure to help each other in difficulty, and to be watchful over each other's conduct from no censorious feeling, but from a simple regard to each other's benefit, and to do what is right.

5th. The activity and love of amusement natural to childhood should be cultivated in an innocent and healthy manner. These cannot be repressed without great moral injury; but they may be turned to good account, and made the medium of conveying most valuable lessons on the rights of others and the nature of property, or even of imparting useful knowledge. The children should be allowed to possess little toys and articles treasured by childhood, which they may be permitted to purchase with earnings awarded them for work done. The valuable exhibitions now open to ordinary schools may be allowed to them occasionally, especially as a reward for good conduct. The Dioramas and Zoological Gardens may open their minds, and give a stimulus to the advancement of knowledge more than any other lessons.

6th. All rewards and punishments should be, as much as possible, the natural consequences of actions. Deceit or dishonesty will occasion an amount of distrust and watchfulness which a judicious teacher may render a very severe punishment to a child. The employment of bad language, and the indulgence of a quarrelsome

disposition, will require separation from the society of others as a necessary consequence. All punishments should be administered with the greatest caution and impartiality, and should be evidently prompted by a desire to do good to the offender; the sympathy of the school, and even of the culprit, will thus be enlisted with the teacher. There should be no bribery to do right, nor deterring by fear only from doing wrong; a desire of improvement and love of duty should be cherished *for themselves*. Hence, *artificial* stimulants to good conduct, especially such as excite a desire to *excel others* should be especially avoided in these schools; they foster many bad passions. The children should rather be stimulated to surpass *themselves*; this will be greatly aided by a regular and impartial record of conduct, which should be frequently reviewed.

7th. As much freedom should be given as is compatible with the good order of the establishment. Those who prove themselves deserving of confidence may have situations of trust given them, and may be sent on errands beyond the premises. *It is only in proportion as there is liberty, that security can be felt in the child's real improvement.*

8th. The intellectual powers should be steadily *trained*, though not superficially excited. It is only by giving the mind wholesome nourishment, that it can be prevented from preying on garbage. Many are chary of intellectual instruction in these schools, as if they were doing a wrong to the working classes by imparting knowledge to them. We are conferring a boon on them, by reforming in the best way we can, those who, if neglected, may do them an irreparable moral injury.

9th. After the preceding remarks, it is hardly necessary to say that every effort must be made to infuse a good moral tone into the school. It will certainly exist if the preceding principles are well carried out. When a new comer or a badly disposed child finds the feeling of the school in harmony with obedience, order, and duty, and that public opinion, *which is strongest when it proceeds from equals*, is in opposition to everything wrong, the work of the teacher will be incalculably lightened.

The *will* of each individual child must be enlisted in her own reformation, and she must be made to feel that without this, the efforts of her teachers will be useless. Such confidence must be awakened in the minds of the children towards their teachers as to lead them *willingly* to submit to all the regulations for order, neatness, and regularity, which are an important part of their training, and to yield themselves implicitly to their guidance. From this the child must be taught to *feel* obedience to the Divine Will to be the highest happiness, and to *desire* to obey that Will.

Did time permit illustration of these principles, they might be made clearer; they are the result of close observation, and have been proved to be true.

May many labourers be raised up who will endeavour to rescue these lost ones—to save a soul from death, and thus cover a multitude of sins.

We have now placed before our readers the chief portion of the practical papers read in the Sections of the Bristol Meeting; but there are in the number of *The Law Amendment Journal*, in which these papers appear, other papers of equal importance. Mr. Frederic Hill's paper on Mettray is valuable, as any paper from his pen must be, but this paper is doubly valuable from the strenuous support it gives to the employment of women in Reformatories and Prisons. This is not a new theory of Mr. Hill's; he urged it upon the country, and upon the legislature, many years ago in his official reports.\*

Mr. Alfred Hill's paper is a most able, elaborate, and useful contribution, bringing briefly and clearly, and into the shortest space, the history and philosophy of the Industrial School Question. The papers on Ship Reformatories, and on Intemperance as a cause of crime, are worthy of the Union, whilst in every point Lord Stanley shewed himself fit to fill the high position of President of the first provincial meeting of the National Reformatory Union.

There was read one paper, a paper from "the old man eloquent," a paper with much of the Henry Brougham of thirty years ago about it, to which we must refer.

This paper is one of the best analyses we have ever read of the short comings and imperfections of our legislature in the philosophy of law as connected with criminal jurisprudence. These topics, however, belong to another portion of our work, and must be treated in another paper, but that part of Lord Brougham's letter referring to the sources of crime do belong to the topics of our present paper. He writes:—

How grievously lawyers and magistrates and speculative reasoners have always erred in bestowing so little attention upon the Reformatory process, needs not further be shown; the fact is admitted, the lesson is plain, which all reasoning might have taught us before all experience, that each convict who unreclaimed leaves the gaol becomes the teacher, by his precept and by his example, of the crimes in which his former life had been passed. The patient who has been discharged from the moral hospital uncured, carries about with him a contagious disease, threatening the existence of society; and, unhappily, society cannot escape from him. I take a parallel case. A man has escaped from the pest-house with the fire of the plague raging through his veins, the contagious matter festering on his limbs, or rather the poison distilled in his lungs and dispersed by his breath; but you have no power of confining him, and no means of avoiding him; his infection will reach speedily the parts of the social system

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\* For Mr. Hill's opinions, and proofs of their wisdom, see ante, Art. "Woman's Work."—ED.



most predisposed to receive it, and none of the community are safe from the consequences of the disease. You cannot defend yourselves against this dreadful malady. What then is the course which common prudence requires you to pursue? You must run the risk of the mischief he will do, but you must instantly shut up all whom he has infected, and take especial care never again to let another be discharged uncured. What are we now about? Not one, but THOUSANDS, of uncured patients are every year vomited forth from our moral pest-houses; nay, the rules of these establishments absolutely require that all, or almost all, should be sent forth uncured.

I have already asked the question, *Why* confine our Reformatory treatment to young offenders—asked it for the purpose of breaking down that groundless distinction which would prescribe one course for dealing with one class of criminals, and another for dealing with all others. Let me now ask this further question, suggested by the whole subject of Reformatory treatment, *Why* should we only begin the operation after men have become convicts? *Why* confine our attempts at counteracting vicious habits to the process of cure, and neglect that of prevention? *Why* be satisfied with trying to eradicate bad habits, when their having been formed renders the task of exterminating them so difficult? *Why* not endeavour to prevent those habits from ever being contracted, by operating upon the human being, the subject of our treatment in both cases, *before* he has become inured to vice, and while yet easily moulded to virtue? In a word, why not apply our whole force to distributing among the members of the community—most in want of it, least able to obtain it—the inestimable gift of a sound education.

I need not give proofs of the intimate connexion between ignorance and crimes. I need not repeat the statement which I made in 1835, when I moved my resolutions on Education, that even of the rioters and incendiaries tried in the winter of 1830-1, not by any means of the lowest ranks, only 150 out of 700 could sign their names, the rest being marksmen; that of those received into the Refuge of the Destitute, only one in 30, or even 35, have received any instruction; that a worthy magistrate of Essex declared nine-tenths of those who were brought before him to be marksmen; that all the young offenders whose cases are described in the admirable petition from the Liverpool magistrates to the House of Lords, almost every one was in a state of utter ignorance; that Mr. Clay, the excellent Preston gaol chaplain, found above half of those he examined ignorant of the Sovereign's name, and of the names of the months: while hardly two in the hundred could read and write; and yet, that by far the greater number had *heard read* to them books of the most flagitious character, offering direct incentives to a life of idleness and plunder. Facts such as these are not wanted to show the necessary connexion between ignorance and vice; and yet I am arguing for *more* than the mere blessing of elementary education—the reading, writing, and cyphering, usually taught to poor children after they have attained a certain age. My desire is to see the preventive process begin much earlier; for it is quite certain that the habits are formed in infancy rather than in early youth, and that it is as easy to train a child of

four or five years old to good principles and kindly feelings and honest conduct, as it is difficult to break him off bad habits, acquired before he has reached the age of eight or even seven years.

Only consider in what portion of society the criminals, whose numbers infect every community, are born and bred. Not in the upper, not in the middle, not even in the better portion of the lower classes; but these criminals are raised from the comparatively small proportion of our people who are in abject poverty, and with difficulty can earn an honest subsistence, often being without the means of sustenance at all except from charity or from dishonest pursuits. *Then, let Infant Schools* be established in all our towns, especially our cities, enough to train the infant children of this class, not exceeding a tenth of the people in the larger towns, and not more than a fifteenth in the smaller ones. *If this provision* were made, the source of crimes would be cut off at the fountain head. Our criminal jurisprudence, our criminal police, would not have many subjects whereon to work; and our reformatory treatment would be easily applied to the few bad cases that might still remain.

I am, however, well aware that until we have established something that may deserve the name of a national education we have little right to speak of its last refinement, but its most important branch, the general establishment of infant training. And how long—how much longer—are we to wait before the most scandalous disgrace resting on our character as a people shall be removed? before the bitterness of sectarian controversy shall so far be allayed by the Christian feeling of mutual forbearance, and the heats of polemical conflict be so far tempered by the charities of brotherly love, as to let us reflect that “the greatest of all these things is charity,” and that the triumphs of sect over sect are as absolutely nothing, compared with the mighty and the holy conquests of sound knowledge over ignorance? How long must it be before we see the adversaries in such miserable contests prefer that victory which is far greater than his who conquers a great city, the victory over their own temper—leading to the storming or the sapping of the strong but not impregnable fortress of ignorance, immorality, and irreligion?

It is our highest duty to rescue the people from ignorance and vice, by giving them the inestimable blessing of a sound, moral, and religious education; to prevent the growth of crimes, while we provide for reclaiming from their vicious courses those who have been led astray—a cure only to be effected by making the punishment of criminals the instrument of their reformation.

That duty we have not discharged. But if we have planted no schools where the habits of virtue may be induced, stretched forth no hand to extirpate the germs of vice, we have kept open other schools where vice is taught with never-failing success, used both hands incessantly to stifle the seeds of virtue ere yet they had time to sprout, laid down many a hotbed where the growth of crime in all its rank luxuriance is assiduously forced. *THE INFANT SCHOOL* languishes, which a paternal government would have cherished; but *Newgate* flourishes—*Newgate* with her thousand cells to corrupt their youthful inmates, seducing the guiltless, confirming the depraved. *THE*

INFANT SCHOOL IS CLOSED, which a paternal Government would have opened wide to all its children; but the Penitentiary day and night yawns to engulf the victims of our stepmother system—the Penitentiary, where repentance and penance should rather be performed by the real authors of their fall. THE INFANT SCHOOL RECEIVES NO INNOCENTS whom it might train or might hold fast to natural virtue: but the utterly execrable, the altogether abominable Hulk, lies moored in the face of the day which it darkens, within sight of the land which it insults, riding on the waters which it stains with every unnatural excess of infernal pollution, triumphant over all morals! And shall civilized, shall free, shall Christian rulers any longer pause, any more hesitate, before they amend their ways, and attempt, though late yet seriously, to discharge the first of their duties? Or shall we, calling ourselves the friends to human improvement, balance any longer upon some party interest, some sectarian punctilio, or even some refined scruple, when the means are within our reach to redeem the time and do that which is most blessed in the sight of God, most beneficial to man? Or shall it be said, that between the claims of contending factions in Church or in State, the Legislature stands paralyzed, and puts not forth its hand to save the people placed by Providence under its care, lest offence be given to some of the knots of theologians who bewilder its ears with their noise, as they have bewildered their own brains with their controversies? Be well assured, that the contempt lavished for centuries upon the cabals of Constantinople, where the Council disputed on a text, while the enemy, the derider of all their texts, was thundering at the gate, will be as a token of respect compared with the loud shout of universal scorn which all mankind in all ages will send up against us if we stand still and suffer a far deadlier foe than the Turcoman—suffer the parent of all evil, all falsehood, all hypocrisy, all discharity, all self-seeking—him who covers over with pretexts of conscience the pitfalls that he digs for the souls on which he preys—to stalk about the fold and lay waste its inmates—if we stand still and make no head against him, upon the vain pretext, to soothe our indolence, that our action is obstructed by religious cabals—upon the far more guilty speculation, that by playing a party game we can turn the hatred of conflicting professors to our selfish purposes.

Who can add to the force, and eloquence, and wisdom of these words? Who, knowing the facts as Mr. Clay, and Mr. Field, and Mr. Kingsmill record them, can question the conclusions? We may reason on them; we may question them; we may take individual cases in which great ability and education were combined only to make the criminal more criminal; but, unless we turn away from realities, and attempting

“——— by obtruse research to steal  
From our own nature all the natural man,”

we must admit that, from first to last, every point advanced by Lord Brougham is fully and completely supported by facts, by figures, and by hard, bitter, stern realities.

The Rev. Mr. Turner states, in his paper,\* that Ireland offers a fair field for the establishment of colonies for juvenile offenders. For our own parts we sincerely trust that, if such colonies are to be formed, our home-made juveniles will be considered, and first provided for. England sends us back our Irish poor, who may become a tax on English rate-payers; why should she send us criminal juveniles whilst no effort is made by Parliament to employ our own juvenile criminals in reclaiming themselves and the waste lands? A Bill for Juvenile Reformation is introduced, as unsuited to this country as moral pocket-handkerchiefs to the Caffres. It is resisted by the Catholic Bishops, it is opposed by the Catholic members of Parliament, and then is permitted to fall into utter forgetfulness. Why should there not be a Select Committee of the House of Commons next session to enquire into the whole management of Prisons in Ireland, and to decide upon the proper form of Reformatory Schools' Bill adapted to this country? Our friends, Captain Crofton, Mr. Lentaigue, and Mr. Corry Connellan, are fully able and, we doubt not, prepared and willing to give every information on the subject. Two years ago a Draft Bill, the outline of one suited to Ireland, was carefully considered, printed, and placed before the country and the Government; and although gentlemen officially, practically, professionally, and theoretically acquainted with the whole bearing of the subject, in every phase, approved the measure, and were closely engaged in its inception, its progress, and its completion, their suggestions were either forgotten or despised, and it was proposed to extend the English Juvenile Offenders' Act to Ireland; an Act exclusively intended for England, and designed to meet the peculiar requirements of that country. As a matter of course, the proposal was met at once, by every man knowing Ireland, as a proposal which should be opposed most strenuously, as being dangerous to the faith of our people, as opening a new field for proselytism and seuperism; and an attempt having been made to meet this difficulty, the matter was only rendered still more objectionable, whilst all other imperfections were permitted to remain in their original imperfection and unsuitableness; and so the bill became a dead bill.

How long our Irish juvenile criminals are to remain uncared for, until sentenced to penal servitude, we know not. For

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\* See ante.

the young *convict* an admirable institution is being erected at Lusk, but just in proportion as we work the Reformatory Principle will the usefulness or necessity of this Institution be diminished, and we hope we shall live to see the Lusk Prison for Juvenile Convicts become the Lusk Reformatory School.

Meanwhile, let us say, borrowing the hopeful words with which Mary Carpenter concludes her beautiful paper already quoted :—

“MAY MANY LABORERS BE RAISED UP WHO WILL ENDEAVOR TO RESCUE THESE LOST ONES—TO SAVE A SOUL FROM DEATH AND THUS COVER A MULTITUDE OF SINS.”

#### REFORMATORY UNIONS.

We publish the following letters which have appeared in *The Philanthropist* :—

#### REFORMATORY AND REFUGE UNION.

*To the Editor of the Philanthropist.*

Sir—At the conference on Reformatories which was held at Bristol last week, there were some expressions used relative to the particular views entertained by the “Reformatory and Refuge Union,” which were calculated to convey an erroneous impression of that society. I trust, therefore, you will permit this explanation of the difference of the two Unions to appear in your columns. The Reformatory and Refuge friends and those of the National Reformatory held a meeting in February last, in order, if possible, to amalgamate, and so to join in one society, for the purpose of carrying out the grand objects of the “prevention of crime and the reformation of criminals.” The former party wished to base such an association upon Christian principles, and to nail their colours to the mast; the latter party urged that such a course would exclude many, who, though willing to join in the cause, might not wish to subscribe to the colours. These are simply the facts of the case, which it would be well to make known, the result of which was that as we could not agree upon the basis upon which the proposed society should be formed, we separated, each resolving to do as much good in their respective spheres, as those who are embarked in one common cause can possibly effect.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ROBERT HANBURY, JUN.

3, Sussex-square, August 25, 1856.

*To the Editor of the Philanthropist.*

Sir—Our attention has been drawn to the letter which appeared in your last number from Mr. Robert Hanbury, jun., on the difference between the views of the National Reformatory, and the Reformatory and Refuge, Unions.

Mr. Hanbury assures your readers that the real point of difference is that the latter party “wished to base their association upon Christian principles, and to nail their colours to the mast;” while the former party “urged that such a course would exclude many who, though willing to join in the cause, might not wish to subscribe to the colours.”

We are not aware that "Christian principles" were at all in question. The separation turned upon the wording of a resolution referring to the use of Scripture; and here the point at issue was *not*—Is the Bible an essential means of reformatory influence, and the teaching of the Bible the great instrument of the reformatory teacher? On such a point no difference did or could exist between any of the founders of either Union. The point was *this*, "Shall it be a fundamental rule of our Union that no school shall be comprehended in it in which the Bible is not used and taught from?" Shall, that is, such a rule be adopted as will ignore all Roman Catholic schools, and at once exclude the great Continental labourers in the cause—De Metz, Ducpeteaux, Pol, &c., from the association?

The promoters of the National Reformatory Union formed their society not to give money, or to disseminate a system, but as a general medium for gaining and imparting knowledge, and for communicating and awakening interest on the subject of reformatory discipline, upon as wide a scale as possible. They wished to inform all who wanted information—to obtain the advantage of inquiry and experience from all that could afford them. It was their desire to form an union not of schools but of individuals, as a sort of open club, in which all the labourers in the Reformatory cause might find and give mutual society, help and comfort. To have excluded any because of the rules adopted in the schools they were connected with, would have changed its character, and would have imposed upon its members a responsibility for the views and proceedings of others, which many might have felt unwilling to undertake—and it was from an objection to adopt any exclusive rule whatever—and not from any hesitation as to the particular resolution proposed—that they found themselves obliged to differ from the other association as to the ground they should take up—in proof of which it may be mentioned that several of them are members also of the Refuge and Reformatory Union, and gladly subscribe to its assertion of the paramount importance of sound Scriptural teaching.

What their feeling and their practice are was indeed truly and forcibly expressed by Lord Robert Cecil at the Bristol meeting—

"Religion must be the teacher's motive, in reality his only motive. Religion is the moving power of the reformatory school; without it the best machinery must inevitably fail; while with it an organization and staff, intellectually inferior, are often attended with gratifying success."—

We are, Sir, your very faithful servants,

T. B. LL Baker, Hardwicke; Henry I. Barton, Northamptonshire; G. H. Bengough, Kingswood; I. G. Blencowe, Sussex; C. H. Bracebridge, Warwickshire; Alwyne Compton, Northamptonshire; William Cartwright, Northamptonshire; C. Castleman, Hampshire; John Field (Chaplain), Reading Gaol; William G. Garnett, Lancashire; William Gladstone, Redhill; Thomas Hutton (Chaplain), Northampton Gaol; G. W. Latham, Cheshire; Lovaine; George Alan Lowndes, Essex; I. C. Mansel, Dorsetshire; D. Melville, Worcestershire; William Miles, Kingswood; I. Bligh Monck, Berkshire; H. O. Nethercote; Stafford H. Northcote, Devon; Charles Ratcliff, Saltley; W. B. Stopford; Sydney Turner, Redhill; I. W. Perry Watlington, Essex; E. B. Wheatley, Yorkshire West Riding; Thomas E. Winnington, Worcestershire.

## NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION.

*To the Editor of the Philanthropist.*

DEAR SIR,—Will you have the goodness to correct an omission by publishing the following names in your next PHILANTHROPIST.

They ought to have appeared amongst the signatures to the letter addressed to you from members of the National Reformatory Union, in answer to Mr. Robert Hanbury's letter in your number for September last.

Mary Carpenter.

J. C. Mansel.

Cary C. Elwes.

O. W. Hambrough.

H. O. Nethercote.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

HENRY J. BARTON.

## ART. VI.—THE IRISH CENSUS.

*The Census of Ireland for the Year 1851—Parts V. and VI. General Report and Tables of Deaths.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. Dublin: Thom and Sons, 87 Abbey-street. 1856.

"In conclusion, we feel it will be GRATIFYING TO YOUR EXCELLENCY, to find that, although the population *has been diminished in so remarkable a manner*, BY FAMINE, DISEASE, and *Emigration*, and HAS BEEN SINCE DECREASING, the *results of the IRISH CENSUS ARE, on the whole, SATISFACTORY*"!!!

Did the respectable and respected gentlemen who drew up and affixed their names to the Report from which the foregoing truly *astounding* sentence is taken,—(the General Report just published of the Commissioners of the Irish Census of 1851),—did those good and undoubtedly most competent Commissioners fully ponder and consider its words and tenor? Could they have done so, being what they are? or is it not far more likely—does not our previous knowledge of them make it much more probable—that, overpressed by their great and exceedingly creditable labors, they were not able, when at length approaching the termination of their heavy task, to give the same attention and thoughtful care to some of its concluding expressions, which they have manifested in the preparation of the deeply interesting and useful statistics, and historic and other details contained in their valuable Report?

Assuredly there cannot be a doubt of the soundness of this latter supposition. The alternative we will not, indeed we *could* not, bring ourselves to consider for one moment! It *is* not only improbable, judging from what in the ungainly but expressive phrase of the day, may be called their "antecedents,"—but it is really *impossible*, that they—or any one with a heart in his bosom, or a conscience to guide him—*could have*, aforethought, and with full deliberation, penned *such* a sentence—savouring as it does not a little of heartlessness towards man and even of profanity towards Heaven!

These expressions may at first sight appear too strong, but a little reflection will shew that they are really no more than what the case demands. Let first the fact, (unhappily too well attested), be taken, that more than a million of the Irish people have perished by famine or disease! Next, that nearly if not quite another million have been driven away in a despairing Emigration, losing fully one-half their number in the miseries of the ocean-passage, or the destitution and pestilence awaiting them on the American shore. Thirdly, that the amount and due natural increase of the population of Ireland have been so reduced and repressed by the appalling agencies just mentioned, that her people were *fewer* in 1851 than they were twenty years before, and can any one say that all this should be spoken of in the same breath with congratulations and satisfactions!

Renewing again and again our earnest and explicit protestations against being held to charge these Commissioners with wilfulness and deliberateness of intent in the sentence we are dealing with, we must be permitted in continuation to remark, that *if* that sentence *could* have a deliberate meaning, it would plainly be that the number and increase of our fellow creatures in any country are matters to be judged of and regulated by views of human policy in correction sometimes, and at other times in equally presumptuous approval and adaptation of the designs and dispensations of Providence; and that the desolating of a people's homesteads, and the waste and wide-spread destruction of human life, are not to be weighed in the balance with economic considerations and the theories of the day!!

Happily, however, without any paltering with the truth, or over-anxiety to conceal or excuse wrong-doing, the supposition can unhesitatingly be accepted as valid that the *real*



force and true meaning of the expressions on which we are commenting, so far from being intended, were not so much as dreamed of, by the gentlemen who wrote them.

While thus willingly and repeatedly declaring this to be our belief in so far as the Commissioners of the Irish Census are concerned, and attributing the very unfortunate words they made use of in the passage quoted at the commencement of this paper, simply to the natural inadvertence of men hastening to conclude a labor which had we cannot say overtasked, but doubtless wearied and exhausted them, we certainly neither ignore, nor wish to appear desirous of ignoring, the sad and shocking fact, that there were, and *are*, in England, and we fear in Ireland too, in a few scattered instances at least, public writers and public men who deliberately avow the opinion, that the loss of so many of her people *was a benefit* to Ireland. With them we shall hold no argument; for the opinion is too monstrous and revolting to admit of argument, and calmness would be impossible in dealing with it.

Neither do we at all want to ignore the fact that there has been what the Census Commissioners designate as an "advancement of the country." The full nature, extent and value of this "advancement" we must afterwards more particularly consider. But there can be no question of the *general* correctness of the statement, so far as the "increased extent of arable land since 1841," the "progress of education among the people," and some other points. Coming now to a closer consideration of this Report; we must in the first instance express a regret that it was not found possible to comprise the results of the Census-Commissioners enquiries into less than the ten large blue books, of which the two last are now before us. "Blue books," according to a parliamentary proverb, "are never read;" and without going quite so far in our assertion, we will say that certainly those readers who make themselves at all extensively acquainted with the contents, are rather an insignificant minority of the general public. By the statist, by the future historian, by the philosophical and physiological enquirer, the "blue books" will be and are perused with attention and valuable fruit; for that class of readers have full and unlimited leisure for the purpose; and can examine closely, and carefully, and thoroughly sift, arrange, and methodize, the somewhat "rudis, indigestaque

molis" of information which is the general characteristic of these overgrown productions, owing more to the misfortune than to the fault of their compilers. The zeal and industry of the latter are unduly taxed by the amount of work they have to do within a necessarily very limited and inadequate period. Facts have to be hunted out, gathered up, snatched as it were, almost at random, with little or no opportunity for selection or digestion,—impressions and assertions to be accepted and adopted without time for due examination, and views and opinions to be enunciated and supported without leisure sufficiently to consider and mature them. Greater latitude as to the time within which their Report was to be presented, and we are quite willing to believe greater natural capacity than common, have enabled the Irish Census Commissioners to avoid many of these shoals: but this has been to some degree counteracted by the length to which their own scrupulous exactitude and self-unsparing laboriousness have extended their Report. He should, however, be captious indeed who on that score would find serious fault with so valuable and creditable a work.

Entering as we are about to do into the details of this Report, we confess to no little difficulty in deciding at what point to begin. The difficulty is in fact double:—One phase of it arising from the extremely wide scope taken by the Commissioners' enquiries and the enormous mass of matter accumulated by them; while the other phase is simply attributable to the sad and sickening feeling inevitably excited by a close perusal of the mournful and frightful details. Having taken up the task, however, we must go on with it through all obstacles or discouragements, and do not at the moment see any more convenient mode of so doing than to continue upon the kind of text furnished by the quoted paragraph with which this paper commences. Before launching out at large into our commentary, we shall complete that text by as plainly and briefly as possible, setting out the leading statistics that tend to illustrate it.

On the one hand then, or one side of the account, namely, that of the loss to Ireland, are to be set down these facts, viz., had the population of Ireland increased up to 1851 in the same proportion as that of England and Wales, the official calculators say that she should in that year have numbered 9,018,799. They report that she actually numbered only

6,552,385 souls ! a deficit therefore of two millions and a half ! But the Commissioners have told us in the quotation so often alluded to, that our population has continued since 1851 to decrease, and they give at page 57 of their Report a table which estimates the diminution since 1851 to the present year as nearly 500,000 more, over and above all possible set-offs for births and immigration, whether of British and foreigners, or of returned Irish Emigrants. To this is to be added an estimate for the loss by the non-occurrence of the usual average of births ; an estimate for which the Commissioners supply data based upon the rate of increase in England and Wales, and on this item the additional deficit would be for the last five years about 60,000, making on the whole, up to the present time, a deficiency of more than three millions in our population !

The *recorded* deaths during the Decennial Period, 1841-1851, are stated to have been 1,360,000 ; but in more than one place the Commissioners allude to the fact that many unrecorded deaths must have taken place during the famine, especially in the remoter parts of the country. There is therefore reason to believe that the total deficiency of three millions of human beings before mentioned should be rated at perhaps some hundreds of thousands more ; and that as we have extended it over the five years since 1850, which period of five years is not taken into account in calculating the 1,360,000 deaths above stated, the real total of deaths for the whole period 1841-51, was at the least a million and a half and probably more. This, it is also to be remembered, represents only the deaths *in Ireland* ; leaving the loss of life among our emigrants through the accidents and miseries of their ocean-passage and in the destitution that they found themselves in when landed in America, entirely out of the statement. That loss has been by several trustworthy writers, thought to have been in the high proportion of from 25 to 30 per cent !

So much then for one side of the account—that of Ireland's loss. Now for her gain. As we shall have presently to go into details on this subject, it will not be necessary to deal at any length with it here. The points of improvement specially mentioned by the Census Commissioners are four in number : viz., 1st, the "increased extent of arable land and of value of farm-stock"—2nd, the replacement of "the worst class of houses by a better"—3rd, the "smaller proportion of families

dependent on their own manual labor," and 4th, the "favorable progress of the education of the people." The increase of arable land between 1841 and 1851 was from 13,464,300 acres in the former year, to 14,802,581 acres in the latter, or an increase of 1,338,281 acres. That of the value of farm-stock was nearly one-third. In respect of house accommodation, in reference to which the Commissioners remark page xxii of General Report), "that the houses of a country are an index to the condition of its inhabitants," the following is the state of things ascertained by them :—

1st class, or houses above the rank of farmhouses, and buildings in towns corresponding to them in description and accommodation. Increase from 1841 to 1851	10,084
2nd class, good farm houses, and corresponding houses in towns, increase	54,574
3rd class, mud cottages of from two to four rooms and windows, increase	8,415
4th class, mud cabins, DECREASE	355,689

On the third point, the Report tells us that "three of the Provinces of Ireland shew a *decrease* in the proportionate number of persons *dependent on their own manual labor* for support, viz., 29 per cent. decrease in *Connaught*, 12·7 per cent in *Ulster*, and 7·8 per cent in *Munster*." On the whole of Ireland the number of persons engaged in "Agriculture," *decreased* from 66 per cent. in 1841, to 53 per cent. in 1851—the number engaged in "manufactures, trade, &c." remained stationary at 2·4 per cent, and that of persons engaged in "other pursuits" increased from 10 to 23 per cent.—this last class including independent, and *professional* persons.

On the fourth and last point—that of the "favorable progress of the education of the people, the Commissioners refer us for details to Part IV. of their series of "Blue Books." But they give as a general statement and summary of statistics on it, and on the 2nd and 3rd points with which we have just dealt, a "Table" (numbered xxi. at page xxxvii. of their "General Report"), from which we extract the following. We must premise that the object they proposed to themselves in drawing up this table was (to use their own words at page xxxvi. of the Report) to show that as ignorance diminishes the condition of the people improves.

1841.				1851.			
Provinces arranged in the order of their education.	Persons 5 years old & upwards who could neither read nor write.	Families.		Provinces arranged in the order of their education.	Persons 5 years old & upwards who could neither read nor write.	Families.	
		Occupying only 4th class house accommodation.	Dependent on their own manual labour.			Occupying only 4th class house accommodation.	Dependent on their own manual labour.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.		Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Ulster .	42	35.3	64.1	Ulster .	37	12.1	45.4
Leinster .	48	83.8	63.2	Leinster .	43	71.3	43.5
Munster .	64	58.9	68.8	Munster .	58	82.0	51.7
Connaught	78	53.6	79.0	Connaught	67	26.2	45.5
Total .	58	49.5	67.9	Total .	50	21.8	49.4

Reviewing now the account thus summarily stated as given by the Commissioners themselves, we find the loss and gain to Ireland, on the whole, to stand as follows—

## LOSS TO IRELAND.

Upwards of Three Millions of human beings, of whom about 1,500,000 died at home, and about two-fifths of the remainder died on passage, or from want and disease, in America.

Thirteen per cent. decrease in the number of persons employed in agriculture, without any increase in the number of those employed in manufactures and trade.

## GAIN TO IRELAND.

1,300,000 acres increase of cultivation, 10,000, houses of superior class more in 1851 than in 1841, and 54,000 more of farm houses, and decent houses in towns.

Increase from 10 to 28 per cent of persons of independent means and *professional persons*—and lastly, increase of the number of those who can read and write.

Upon all this it is at present unnecessary further to remark, that there is no reason whatever why the "*gain*" to Ireland, such as it is, should not have occurred and in greater degree, although her population had not been so fearfully diminished. The addition of thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand acres to the "arable land" of the country, and the small increase of better houses, are no such extraordinary advances as to compensate for the loss of so many human beings, or for the miserable sufferings of the Irish people. If to secure these advantages and such others as the Report details to us, it was necessary that depopulation and death should come into play, must there not have been something monstrously rotten and wrong in the state of Ireland previously; and if so why are we not shewn the guarantees and securities, if any such exist,

against the breaking out again of the old evils and mischiefs? If largeness of population were at the bottom of it, who is to ensure that now, when the potato-rot has all but ceased, and the cycle of years of plenty may be fairly expected, population will not increase again, and perhaps in that accelerated ratio of which history affords so many instances in the cases of nations whose numbers have been wasted by sudden and extraordinary causes.

The increase of "persons of independent means" and that of "professional persons," are not separately stated, doubtless from the want of data. We are, therefore, left to ourselves to guess at the proportion, and from what is known by every one of the general condition of Ireland, it is fair to suppose that "professional persons" form a very large item, if not by much the larger of the two. Unfortunately, it is also generally known that the "professions" in Ireland are badly paid and overstocked at present—in particular the legal profession in both its branches. We cannot therefore accept these items of increase as very strong proofs of growing prosperity. Neither can we accept as a proof of great improvement the increased per centage of persons who can read and write. It is not large in itself, and the Commissioners expressly guard themselves from affirming, "that these satisfactory changes," (namely, the one we are just speaking of, combined with the decrease of cabins, and of the number of persons dependent on their own manual labor,) "are altogether owing to the decrease in the proportions of those who could neither read nor write, as *no doubt the diminution of the people had also its effect*"!

We are sure that they would be equally cautious of committing themselves to the opinion that these changes might not have occurred, had the natural increase of our population gone on instead of the check and fearful diminution that they have had to record.

Meantime, while the "gain" is thus so doubtful, the "loss" of population and the sufferings, miseries, and cruel and numberless deaths that caused that loss, are facts which nothing can mitigate nor explain away.

There is, therefore, we are grieved and pained to say, but scant reason for "congratulations" and satisfaction, in the review of Ireland's present condition, even taking it on the Census Commissioners' own shewing.

Turning gladly from the extremely unpleasant duty of fault

finding with any part of their most meritorious labors, we hasten to note some of the many points in which those gentlemen have amply earned the respect and warm approbation of their countrymen.

The tribute they are careful to pay to the conduct of our poor people during the fearful trials of the last ten years, although simply what it was due and right to pay, reflects credit upon themselves, and would prove, were proof wanting, that they have deeply sympathised with the sufferings, the destructive operation, and results of which it was their task to note down. In the extract we are about to give, it will be seen that the Commissioners have prefaced their remarks upon the admirable behaviour of the Irish people under those sufferings, with what must enhance in the eyes of every one the merit of that behaviour, namely, a description of the almost brutalising effects of extreme privations, upon the human subject. More than three millions of the Irish people had to make fearful experience of those effects, and the Commissioners will tell us how they bore themselves under the tremendous infliction.

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate in imagination what people will do, and are forced to do, before they die from absolute want of food, for not only does the body become blackened and wasted by chronic starvation, but the mind likewise becomes darkened, the feelings callous, blunted, and apathetic; and a peculiar fever is generated, which became but too well known to the medical profession in Ireland at that time, and to all those engaged in administering relief.

In this state, of what may almost be called mania, before the final collapse takes place, when the victim sinks into utter prostration from inanition, some instances may have occurred at which human nature in its ordinary healthy condition, revolts. Thus, a stipendiary magistrate stated, in the court-house of Galway, in extenuation of the crime of a poor prisoner, brought up for stealing food, that to his own knowledge, before he was driven to the theft, he and his family had actually consumed part of a human body lying dead in the cabin with them. See p. 310.

Generally speaking, the actually starving people lived upon the carcasses of diseased cattle, upon dogs, and dead horses, but principally on the herbs of the field, nettle tops, wild mustard, and watercresses, and even in some places dead bodies were found with grass in their mouths. The shamrock, or wood-sorrel (*oxalis acetosella*) mentioned by Spenser as forming part of the food of the famished people in his time, does not now, owing to the extirpation of weeds, exist in sufficient quantity to afford any nutriment; but along the coast every description of sea-weed was greedily devoured, often with fatal consequences; even the dillisk, or "salt-leaf," though a safe occasional condiment, became the cause of disease when used as the sole support of life.

Some approximation to the amount of the immense mortality that

prevailed may be gleaned from the published tables which show that within that calamitous period between the end of 1845 and the conclusion of the first quarter of 1851, as many as 61,260 persons died in the hospitals and sanitary institutions, exclusive of those who died in the workhouses and auxiliary workhouses. Taking the recorded deaths from fever alone, between the beginning of 1846 and the end of 1849, and assuming the mortality at 1 in 10, which is the very lowest calculation, and far below what we believe really did occur, above a million and a-half, or 1,595,040 persons, being 1 in 4.11 of the population in 1851, must have suffered from fever during that period. But no pen has recorded the numbers of the forlorn and starving who perished by the wayside or in the ditches, or of the mournful groups, sometimes of whole families, who lay down and died, one after another, upon the floor of their miserable cabin, and so remained uncoffined and unburied, till chance unveiled the appalling scene. No such amount of suffering and misery has been chronicled in Irish history since the days of Edward Bruce; and yet, through all, the forbearance of the Irish peasantry, and the calm submission with which they bore the deadliest ills that can fall on man, can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of any people. Numbers, indeed, were sent to prison for petty crimes, often committed to save themselves or children from starvation, and there met their death from pestilential diseases arising from the overcrowding and contagion in those institutions; yet the slight amount of crime of a serious nature which prevailed throughout Ireland during the years of extreme destitution was remarkable; and instances occurred in which the judges, feeling that want alone drove the prisoners to its commission, directed their discharge without further punishment.

According to the Report of the Census Commissioners for 1841, the annual average emigrations between 1831 and 1841 was 40,346, and from the 30th June in the latter year to the end of 1845 it averaged 61,242 per annum. Such, however, was the effect of the potato blight and the warning voice of the pestilence, that the number rose to 105,955 in 1846, after which the emigration seemed to partake of the nature of an epidemic, and in 1847 the numbers who left the country more than doubled those who departed in the previous year. Owing to a slight mitigation of the potato blight, and a consequent improvement in the harvest of 1847, there was an arrest of the exodus in the beginning of 1848, when the numbers who emigrated only amounted to 178,159; but in the following year they again rose to 214,425. In 1850 the amount of emigration was 209,054. The emigration reached its highest point in 1851, when the numbers amounted to 249,721, after which they gradually decreased to 150,222 in 1854; yet, even in 1855, long after the extreme poor, the panic-stricken, and the destitute, had passed to other countries, or had found a refuge in the workhouses, or a rest in the grave, the remarkable spectacle of whole families—usually well-dressed, intelligent looking people—of all ages and sexes, the mere infant as well as the extremely aged—might be observed passing through the metropolis on their way to the emigrant vessel. Not the least peculiar feature in the extensive emigration of this period was the amount of money transmitted to their friends in Ireland by those who had already gone away; remittances which rose from the sum of £460,000 in 1848, to £7,404,000 in 1852, and according to the reports of the Emigration Commissioners, amounted in contributions, either in the form of prepaid passage, or of money sent home by the Irish emigrants, from 1848 to 1854, both inclusive, to as much as £7,520,000; remittances “which afford so honourable a testimony of the self-denial and affectionate disposition of the Irish.”



The Relief Commissioners bear the following testimony to the singular and marked forbearance of the Irish people at this time of trial:—"The orderly and good conduct of the peasantry is highly to be commended; all admit that the resignation and forbearance of the labouring classes was astonishing, when it is remembered with what rapidity the famine encompassed them." It is true that agrarian outrages spread over particular districts to such an extent as to cause several counties to be proclaimed; and thus, homicides rose to 336 in 1847, and executions to the very unusual number of thirty-two in the year following. These outrages, however, arose more from feelings which have so long existed as to be almost hereditary amongst the lower classes of Irish—a clinging to the soil of which they happened to be in possession with superstitious tenacity—bitter revenge towards those who evicted them—and strong prejudices against entering the workhouses, where they might have been saved from starving. Alluding to the number of deaths from starvation as decided by coroners' juries, the Poor Law Commissioners state, that "in many of these and other cases which came to their knowledge without any inquest having been held, the death was attributable to the determination of the heads of families not to resign the occupation of land, which exposed their families to intense privation, and not unfrequently to fatal consequences." Some of these families were at the time actually endeavouring to exist on the produce of a quarter of an acre of land! The middle and even the upper classes of society suffered many privations; and in some cases respectable families wanted not merely the ordinary comforts but even the necessaries of life. The previously incumbered state of many properties, and the immense local taxation, produced a state of things which forced upon the landed proprietors—themselves often deeply embarrassed—the strong and sudden necessity of evicting (perhaps too hastily and extensively) an insolvent tenantry—while the unfortunate people, thus deprived of what seemed to them their only chance for subsistence, had not yet learned to appreciate the value of Poor Law relief, nor to avail themselves of the means of emigration, in many cases provided for them. On this subject an acute and enlightened writer has made the following observations:—"The source of all mischief in Ireland, the real origin of every disturbance, and of almost every crime, is the want of employment; and as the occupation of land is nearly the only means of employment, and, therefore, of subsistence, it follows that the obtaining and retaining possession of it are objects which enlist the strongest of human motives—the struggle for existence. It is existence with a patch of land; it is starvation without it."

To alleviate the misery consequent upon this awful famine—the sad details of which soon awakened the sympathies of even distant countries—the most strenuous efforts which human sagacity, ingenuity and foresight could at the time devise were put into requisition. Several acts of parliament were passed in rapid succession to meet the emergency of the time—under which a large and wide-spread commissariat was organised, most extensive employment afforded, food supplied, and medical relief distributed over the country. The British Government granted millions either as loans or gifts. Private benevolence throughout the British Islands supplied hundreds of thousands of pounds; the country, through the Poor Law unions, taxed itself to the utmost of its capabilities; the colonies of Great Britain poured in their contributions; and every civilised country of the world sent its offering of food or money to diminish the amount of human misery then existing in Ireland. Some idea of that destitution may be formed from the facts that

on one day—the 3rd of July 1847—out of a population of about 8,000,000, *nearly three millions of people received food gratuitously* from the hands of the relieving officers: and in addition, as many as 99,920 rations were sold at a moderate cost to those who were unable to procure food otherwise; that the Public Works afforded, in March 1847, employment to 734,000 people; that there existed one hundred and thirty-one workhouses, with their auxiliaries and hospitals, giving, within the space of two years, shelter, food and raiment to 1,027,602 persons, and at one period 800,000 were *relieved daily* at the charge of the poor rates; that, in addition to the ordinary eleemosynary institutions of the country, two hundred and seven temporary fever hospitals, through which passed, during the years 1847 and 1848, as many as 279,723 persons, were erected; and that an emigration amounting to very nearly a million occurred in six years. These details will afford some notion of the extent of destitution and disease which devastated Ireland, leaving extensive districts of it uncultivated, and presenting a most desolate appearance.

It will be remarked in the foregoing extract that the Commissioners, not content with bearing their own testimony to the endurance, patience and resignation of their and our poorer fellow-countrymen, under the scourges with which it pleased Divine Providence, for its own wise and inscrutable ends, to afflict them since the year 1846 nearly up to the present time, have carefully quoted also the testimony of others.

We now come to what should in all formal regularity have engaged our attention at the very commencement of this paper, if, like unto poets, reviewers were not permitted to plunge at once and without preface "*in medias res*," when they considered they could better treat their subject by so doing. We allude to what is in fact the commencement of the "General Report" itself;—the Census Commissioners' exposition of the plan upon which they based and conducted their enquiries.

The Act under which they were appointed enabled them to command the services of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, the Coast-Guard, and the County Constabulary, "together with such other competent persons as the Lord Lieutenant should appoint" in the capacity of Enumerators; and the same Act directed those "Enumerators" to "take an account in writing of the number of persons dwelling in Ireland, and of the sex, age and occupation of all such persons, distinguishing the persons born in the place, or parish, or county, where then living, and also an account of the number of inhabited and uninhabited houses, and of houses then building:—distinguishing those places and parishes, and parts of either, within the limits of any city, or borough, returning members to serve in Parliament;—and also of all such further particulars as by

their instructions the Enumerators shall be directed to enquire into—such particulars and instructions having *no reference* to the *religion* of any person or persons.”

The latter special reservation puts us a little in mind of the old Roman objection to the numbering of the slaves: “*ne nos enumerari cepissent.*” But on the whole it was wise to exclude religious classification, as the main objects of the enquiry would certainly have been impeded, if the unfortunately too ready religious susceptibilities and jealousies of the various religious denominations in Ireland had once been awakened.

The Government of Ireland, using the latitude given it under the section just quoted from the Irish Census Act, added the following particulars to the Enquiry; viz., the names; relation to the head of the family in each instance; condition as to marriage and year of marriage; state of education; if a child, whether attending school; whether the parties could speak Irish; the names, age, sex, relationship and residence of all persons *absent from their homes* at the time of the Census; also, names, age, sex, relationship, and occupation of the members of each family who had died since the Census taken on the 6th June, 1841, together with the disease which caused death, and the season and year in which it occurred.

All these required particulars were included in “Form A,” or, as it was called, the “Family Return.”

Form B, the “House and Building Return,” was to describe the houses, in respect of their sizes, materials, and accommodation, and to state the number of distinct families living in each house. Curiously enough under this head of “Houses and Buildings,” the number of *sick* persons in each family on the night of the 30th of March, 1851, was to be included.

Form C, the proper “Sick-Return,” was to give names, ages, relationship, &c. &c., of all persons sick on the night before named. Forms D, E, F, I, and P, were to give accounts of the number of Lunatics and Idiots throughout Ireland on the same night. Also an account of the number of sick in the various public institutions, and of the deaths and coroners’ inquests from 1841 to 1851. Forms G, H, K, and L, were to enumerate the persons resident respectively in colleges and schools—military in barracks—prisoners, and pupils *attending* schools. And “Form O” was to give the number of emigrants from the 1st of May, 1851, to the 31st of December, 1855.

Having taken all measures that seemed requisite, and sent out all the forms—the copies of which amounted to *more than a million and a half*, the Commissioners found themselves enabled within little more than four months after the 30th of March, 1851, the day on which their Enumerators commenced operations, to more than satisfy section 9 of the Census Act, which required *within twelve months* an “Abstract of the Census of Ireland to be laid before both Houses of Parliament.”

After this their remaining publications proceeded in the following order, viz., : First, the exhibition of the Results of the Census by Townlands. The first county taken, viz., County Carlow, was presented to the Lord Lieutenant on the 15th of March, 1852, and the last, the County Tyrone, on the 30th November in the same year. In these papers, the area, population, houses, inhabited, uninhabited and building, together with the poor law valuation as far back as it existed, is given for every one of the 66,700 townlands of Ireland, the townlands being arranged by parishes and baronies ; and similar information was given for electoral divisions and Poor Law Unions. All this constituted Part I. of the Census.

Part II. embraced (by direction of the Lord Lieutenant) the Agricultural Statistics of Ireland for 1851 and 1852 ;—in continuation of the very admirable compilations of the same nature for the four preceding years, drawn up by Colonel Larcom. They shew, by Baronies and Poor Law Unions, the number of holdings in nine classes, according to the area of the farms, the acreage under crops, and the quantity of live stock in each class :—also the estimated value of the stock, average produce of the holdings, &c. &c.

Part III. published 30th of March, 1854, gave the “Status of Disease” in Ireland, on the night of the 30th March, 1851, together with a nosological chart of diseases “with their synonyms, popular and local names and Irish terms,”

Part IV., “Report on Ages and Education,” gave, by Provinces, Counties, Baronies, and Towns, the number and ages of the people, and of the per-centage of them who could read and write, read only, and who could neither read nor write, in 1841 and 1851 : also the number of schools and pupils attending ; and the number of the Irish-speaking population.

Part V. (*volumes I. and II.*) now presented, gives all statistics as to the “Deaths” of the People, and also contains “a Table of Cosmical Phenomena, Epizootics, Famines, and Pestilences in Ireland” throughout her history. And

Part VI. and last—now presented also—“has reference to the Area, Population, Habitations, House Accommodation, Families (and their Pursuits, Occupations, and Degrees of Education), Inmates of Public Institutions, &c. &c. of Ireland.” This part, the reader is aware, contains also the “General Report.”

The fearful interest that attaches to the circumstance of the extraordinary diminution of our population, brings us back to it again now ; and we proceed to extract the chier portions of the Commissioners’ general remarks and expositions concerning its main causes.

Supposing the immigration and emigration to have been equal, and that the increase of population by an excess of births over deaths, was in a similar ratio to that which had taken place in England and Wales during the last sixteen years, viz., 1·0036 per cent. per annum, the number of people in Ireland would have been 9,018,799 on the 30th of March, 1851. But as the last Census Returns have only afforded a population of 6,552,385, it is important to account (as far as is possible in the unfortunate absence of any general registration of births and deaths) for the deficiency in the population of nearly two and a-half millions, independent of the emigration alluded to. Inevitable deficiencies must result from any retrospective inquiry derived from the remnant of a population upon a certain day subsequent to the events to which it has reference. It is manifest that the greater the amount of destitution and mortality, and the greater the disruption of the social condition of the population in any walk of life, so much the more difficult will be the attempt to acquire subsequent information, and, consequently, the less will be the amount of recorded deaths derived through any household form; for not only were whole families swept away by disease, and large districts depopulated by emigration, or the inhabitants driven to seek refuge in the workhouse, but whole villages were effaced from off the land. Yet, notwithstanding these difficulties, in the way of a complete enumeration of death, and with a great decrease of population from non-births, owing to the diminution of marriages, as shown in our Report upon Ages and Education, and other causes which, during some portion of this period, sensibly affected the question—the recorded mortality for the five last years of the decennial period upon which it is our duty to report was as great as 985,366, or very nearly one million.

Concurrent with the foregoing state of famine and the disruption of the social condition of the people, pestilence came upon the nation in the following order:—Fever, Scurvy, Diarrhoea, and Dysentery, Cholera, Influenza, and Ophthalmia.

The total deaths from fever during the period between 1841 and 1851, amounted to the vast number of 222,029, in the proportion of 119½ males to a hundred females. Of these deaths, about one-half occurred in the rural districts; 22,464 in the civic districts; 50,408 in the permanent and temporary hospitals, and 34,644 in workhouses and auxiliary workhouses.

Under the head of Purpura and Scurvy were registered 167 deaths, the males much exceeding the females; and of these the great bulk was returned from hospitals and workhouses, upon medical authority, during the years from 1846 to 1850 inclusive. These deaths form, however,

but a small proportion of those which absolutely occurred throughout the country, either directly or indirectly, as the consequence of Scurvy; and we have introduced the subject here, not so much because of the fatality of the disease, as on account of its forming so remarkable an illustration of the peculiar pestilential period from which the country suffered.

The first manifest decrease of Dysentery occurred in 1846; it then rose rapidly to its climax in the succeeding year, the numbers being 5,492 in the former, and 25,757 in the latter. In 1848, the deaths from dysentery amounted to 18,430, and from diarrhoea to 7,264; in 1849, both these diseases occurring in about the same proportions, produced death in 29,446 instances; and in 1850, the mortality from both these causes was 19,224. Even during the three months of the year 1851, prior to the taking of the Census, upwards of 5,000 persons were carried off by diarrhoea and dysentery.

The influence of the seasons was very strongly marked in these diseases, as well as in fever. As in the latter affection, so with this, spring was the time of greatest trial, 53,100 persons having died during that quarter; 36,398 perished in the summer season; and only 15,458 in the autumn, contrary to the usual opinion held respecting the prevalence and fatality of bowel affections during that season. In the winter quarter the deaths were 29,599.

The proportion of deaths from dysentery to all other diseases was 1 in 15, being the next most fatal after fever of the total class of zymotic or epidemic diseases, and the fourth most fatal from *all causes*—the scale being—fever, 1 in 6·1; consumption, 1 in 8·8; “infirmity, debility, and old age,” 1 in 10; dysentery, 1 in 15; marasmus and the diseases classed under that head, 1 in 20; convulsions (the frequent cause of death among infants and children), 1 in 32; diarrhoea, 1 in 33; small pox, 1 in 36; and starvation, 1 in 63. In comparison with the total deaths from all specified causes, dysentery prevailed most in the counties of Antrim, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, Galway county and town, Leitrim and Sligo—in fact, with the exception of Antrim, in the whole of that district which has been so frequently adverted to in the foregoing table as the location of blight, famine, and disease in former years, and which may be defined by a line drawn from Donegal Bay in the north to Cork Harbour in the south.

When the famine was most severely felt, and when fever and dysentery raged with the greatest violence, Asiatic Cholera again invaded the Continent of Europe, and advancing with rapid and fatally marked steps, soon approached the devoted island in the West, and reached our shores at the end of 1848. For some wise and inscrutable reason, upon which man can only speculate, it seemed good to the Great Disposer of events to mitigate considerably its fatality, compared with that of its first invasion, sixteen years before; for the returns only give as many as 35,989 deaths, in which the sexes were in the proportion of 98·57 males to 100 females, showing very nearly an equality of sexes. The period over which it extended was about eighteen months; and the number of cases recorded by the Board of Health, 45,698; of which 19,325 died, being 1 death in every 2·36 cases. However, as we mentioned at page 38, the records of that body are inapplicable to statistical calculations of this description. The disease was in all probability mitigated by the large amount of hospital accommodation, both permanent and temporary, in Ireland at the time of its outbreak, and by the wide-spread and effective organisation of medical relief then existing under the Central Board of Health. The remaining 16,664 deaths were returned to us upon the different forms issued from our office.

The disease broke out in December, 1848: rose to a considerable height in March, 1849, when the cases reported to the Board of Health were 3,292; and continued through the month of April, when they nearly trebled that number, up to May, when they amounted to 11,129. The disease rapidly declined the following month, and had nearly expended its violence by the end of the year—only 179 cases being reported in December. The deaths from Cholera during the year 1849, were 30,156: and although the disease spread into the following year the mortality was but 1,768. With the total deaths, however, from this disease, are included those from the affection in its endemic form, which occur from year to year. The most marked difference existed with respect to the influence of the seasons in the cholera return—thus in winter the deaths were but 1,861; in autumn, 6,206; in spring, 10,487; and in summer, 17,433. This visitation of cholera was characterised by the large number of children attacked, and by the number of cases in which præmonitory diarrhoea did not exist. Cholera prevailed most in the civic and least in the rural districts. Compared with their populations, the towns of Drogheda, Galway and Belfast, and the cities of Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny and Cork suffered most.

Although Small-pox has decreased in Ireland, both in virulence and extent, since the publication of the Census Report in 1841, there was some increase of that disease during the pestilential period of 1847, '48, and '49: yet the deaths returned to us (amounting to 38,275 in ten years), are not, considering the present state of vaccination in this country, of sufficient amount to warrant the assertion that small-pox influenced the great mortality of which this introduction is the analysis, although during a portion of the period it prevailed epidemically, and was also very fatal in England. Dropsies likewise prevailed as the sequel of famine, fever and dysentery, during the latter years of the pestilential period.

An epidemic of INFLUENZA pervaded Great Britain in 1847 and 1848; where, although of brief duration, it was of unusual fatality. Its advent was marked in London by very peculiar atmospheric phenomena, which have been graphically described in the Report of the Registrar-General for that year. It existed nearly contemporaneously in Dublin during the December of 1847 and the January of 1848. The number of deaths attributed to this disease, as returned to us in March, 1851, does not exhibit, however, any very manifest annual difference for the five years preceding that date. The total deaths registered from influenza were 10,753, in the proportion of 85.5 females to 100 males. The first and second moieties of the imperfect decade extending from June, 1841, to March, 1851, exhibit a very marked difference; the first ending with the conclusion of 1845, numbering only 3,353 deaths, and the second from the beginning of 1846, to the end of the first quarter of 1851, affording as many as 7,400 deaths from this cause. 1,610 persons died from influenza in the workhouses. The disease prevailed most in the cities and large towns. In the winter and spring seasons the deaths were 7,214, and in summer and autumn but 3,539.

It does not appear that any other fatal epidemic disease influenced public health and mortality, beyond those specified during the years of famine and pestilence.

The diseases of the organs of sense—of sight and hearing in particular—although of very frequent occurrence, and largely influencing the welfare and happiness of mankind, do not, except when of a malignant character, prove fatal. Diseases of the organ of sight, however, occasionally become epidemic, especially in armies and schools, in gaols and work-

houses, and wherever masses of the community are congregated together; they likewise spread even among rural populations throughout the open country. As the sequel to the great pestilential period described in the foregoing pages, Epidemic Ophthalmia burst forth, and from the years 1849 to 1852, both inclusive, as many as 118,835 cases occurred in the union workhouses of Ireland alone, besides vast numbers in the rural districts, as well as in the different cities and towns. The disease prevailed most during the warm weather of June, July, August, and September. It first attracted attention in January, 1849, during which year 18,812 cases occurred in the workhouses. In the following year the numbers reported were 27,200; and in 1851 they had risen to the height of 45,947—in the June of which year as many as 5,244 cases occurred. The disease prevailed most in the unions throughout the counties of Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, and Clare, as also at Athlone and Loughrea, and principally attacked children under fifteen years of age.

According to the report of the Poor Law Commissioners, who, for several years, published statistical accounts of the results of this disease—sight was partially injured in 1,925 cases; in 1,270 one eye was lost; and in 517 both eyes were destroyed. These facts will serve to account for the statement contained in our Report on the Status of Disease, that with the exception of Norway, Ireland presented, when the Census was taken in 1851, the largest proportion of blind, compared with its population, of any country in Europe of which the statistics were known. We there took the opportunity of suggesting the necessity of making some provision for this unhappy class of persons, beyond the asylum afforded by the workhouse.

The foregoing array of epidemic diseases has not exhausted the catalogue of calamities affecting human life or happiness, which occurred in Ireland during the years of famine and pestilence. In every country, even in England, with all its wealth—with its workhouses and its long established public institutions—deaths from starvation are annually recorded. The deaths registered in England from privation of food were, for many years, above 100 annually; and even in the year 1853, as many as seventy-eight persons perished there from want. In the Irish returns made in 1841, only 117 deaths were registered from starvation for the ten years prior to that period; but from thence, according to the registration made in 1851, deaths from this cause began notably to increase, from 187 in the year 1842, to 516 in 1845. After that period deaths attributed to starvation increased rapidly, so as to amount to 2,041 for the year 1846; in 1847 they reached the great height of 6,058, and in the two following years, 1848 and 1849, taken together, they amounted to 9,395. In 1850 they were even more than in 1846; and during the first quarter of 1851 as many as 652 deaths attributed to starvation were recorded. The total deaths returned to us under the head of Starvation amounted to 21,770, the sexes being in the proportion of 706 females to 100 males. As many as 333 of these occurred in workhouses, being persons received in a dying state, from the results of previous privation. Large, therefore, as the total deaths from this cause returned to us on the Census Forms may at first sight appear, a review of the past circumstances of the



kingdom will, we think, strengthen the belief, that many more must have perished from disease remotely induced by privation during the years of famine and pestilence.

As coming into somewhat the same category with the foregoing might be, no doubt, enumerated a portion of the 133,923 deaths registered under the more diffuse title of "infirmity, debility, and old age," had we the means of distinguishing accurately the immediate or precise cause of death. These latter causes exhibited, like all others incidental to the years of famine and pestilence, remarkable annual changes, consequent, no doubt, upon scarcity of provisions, and all the calamitous results thereof, rising from 10,609 in 1845 to 23,285 in 1847, and again falling to 15,676 in 1850.

Mental disease bore its part in the list of calamities, upon which it is our duty to report; the receptions into Lunatic Asylums have greatly increased, and the deaths from insanity becoming greater from 1847 to 1850. Suicide alone rose from 83, in 1846 to 123 in 1848. Upon all these latter circumstances, we have reported in detail in the respective sections belonging thereto, and we have introduced them here only as forming items in the sum of that great calamity which befel this country during the years of famine and pestilence.

We already stated that with the exception of the partial agrarian disturbances in 1847, and the political disaffection in 1848, the country remained, considering its circumstances, remarkably free from increase of crime of a serious nature during the famine period. From our report upon the mortality in goals, it will be seen that the committals did not much increase from the year 1842 until 1847, but during that and the three following years they were greatly multiplied; and as a consequence thereof the gaols and prisons becoming crowded to excess, pestilential diseases broke out in these institutions, and increased the receptions into the hospitals thereof from 3,903; and the deaths from 72, in 1845—to the receptions amounting to 17,451, and the deaths to 1,406, in 1849.

In the year 1849 the Court for the Sale of Irish Incumbered Estates commenced its operations, and from the October of that year, during the six following years, about 2,500,000 acres of land, producing the sum of £15,706,324, were disposed of. This we allude to in enumerating the events of the great transition period which, together with the foregoing, has so largely assisted in that social revolution brought about by the failure of the potato crop.

In addition to the other social calamities of the period, and partially contingent upon them, was the scarcity of fuel, owing to the difficulty of saving turf during some of the wet seasons; and as years of misery came to be numbered, the clothing of the people either altogether failed in many districts, or remained in pledge unredeemed from previous years. This latter source of suffering was, when it became known, in a great measure relieved by the benevolence of the ladies of England.

There is one matter incidentally recorded in the foregoing extracts, which, although not immediately germane to our subject, we cannot help taking note of in passing. We allude to

what is said about deaths from "starvation." In the paragraph on that subject we find these remarkable statements. "Even in England with all its wealth—with its workhouses and its long established public institutions—deaths from starvation are annually recorded. The deaths registered in England from starvation were for many years ABOVE 100 ANNUALLY. In the Irish returns of 1841 ONLY 117 deaths from starvation were registered FOR THE TEN YEARS PRECEDING !

"After that period (namely, when Poor Laws came to be established), deaths from starvation INCREASED RAPIDLY ! In 1842 they were 187 ; in 1845 they were 516 !!"

It will be in the recollection of many of our readers how strong and confident were the prophecies of those who aided in forcing poor laws upon us in Ireland, that after their establishment there would be no more deaths from starvation, such as were said to occur under the previously existing system of voluntary charity. Yet there was the experience of England to the contrary, her deaths of the class in question amounting as we have seen, to *one hundred annually*. And our own sad experience now shows us, and the fact is proclaimed and established by the Census Commissioners of 1851, that in the first year of the working of Poor Laws in this country, the year 1842, the deaths from starvation had increased from the average of little more than eleven *annually*, to 187 *for that year alone*, and in 1845, also for that year alone, *(a year previous to the great distress)*, to no less than 516!!!

It should be repeated again and again, an annual average of *eleven deaths before Poor Laws in Ireland*—an annual amount increasing in a ratio that defies all average calculation afterwards—187 *the first year after establishment of Poor Laws*, 516 *the fourth year after* !!!

Truly the late Mr. O'Connell, and those who with him warned the country against Poor Laws, have had a melancholy justification for their unpopular counsellings.

We now proceed to give a few miscellaneous facts and statistics of interest, collected here and there from the Report, before approaching the most interesting and important consideration of all, namely, that of the causes, so far as traceable, of the terrible famine of 1846 and subsequent years, with a view to ascertain what are our chances of escaping a recurrence of such a calamity.

The decrease of the *rural* population of Leinster, between 1841 and 1851, was in the proportion of 45 to the square mile of her entire area, and of 58 to the square mile of arable land. Ulster decreased 48 in the first proportion, and 126 in the second; Munster 57 and 114; and Connaught 60 and 145. The decrease therefore of the *rural* population of Ireland was 52 on the square mile of the entire area, and 110 on that of the arable land of the country, with a small fraction in either case.

The decrease of the combined rural and civic population was for Leinster 39 persons per square mile of the entire area, Ulster 44, Munster 57, and Connaught 60—giving for the whole of Ireland, a proportion of about 50 to the square mile of the entire area.

The next table we give is compiled partly from the Irish Census Report and partly from that for Great Britain, and shows a comparison of mournful interest.

*Population and Number of Houses in Great Britain and Ireland respectively in the Census of 1841 and that of 1851.*

Census of	GREAT BRITAIN.			IRELAND.		
	Population.	Inhabited Houses.	Uninhabited.	Population.	Inhabited Houses.	Uninhabited.
1841 .	18,658,372	3,465,987	188,141	8,175,124	1,328,379	82,303
1851 .	21,121,967	3,670,192	166,735	6,552,385	1,046,223	65,363
	Increase 2,463,595	Increase 204,205	Decrease 21,406	Decrease 1,622,739	Decrease 282,156	Increase 16,940

We have seen that the Census Commissioners calculate that had our population increased in the same ratio as the *British*, we should have had 9,018,799 in 1851, instead of 6,552,385. The real deficiency of our population therefore in the latter Census, was 2,466,414, nearly exactly the same amount as that of the increase of the *British* !!

The "Emigration from Ireland," is quoted from the Emigration Commissioners' Annual Reports; in which, while every effort at accuracy has been made, it is at the same time confessed that there can be "*little doubt*" that their estimates are below the truth. One simple cause for this is, that there are no means of ascertaining how many Irish went from any *British* port, save only Liverpool. The following table

gives, (with this reservation), the number of Irish Emigrants in the ten years to December, 1851, with a continuation down to 31st December, 1855, and their respective destinations :—

Years.	United States.	British America.	Australia.	All other Places	Total
<b>Part of 1841</b>	11,524	1,755	3,078	19	16,376
1842	48,300	39,442	987	7	89,686
1843	23,420	13,578	509	2	37,509
1844	37,269	16,484	520	18	54,289
1845	50,206	24,713	"	60	74,969
1846	63,023	37,888	39	5	100,955
1847	116,868	97,392	1,118	1	215,444
1848	153,589	22,724	1,840	6	178,159
1849	176,643	30,735	7,041	6	214,425
1850	180,642	24,465	4,045	2	209,054
<b>3 months of 1851</b>	43,091	1,033	747	"	44,871
<b>Totals</b>	910,470 or 73·4 per cent	310,209 or 25·0 per cent	19,944 or 1·6 per cent	114	1,240,737
<b>9 months of 1851</b>	172,519	28,279	4,050	2	204,850
1852	192,535	21,617	6,266	10	220,428
1853	156,970	22,402	12,746	502	192,620
1854	111,096	22,922	16,203	3	150,222
1855	57,164	6,251	15,500	84	78,999
<b>Total from 1st April, 1851, to 31st Dec. 1855</b>	690,283 or 31·4 per cent	101,471 or 12 per cent	54,764 or 6·5 per cent	601 or 0·1 per cent	847,119
<b>Grand Total from June, 1841, to 31st December, 1855</b>	1,600,753 or 76·7 per cent	411,680 or 19·7 per cent	74,708 or 3·6 per cent	715	2,087,856

The proportions *per cent*, at *each age*, were as follows :—

Under one year...	1·14	30 years & under 40,	11·18
1 year & under 10,	11·76	40 years & under 50,	6·99
10 years & under 20,	25·97	50 years & under 60,	2·77
20 years & under 30,	39·75	60 years & upwards,	0·74

We doubt not that several of our readers will, on perusal of the foregoing table, be struck with the disproportion between the numbers of those who emigrated to the United States and to British North America respectively. We see that in the ten years ending 1851, upwards of seventy-three per cent. of the entire Emigration went to the United States, while only twenty-five per cent. went to British North America, or, taking the Australian Colonies into account, not more than 26·6 per cent. altogether to British possessions. But the disproportion appears still greater in the short period from the 1st April, 1851, to the 31st of December, 1855, when the per-centage to the United States rose to 81·4 per cent., while that to British North America fell to 12 per cent.; or, taking in as before the amount that went to Australia, only 18·5 per cent.

altogether, to British possessions. In round numbers, out of a total *ascertained* emigration from Ireland during the period 1851-1855, of 2,000,000, fully 1,600,000 went to a foreign country and only the remainder to our own colonies.

Thereby hangs a tale and we fear a significant one—significant *of* the past—significant *in* the present, and not without some degree of dangerous significance *for* the future. We announce no new fact and have to maintain no contested position, in saying that the vast majority of this emigration went away with bitter feelings towards England. The foundation for these feelings is one thing—the fact of their existence and operation is quite another. The former is debatable, and has been debated in every spirit and every point of view; the latter is frankly or reluctantly, but universally admitted, and even without an attempt at qualification. Those who have tasked themselves to analyse the causes of this state of things do not hesitate to say, that the traditions of wrong and misgovernment, unhappily rife among our people, and embittered by personal sufferings under the general impoverishment of the country, the distracted state of the relations between Landlord and Tenant, and the stinging sense of Parliamentary and newspaper insults to Irish popular opinion and convictions, political and religious—(all three of which evils have come to be considered inevitable incidents of *English rule*)—have had the climax of bitterness capped by the stern compulsion of exile in a famine-driven emigration, and that the result of the whole is a deadly aversion and hostility to England and all belonging to her! To go to Canada, or other British possessions, was to go under the hated British domination once more: whereas to go to the United States was to become citizens of an independent country—the growing and already formidable commercial rival of England in time of peace—her intrepid, and on more than one occasion, successful antagonist in war—and in their imaginations likely to be one of the chosen agents of Divine Providence in the final chastisement they believe to be in reserve for the country on which they charge all their woes!

The proper and regular course doubtless for this paper now to take would be, to proceed to set out with *Poor-Law-Commissioner-like* precision, table after table of statistics and special detail after special detail in due succession, bearing upon the various points of the Census Report. But we cannot bind

ourselves to any other order than that suggested to us by our own estimate of the comparative importance of the various topics touched upon in its text, or in the appendices. Accordingly, we for the present pass by everything else to come to the *hope for the future* which is therein held out to us.

This is chiefly done in Part V. vol. 1, of the "Report on Tables of Deaths," wherein at page 256 we find the following:—

Improvement in the habits of the lower orders, and a higher education amongst the agricultural classes, are chiefly requisite to effect a change in the condition of the people. By this they would ultimately be raised in the scale of civilization, and by *learning to utilize all the sources of subsistence which nature has so lavishly placed within their reach*, the fatal consequences would be averted which must ensue to a people who trust for life only to one species of food, and when that fails are liable to perish from famine. But to effect any sudden alteration in the dietary of a people is a matter of greater difficulty than to effect a change in either their religious or their political institutions—the former under excitement may become as contagious as an epidemic; and the latter be enforced by the strong arm of power: while a revolution in diet, especially in Ireland where the accustomed food was easily raised and comparatively palatable, and moreover had become the basis of habits so firmly fixed as to influence the entire social condition of a people, required even more than the stern necessity of want, before it could be accomplished, or *the inhabitants be brought to relish any other description of food*.

We have, however, reason to believe that a taste for the substitutes offered has been gradually generated. Upon this subject the Commissioners of Health published the following remarks in their report upon the year 1851: "It has often been desired that the people of Ireland could be induced to turn from the potato to grain as their food, as tending to produce improvement in their habits, and as rendering them less liable to suffer from periodic famines. *All attempts to effect this have hitherto failed*: however, the knowledge that they have now acquired of the very superior nutritious qualities of oatmeal, and its price continuing to bear such a relation to the cost of potatoes as to render its consumption often more economical than that of the potato, will, it would seem to us, eventually and certainly lead to the desired end."—This is confirmed by the more general use among the people of Indian meal, and their improved knowledge of its mode of preparation, together with the fact of the greater consumption of bread stuffs in Ireland within the last few years, as compared with those before the famine.

Notwithstanding the fearful ordeal through which Ireland has passed, thus briefly and imperfectly sketched—an ordeal to which modern history can produce no parallel—we have *good reason to believe* that the country has *improved in health*, increased in wealth, and progressed in energy, since the recent calamity that seemed to threaten its very existence; the *various social changes forced into action*

*at that period being the means most fitted ultimately to ameliorate the social condition.* The great surplus mass of the population—surplus not in proportion to the superficies of the country but from its unequal distribution, has been reduced. The system of *minute division of land, the acknowledged source of perennial distress and periodic famine*, has been happily got rid of, for though it extended cultivation in some degree, yet it increased at the same time the class of pauper holdings, now rapidly giving place to the large sized grazing farms, which from time immemorial have produced the cattle exports, the *great source of wealth to this country*; and finally, the facilities of the Incumbered Estates Act have relieved the country from expensive and almost endless litigation, and placed land within the power of a comparatively solvent proprietary, though it may have produced some temporary and individual hardship.

In conclusion, we may say, in the language of Sir Charles Trevelyan (in his *Irish Crisis*), that “*unless we are much deceived, posterity will trace up to that famine the commencement of a salutary revolution in the habits of a Nation long singularly unfortunate; and will acknowledge in this, as in many other occasions, supreme wisdom has produced permanent good out of transient evil.*”

The often-quoted saying of Talleyrand tells us that words were invented to *conceal our thoughts*. We are anxious to express ours upon the subject matter of the extract just given from the Census Report; and therefore we shall use as few words as possible in so doing—reserving till later any extended comment that there may be reason for making.

Passing the general and unexplained proposition at the commencement of the extract, we come to the second in order, namely, that our people would “by learning to utilize all the sources of subsistence lavishly placed by nature within their reach, be enabled to avert the fatal consequences of trusting for life to *one species of food*,” and that a species so liable to failure.

Nature has abundantly supplied Ireland with flocks, and herds, and fields of grain, and thus (so far as Nature’s operation goes), has “lavishly placed those sources of subsistence within the people’s reach.” How are they to “utilize those sources?”

Next arise the questions:—*Why* had the Potato “become the basis of habits so firmly fixed as to influence the entire social condition” of our people? How is it shown that they “*could not be brought to relish*” any other description of food? And *where* and *how* can it be shown that “all attempts at turning the people from the potato to grain as their food, have hitherto failed?”

Perhaps we should differently phrase the last question, and ask to be told *what*, and *how many attempts* have been made towards this desirable object? There may doubtless have been in some few private cases something of the kind attempted, but assuredly nowhere on a large scale.

The potato became the "*basis*" as it were of our peoples' social condition, simply because it was the *cheapest* and easiest reared food. The peasant planted it without cost, and in ordinary years the produce, which is well known to be nearly three times as great to the acre as that of any other vegetable of common use, not only supplied him and his family with food, but ordinarily left him a small surplus to sell, and thereby to procure the means of buying clothes or other necessities for his family. Meantime the skins and other refuse of the potato fed the pig, who "*paid the rent*"—i. e., the sale of which in proper season, was the peasant's chief means of meeting his landlord's demands.

All other descriptions of food are more costly to rear and not so prolific in the yield by two-thirds. The Irish peasant, in the vast majority of instances had a heavy rent upon him which, required his utmost efforts and utmost economy of resources to meet; and unhappily the instances were very many in which on the least apparent improvement of his condition, another turn was given to the rent-screw, and the whole value of the improvement taken from him. Thus, and thus *alone*, did it come about that he had to incur the danger of "the fatal consequences of trusting for life to one description of food." Thus was he *compelled* to incur that danger. Thus, when the potato failed, did those "fatal consequences" come upon him and his fellows. *Hæc fonte, derivata clades!*

The Irish peasant will "*relish*" good food as well as his betters, when he can get it to eat. He has no sentimental attachment to the potato, and when at all able will even go to the extravagance of buying a *herring*, to give it a "*relish*."

It was one of Sir Robert Peel's pompous plausibilities about Ireland, to talk of "teaching the Irish people to eat better food." When he used to utter this in the House of Commons *ore rotundo*, and with elaborate gesture and attitude, and to look around solemnly to receive the applause with which solemn *humbug* is so often received in that House, especially where its tendency is to excuse the legislator's own neglect or contravention of duty, it was hard to say which feeling most pre-



dominated in the minds of Irishmen worthy of the name—whether the feeling of indignation or of contempt.

“Why don’t the people eat bread and butter rather than starve?” asked the little princess when told of a wasting famine. “Why do not the Irish people eat beef and mutton and bacon and bread instead of bad potatoes?” expresses the exact parallel of the little Princess’s political economy, and the exact and real meaning of Sir Robert Peel’s plausibility.

We can go but a very little way with the Census Commissioners in their congratulations on the “improvement in health, increase in wealth, and progress in energy,” of the country “since the recent calamity.” Energy was not really wanting in Ireland, but was kept down and discouraged amongst our agricultural classes by the unrestrained powers of exaction in the hands of unscrupulous agents and landlords—we advisedly put them in this order, as of all classes from whom Ireland has suffered, the “Land-agents,” with of course some, or several, noble exceptions, were far the worst. Energy was repressed amongst the trading and commercial classes by the general impoverishment of the country, the want of a good home-market, the impossibility of rivalling in foreign or in English markets the powerful and long established capitalists of England, and the natural reaction upon those classes of the poverty of their rack-rented countrymen on the land.

“*Health*” has certainly improved, because famine and pestilence have for the time ceased. So much for health *physical*; *social* health is not much improved, nor can it become so till the disturbing causes—the distracted state of the relation between landlord and tenant, the anomaly of the Church establishment, and the glaring defects and evil of the poor law, are removed by remedial legislation.

“*Wealth*” has increased in a small ratio, but very little beyond what the war-prices for our agricultural produce have occasioned. The mass of the people are at bottom as poor as ever.

We must also differ with the Census Commissioners as to “*the means most fitted ultimately to ameliorate the social condition of the people.*” We cannot consider as such “most fit” means, the violent reduction of our population and the increase of large grazing farms in the place of their homesteads. The “*means*” in our minds “most fitted to ameliorate” their social condition would be those indicated in the last paragraph but

one—that which treats of “*social health*.” If we add to these the more frequent and longer residences in Ireland of the owners of the soil and, thereby the spending *in* Ireland of a larger proportion than at present of the monies raised *from* Ireland, we have stated *our* “means,” and confidently leave them to the judgment of the reader.

The quotation from Sir Charles Trevelyan—that “admirable administrator” (!) in whose department occurred some of the most grievous blunders of the late war—brings not a little to mind Pope’s description of the care for the poor manifested by high dignitaries in his time,—

“Lo ! the good Bishop, with a pious air  
Admits—and leaves them—Providence’s care !”

Having now with as much brevity as the subject admitted of glanced through the points suggested by the Census Commissioners for congratulation as to the present and hope for the future, we shall for a few moments put their report aside, in order to be the less embarrassed in expressing our own views.

Parliamentary and newspaper plausibilities and platitudes, no matter by what high authority, or with what amount of solemn and oracular pomposity given to the world—no matter how taken up and propagated—should not blind the man of sense and heart to the real question at issue, and its only real solution. They should not, and on calm and full and mature deliberation they surely *cannot*, blind him to the fact, that “prosperity” is NOT compatible with the export of food of which the hapless producers cannot retain their needful share ; that a system fraught with such anomalies as those in 1822, 1847, and other of our famine-years, when vessels bearing the oatmeal charitably subscribed in England for the starving Irish, were crossed upon their passage by vessels bearing away large freights of corn and live-stock *from Ireland* ;—that a state of things which, in the endeavor to reduce to practice the pet theory or *nostrum* of the day, of turning Ireland into the grazing and dairy-farm of England, must ever come in collision with physiological laws—ever be in antagonism to the natural increase of population, and have its best and only prospect of even temporary success, in the hideous chances of a famine-driven emigration,—that such a system and such a state of things cannot be held to furnish any sound or just grounds for congratulations and hope ; but rather must appear to involve a monstrous contravention of the beneficent designs of the Creator !

There is no question about the momentary ease of the present time. The war-prices and war-expenditure in a country where low prices and every-day-diminishing expenditure and increasing money-drains had previously been the rule—the much reduced land and labor-competition—(reduced by the removal of more than two millions of the laboring class, by death or emigration)—these circumstances, coupled with the plentiful harvest, have combined to give, as we say, a momentary ease. Transitory themselves, their effects cannot be otherwise than transitory also. And even while in full vigor of operation, there is a sad amount of destitution and misery in many parts of the land!

We have no intention nor desire of evading the subject of the Encumbered Estates' Act, and its actual and prospective operation upon the fortunes of Ireland. The monetary statistics belonging to this subject, as given in a recently published return from the "*Statistics-office*" of the Encumbered Estates' Court, may be summed up pretty much as follows, in round numbers, viz :—

Total amount of funds distributed up to }	£16,500,000
the present time ... .. }	
Funds in hands of the court ... ..	1,400,000
Provisional Credits, &c., not yet paid in ...	300,000
<hr/>	
Total ... ..	£18,200,000

A small stimulus has been given to the internal circulation of the country, by this redistributing process, though not by any means to the extent represented by those figures, inasmuch as there is no inconsiderable deduction for monies paid to mortgagees out of Ireland. But the chief effect is, that a portion of the land of the country—not a large portion as yet, but one that is increasing and will increase—is being set free from the trammels of old encumbrances which tied up the hands of owners, even where the latter had the greatest desire to improve.

Four chief benefits were predicated of the working of the Encumbered Estates' Act, by the more sanguine of its advocates in this country. It was, according to them, to have for one of its directest consequences, the creation of a class of small landed *proprietors* in Ireland. Secondly, it was at least in so far to diminish absenteeism, and to cause rents not only to be spent at home, but to be spent in improving the land. Thirdly, it

was, by substituting generally a solvent for an insolvent proprietary, to do away with one of the great causes for rack-renting and landlord-exaction, and thus to give the tenantry of Ireland a chance of being allowed to hold at a profit rent, and an encouragement to lay out, instead of hoarding in savings' banks, &c., what little money-capital they might have. Fourthly, it was (by the operation of the three foregoing postulates, and by that of the general improvement of Ireland resulting therefrom) to increase the employment and the remuneration of labor.

The first of these benefits has not taken place to any perceptible extent, and if it should there is nothing to prevent the occurrence of what has been and is every day happening in England, namely, the gradual absorption of small properties by purchase and sale, compelled or voluntary, into the larger estates of their rich neighbours. The second has been to a small, and very small, extent achieved in one of its branches, that of a reduction (infinitesimal,) of the amount of rental in the hands of absentees. In the other branch the progress made is also very small—inasmuch as with the very best intentions in the world a man cannot, unless a large capitalist, lay out money on land immediately after the heavy outlay for its purchase.

The owners of the properties in reference to which the financial operations already quoted of the Encumbered Estates Commissioners have taken place, were of course to that extent relieved of embarrassments, or have had more solvent parties substituted for them. But whatever the reason may be the "improvements" so confidently anticipated have proved but very partial indeed, save in the direction least favorable to the tenantry, namely, in that of an increase of *pasturage* instead of an increase of cultivation; and there being of course nothing in the Encumbered Estates' Act (nor in any other) to restrict the power of ejection of tenantry, or in any way to compel a moderation of rack rents, the one has continued to occur and the other continued to be wanting though nearly as sorely required as ever.

There is a fact of no little discouraging significance which is beginning to be generally known, and therefore may with the less reluctance be mentioned here. Lands that had been freed wholly or partially from incumbrances are *beginning to be charged again*, and the instances of this are *rapidly multiplying*. We trust some Irish member of Parliament will in the approaching session, move for a return on this subject, and cause the

truth to be made known free of exaggerations, or concealments. It must be evident that if this process goes on to any large extent—and considering the whole social and economic condition of Ireland, we see nothing even to impede such a result—the so-called “land revolution” will fall sadly short indeed of what was predicted of it.

We have not space here to extend our brief review of its operation further than to say, in reference to the farmer class, that no security being provided by the act, or as we have said by any other, for the enjoyment by the farmers of the fruits of their industry and enterprise, they naturally abstain from risking the loss of their little capital by investing it in “improvements” which they may not call their own; and the additional employment that the making, entertaining, &c. of those improvements would give to the labouring population, is thus necessarily withheld.

Thus not as regards any one of the four points stated on which the Encumbered Estates’ Act has been held up as affording good promise for the future, can we see reason to concur with its more sanguine applauders,—neither as regards the increase of small proprietors in fee—the sensible diminution of absenteeism, and increase of *home* expenditure,—the substitution upon a large and permanent scale of solvent for insolvent proprietors, with the collateral advantage of a less *rent pressure* on the tenantry in consequence of the more independent circumstances of their new or *emfranchised* landlords,—nor finally, as regards a substantial increase in the employment and pay of labor. A temporary and transitory improvement is all that we can allow, or that can with any amount of ingenuity be shown to exist. In short, there is a “momentary ease” as we have before said, but not to a degree to warrant any great amount of congratulation, and indeed not such as to give solid grounds for better hope in the future. To us that future appears overclouded, and for the considerations that follow.

Taking the simple fact of the inevitable increase of population, we cannot see how their renewed pressure upon the land is to be obviated. If the available land of the country has been increased by reclamation, it has been so far as the people are concerned more than proportionably diminished by the quantity thrown into “grazing farms.” There is no symptom of the increase and spreading of manufactures to give employment to the surplus agriculturists. There is no suggestion how the

means are to be supplied to or acquired by the people, for the purchase of that "better description of food," which they are exhorted and lectured to eat. There has been no such influx of English capital or liberation of Irish as to provide funds for the larger and more general employment and remuneration of labor, and no encouragement nor even common security held out to the farmer classes to spend money in making improvements. In fact, as the law of landlord and tenant now stands, it would be insanity for them so to act. Finally, there is absolutely nothing whatever to prevent the recurrence of the extreme subdivision of the soil, whenever and wherever the gaps in population are filled up. For more than a century there has been an active and most stringent legislation directed against "sub-letting," but it has gone on notwithstanding, as in the absence of other sources of subsistence the "surplus" population, as it has been called, had to have recourse to the parceling out of the land.

We now turn awhile from considerations of the present and speculations on the future to some views of the past, brought under attention by the Census Commissioners, chiefly in their "report on deaths." Before quoting, as we intend to do, from the text of the interesting and valuable "first volume" of this Report (Part V. of the Commissioners' blue books) we think it might be the directest way to give a general idea of the labors and research of those gentlemen, if we lay before the reader a kind of summary of the elaborated contents of that volume:—

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Forty Pages of Special Sanitary Report on Dublin.

The foregoing list of topics, with a not very long appendix and index, occupy 560 pages of a blue book, much of which is in small print.

The kind of "History of the Potato" which is given at page 237 (et seq.) has interest in itself, but more in the light it throws upon the condition of our people at various times.

History dates the introduction of the potato into the British Isles at about 1586—and Youghal in the South of Ireland, the residence of its introducer, Sir Walter Raleigh, is named as the spot whereon it was first cultivated about, or prior to the year 1602. But as the estates of Raleigh passed to the Boyle family in that year, the potato must have been planted before that period. Clusius, the botanist of Leyden, says the potato was cultivated in Italy prior to that date, and Ouvier denied that Europe derived the potato from Virginia. Sir Robert Southwell, President of the Royal Society, stated at one of its meetings in 1693, that potatoes had been introduced into Ireland by his grand-father, who first had them from Sir Walter Raleigh. From Youghal the potato subsequently spread over the country. But at what time the potato became a staple article of the food of the Irish people is a question upon which historic evidence is not so clear. The subject of the early history of the potato engaged

the philosophical mind of Sir Joseph Banks half a century since ; \* yet notwithstanding the great learning and research which he brought to bear upon the subject, it is still surrounded with so much difficulty as to partake of the nature of speculation.

For a long time after the introduction of the potato, corn, peas, and beans, and, possibly, parsnips, still formed part of the food of the people ; and from the researches which we have made it is evident that its cultivation was very irregular throughout the country, some localities, especially in Ulster, having only adopted it generally within the memory of the past generation. *It was grown in gardens as a rarity, used at table as a delicacy, and described by herbalists as an introduced exotic ; but we do not find any warrant for believing that it was at all cultivated by the people as a general article of food until from the end of the seventeenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century.* It is asserted " that potatoes were ordinary food in the south of Ireland before the time of the Commonwealth," because they were introduced at a supper-table ; † but in 1663 Mr. Boyle exhibited some specimens to the Royal Society of London, and read before that body a letter from his gardener at Youghal (the cradle of the potato), in which he describes this esculent as " very good to pickle for winter salads, and also to preserve. They are to be gathered in September, before the frost doth take them ;" and, after describing the best mode of culture, he continues—" I could speak in the praise of the root, what a good and profitable thing it is, and might be to a commonwealth, could it generally be experienced, as the inhabitants of your town can manifest the truth of it." ‡ It would appear from this passage that the potato had not then become an article of common food amongst the Irish, even around the locality where it was first cultivated ; we are, therefore, the more surprised at finding Sir William Petty, in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland* (a work believed to have been written in 1672, although not published until 1691), enumerating among the articles of food, " potatoes from August till May ; muscles, cockles, and oysters near the sea ; eggs, and butter made very rancid

\* Transactions of the Horticultural Society, Vol. I., for 1812 ; read May 7th, 1805.

† See " An Account of an Irish Quarter," printed in 1654, and quoted by T. Crofton Croker, in his " Popular Songs of Ireland, with Introductions and Notes," where several authorities relating to this subject are quoted. Gerrard, the English herbalist of 1597, is one of the first authors who alludes to the potato, and after him Richard Bradley, F.R.S., in his " Planting and Gardening," published in 1634. At a meeting of the Royal Society, in March, 1662, a letter was read, containing a proposal for " preventing famine, by dispersing potatoes throughout all parts of England ;"—this subject is alluded to in Evelyn's *Sylva*. Threlkeld, the Irish Botanist, described the plant in 1726, and says we had it through Thomas Herriott. See also, upon the subject of the potato, an article on " The Food of the Irish," in the *Dublin University Magazine* for February, 1854, and Mr. M'Adams' learned paper in the *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture* for 1834-5.

‡ See Birch's *History of the Royal Society*.



by keeping in bogs."\* The present great historian of England would lead us to believe that the potato was cultivated in Ireland to such an extent as to influence the character and feelings of the people, so early as 1689; and he certainly has authority for the statement;† for in Tom Durfey's "Irish Hudibras," published in the May of that year, the esculent is frequently referred to; and after the arrival of William III., the natives are said to have been prevented enjoying their "Banni-clabber [thick milk] pottados." John Dunton, likewise, in his "Conversation in Ireland," published in 1699, describes the Irish cabin in his day as having behind it "the garden, a piece of ground sometimes of half an acre or an acre, and in this is the turf-stack, their corn, perhaps two or three hundred sheaves of oats, and as much peas, the rest of the ground is full of their dearly-beloved potatoes, and a few cabbages." Again, describing the habits of the people generally from Galway to Kilkenny, he says, "Bonny-Clabber and Mulahaan, alias sowre milk and choak-cheese, with a dish of potatoes boiled, is their general entertainment;" and in the "keens" of that day, allusion is made to the "pigs and potato garden." Moreover, John Haughton, who published his "Husbandry and Trade" in 1699, when describing the growth of the potato in Ireland, says, it has "thrived very well and to good purpose, for in their succeeding war, when all the corn above ground was destroyed, this supported them; for the soldiers, unless they had dug up all the ground where they grew, and almost sifted it, could not extirpate them." And then he adds, "now they begin to spread all the kingdom over." The potato was not adopted equally early in all parts of the country, for in districts of Ulster, not more than two generations back, potatoes were seldom used after harvest.‡ The potato was introduced from Ireland into Lancashire about 1633, and that was the first district of England in which it was "extensively cultivated. It was there the disease styled the *curl* first made its appearance in 1778; before which period it was altogether unknown."§ "Without, however, extending this notice of the potato to too great a length, by quoting the various authorities bearing upon the subject, or critically analyzing the ingenious speculations of writers, we may remark that,—as all modern experience has proved the potato to be one of the most fickle in its growth of any vegetable cultivated to the same extent, the most likely to suffer from atmospheric vicissitudes, and the most liable to

\* The subject of this "bog butter," alluded to by Petty, and also mentioned in the Irish Hudibras, has been as yet but partially investigated, although large quantities of it have been found, and many specimens preserved in museums. From what we have been able to collect respecting it, there is no reason for doubting the assertions of Petty and Durfey, that this butter was buried at the end of the seventeenth century. See a curious account of the *Tallow dikes* in Lucas Jacobson Debes' "Description of the Islands and Inhabitants of Fœroer." 1676. For farther information on this subject, see also Mr. Wilde's paper in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, for 1856.

† Macaulay's History of England, Vol. III., p. 158, and Vol. IV., p. 110.

‡ M'Skimin's "History of Carrickfergus."

§ Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopedia.

disease—had it been cultivated in Ireland to such an extent as to constitute the most material portion of the food of the people, its failures would have been noticed in history, contemporaneously with those other losses of food which have been so frequently recorded since the middle of the seventeenth century. As already stated, the potato was introduced into Ireland at the end of the sixteenth century; but we have no proof that it was so extensively planted as to become a staple article of human food, and to displace corn to any extent, until towards the end of the seventeenth century. The first great destruction of the potato crop occurred in the winter of 1739—40, and was attributed to the early, very severe, and long-continued frost of that period. There had been a very wet summer and autumn in 1739; and although the frost, no doubt, was one of the chief causes of its destruction, yet we are inclined to think that the potato failures in 1739, '40, and 1741, were not altogether attributable to the severity of the winters. A century ago, imprevi- dence and bad agriculture were more marked than in the present day; and thus, when the great frost broke out in the November of 1739, and which increased in intensity during the following month, it found all the potato crop not already used, in the ground, either undug, or in pits with such a loose covering of earth as was penetrable to the frost; and thus it was said that the potato crop was destroyed in one night. Three hundred thousand people are stated to have perished of famine resulting from this failure. Even in 1741 the people were cautioned against eating potatoes, which were believed to be diseased, and likely to produce disease in man.

It appears then that whatever may be the supposed depraved taste of our population in our own times, the Irish people of former days required no lecturing, nor scourging by famine and pestilence, to induce them to eat other food besides the potato. "For a long time after the introduction of the potato," says the extract we have just given, "*corn, peas, and beans*, and, possibly, parsnips, *still formed part* of the food of the people." It appears too that whereas theorists of the present day are very anxious to get rid of the potato—(we have heard and believe that at a meeting some years ago of a certain society in Ireland, much in favor with rich agriculturists, a potato plant was exhibited labelled "*The Upas-tree of Ireland*"! )—there were writers equally forward to recommend it formerly, as in the letters alluded to in the notes to the foregoing extract—letters written in 1662 and 1663 to the Royal Society of London.

The eighteenth century brought the potato into general use, for the simple reason that the impoverishment of the people and of the country diminished their consumption of other food. For a long time Irish industry, aided by the goodness of her

soil and climate, maintained a stout fight against the ravaging effects of civil war and legalized plunder; resisting even the effects of Strafford's misgovernment in the early part of the seventeenth century, of the wasting civil wars in the middle of it, and the ungenerous and cruel legislation against her commerce in Charles II's reign.

"I have discouraged," wrote Strafford to his master, Charles I. in July, 1636, "the clothing trade of Ireland, and will discourage it, in regard it would trench not only on the clothing trade of England so as if the Irish should manufacture their own wool, which grows in very great quantities, we (the English) should not only lose the profit we made now by in-draping their goods, but his Majesty lose extremely by his customs. And in conclusion, it might be feared they might beat us out of the trade itself by underselling us, which they were able to do."

In Charles the Second's reign passed the 12 Chas. II., chap. 4, prohibiting our export of wool to England; next the 15 Chas. II., chap. 7, prohibiting our cattle export thither, and all valuable export trade to the Colonies; then the 22 and 23 Charles II., forbidding all valuable import trade *from* the Colonies to us. The destructive agency of civil war was again called into action in the period 1688-91; and the moment it was over, legislation, not less injurious to the commercial interests of the country, began again, with the 1st William and Mary, chapter 32, the 7 and 8 William III. chapter 32, and finally the 10 William III. chap. 3. The result is thus described by the historian Barlow:—

"Ireland had rapidly increased in wealth and improvement to the admiration and envy of her neighbours, till it was again laid waste by the revolutionary wars under William III., and even from this calamity it was recovering with astonishing quickness. But the effects were permanent of the restricting laws then passed—insurmountable by the fertility of the soil, the ingenuity of the inhabitants, the navigable rivers and multitude of harbours of Ireland."—*Barlow, Vol. I, p. 290.*

Here then we have the cause only too lamentably patent and unmistakeable, why the better articles of food began to disappear out of the dietary of the Irish peasant, and the potato to "displace corn from the end of the seventeenth century."

The Laws punishing the profession and practice of the

Catholic Religion as a crime, and plundering and persecuting its votaries—the “Penal Laws,” as they are generally called, added their mischievous operation to that of the evil legislation already spoken of. Catholics were thereby prevented from acquiring property in land, or even retaining what they had, save in small portions and as tenants at will;—from pursuing trade or any business in corporate towns; from all, even the humblest, situations of emolument, and were mulcted on every pretence and all possible occasions. As they formed the great bulk of the nation, the economic derangement resulting from these repressions, and restrictions upon their industry and enterprise was of course very great, and affected the whole body politic. The difference of religion too between the recognized, that is, the *Protestant* proprietors of land and their Catholic tenantry, embittered the relations between them, and aggravated the consequences of the continually increasing pressure of population upon their sole means of employment and subsistence, that supplied by the holding of small parcels of land. Rack-renting, with all its train of misery and wretchedness, became the rule, and deterioration of agriculture and a further diminution of national wealth necessarily followed. Under all these circumstances there can be no just ground for wonder, that the people ceased to live and *feed* as well as formerly; and until the yet remaining results of those evils, and the continued operation of such among them as still subsist, shall be obviated or counteracted, it is in reality little other than a mockery of the people’s sufferings to talk about “persuading them to eat better food!”

We find ourselves under an exceedingly great temptation here to quote from successive writers and commentators on the state of Ireland during the last 150 years, in further illustration of the evils which bad legislation and misgovernment have inflicted during that period upon Ireland; but to do so at any length would be in fact to write a history of that period, and would swell the present paper far beyond any reasonable dimensions. Not to go back so far as Sir Wm. Petty, (founder of the fortunes of the present Marquis of Lansdowne, though not his direct ancestor,) and to other writers of the latter portion of the 17th century, we have Swift, Thomas Prior, Primate Boulter, &c., in the earlier part of the succeeding century, bearing their witness to the evils at work and the evils they were producing. Swift speaks of

The intolerable hardships we lie under in every branch of our trade, by which we are become as hewers of wood and drawers of water to our vigorous neighbours. The idleness of many; but this is an effect of the former, created by English misrule. A great cause is that Egyptian bondage of cruel, oppressing and covetous landlords, by which the spirit of the people is broken and made for slavery, the farmers and cottagers throughout the kingdom being to all intents and purposes as real beggars as those to whom we give our charity in the streets, and those cruel landlords are every day unpeopling the kingdom. It is a very melancholy reflection that such a country as ours, which is capable of producing all things necessary and most things convenient for life, sufficient for four times the number of its inhabitants, should yet be under the heaviest load of misery and want. *Swift's Works, Vol. 6-10, &c., &c.*

We are at no loss to point out the sources of our misfortunes—no country labours under so wasteful a drain of its treasure as Ireland, without the least value returned. There is not in history an instance of any one country paying so large a yearly tribute to another. (*Prior, 1729.*)

There is no country in Europe which produces and exports so great a quantity of beef, butter, tallow, hides and wool, as Ireland does, and yet our common people are very poorly clothed, go barefoot half the year, and very rarely taste of that flesh meat with which we so much abound." (*List of Absentees, 1783.*)

"While neither money nor goods go out of England for Irish exports to England, nor for Irish exports on English account elsewhere, they are paid by the expenditure of Irish Estates in England. The drafts from Ireland by those who spend the rents of their Irish Estates, &c., in England, the monopoly of wool and profits on other trades on which we restrict the Irish, amount to millions. (*Britain's Commercial Interest, 1767.*)

If one reflect on the great advantages Ireland has from its situation for trade, the number and excellency of its ports, the clemency and healthfulness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, the convenience of its rivers, &c., &c., we should conclude it one of the happiest kingdoms on earth. But reflect what little use Great Britain has made of these advantages. She has wretchedly mismanaged our trade, so as to impoverish us and our tillage, so as to starve us—she has sent away our wealth and goods, made our nobility and gentry absentees, and instead of a gainful trade, handicraft arts, &c., &c., we have been made little better than contemptible drovers and butchers for others.

(*Madden's Reflections and Resolutions, 1738, p. 9.*)

"The Popery Laws were equally repugnant to humanity and good policy. The first great principle of government ought to be, to make every subject of the State as useful to it as possible; it is impossible for Papists to become such under their present circumstances, (1772.)

The Papists incur penalties for foreign education, yet are not allowed education at home—they cannot be physicians, lawyers, soldiers—If they become traders and mechanics, they scarcely enjoy the rights of citizens. If farmers, they shall not improve, *being discouraged by short limitation of tenure*, and yet there is complaint of the dullness and laziness of a people, *whose spirit is restrained from exertion, and whose industry has no reward to excite it.* (*Secretary Hutchinson's Account of Ireland, 1773.*)

Restrained at every step by the recollection of our limits we have not only had to abbreviate considerably the few passages we have given, but to omit many, from other writers and authorities all tending the same way. And under similar pressure we pass over more than 60 years from the last date quoted to come to modern expressions of opinion.

We preface them with saying, that, although a better understanding of the real and permanent interest of all, has put an end, in so far as these countries are concerned, to violations of free trade and natural right in matters of commerce and mutual exchange, the *effects* of the old injurious laws have not passed away, nor above all has the wasting money-drain from Ireland ceased. Absenteeism is greater than ever; Irish taxes have been largely increased, while *Public Expenditure in Ireland* has largely diminished, as her comparatively small amount of manufactures has only locally and partially increased (in the North of Ireland) the drain of money for articles imported from England, which in a better state of things we might produce and sell cheaper at home, has of course not been reduced.

The "*Devon Report*," p. 12 of the "*Digest*," published in 1847, says:—

"The deep evil in which all others appear to have their source is, the disproportion in the various districts of Ireland between the demand and the supply of labor. And the remedy must be the *Removal of this Disproportion.*"

On the heels of this declaration came the Famine and its direful attendants and followers; and now in the ninth year since the above was written, we see and acknowledge that the famine &c., *have*, to a certain extent, "removed this disproportion." But, *for how long?* And, what other and better agencies did the Devon Commissioners propose, or have any other Commissioners since put forward?

The Devon Report further specified as points to be attended to, with a view to remedy the ills of Ireland—

"The importance and absolute necessity of *securing* to the

occupier some distinct mode of remuneration for permanent improvements. The want of this was confessed, and it is equally wanting at the present day. Parliament has neglected to apply a remedy in this case, and manifests no disposition to approach the task. The Report states, and truly, that "the master-evil, poverty, proceeds from the fact of occupiers withholding the investment of capital and labor from the ample and profitable field for it that lies within their reach,—this withholding being attributable to a reasonable disinclination to invest labor or capital on the property of others without security for remuneration for the investment."—*pp.* 155—8, &c.

There are very many similar passages in various other parts of the Devon Report, but what we have quoted is enough to shew that the want of security or protection to the tenant was as great an evil when Lord Devon drew up his report, as in the days of Swift, of Mr. Secretary Hutchinson, or other writers of the last century from whom we have quoted before.

And what says Mr. Sharnan Crawford, of the present time. We find the following in a letter of his just published, addressed to the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*, on the subject of the state and prospects of the Landlord and Tenant question. It can scarcely be necessary for us to premise that the opinion of such a man—one who has so deeply, intimately and for years studied the question, has a thoroughly practical knowledge of it, and of the condition of the tenant class generally, and by his admirable conduct in his capacity as a large landed proprietor, has so undeniably proved the rectitude and sincerity of his intentions, is entitled to every respect, although we may not go with him in all the details of the remedial measures he has from time to time proposed, and that he may well be accepted as an unimpeachable witness upon the state of the country.

There was never a period when it was of more importance to urge forward a settlement of the land question. If there be that great progressive movement in agricultural improvement which is represented to be in action, then, in order to stimulate its operation, tenant security becomes infinitely more necessary for its further advancement—and now more especially requires the exertions of the friends of that question because its enemies avail themselves of exaggerated statements of the improvements of Ireland to argue that any such measure is not required—that Ireland is prospering without it. I believe that there are several districts in which agricultural improvement has progressed under fostering landlords, and I

also admit the evidence of general improvement, in so far as that there are fewer paupers on the poor's rates and better wages for the labourers on the land where labour is required. But I never can feel assured of national improvement till I see it accompanied with some evidence of a revival of Ireland's exhausted population. I should like to find the working man replaced upon the soil; not, as before, a miserable cottier, renting conacre from a grinding middleman, but holding his piece of land under the head landlord, so circumstanced by tenure or otherwise as to give him full security for the value of his labour expended on it, and drawing from it an independent support for himself and his family.

*In place of this I fear that the exterminating and consolidating system is largely operating. It is the fashionable doctrine to call this, improvement; but the extermination of human beings, and the substitution of brute animals for the human race on the soil of Ireland, is not an improvement grateful to my mind. I fear that some of the facts disclosed in the last agricultural statistical return give evidence that this system is progressing. We find stock of all kinds increasing, while cereal crops are decreasing—but more especially with regard to sheep a vast increase in their number appears since 1852. This is the great stock of the grazier; while the pig, the cottager's stock, declines in its number. I confess I have an apprehension of the undue extension of the grazing system, which in Ireland can only co-exist with a reduced or exterminated population, thus impairing the national resources for every purpose which requires the application of human power. I wish, therefore, to see the real agricultural farmer, whether large or small, stimulated to improve the soil by some law or system of letting which will secure him in the fair profits of the labour and capital he expends, and thus, by increasing production and increasing the demand for labour, to supply the means of sustaining and employing a renovated population.—“Freeman's Journal,” Oct. 15th, 1856.*

If Mr. Sharman Crawford had never said or written anything save the foregoing, he would yet have deserved well of his country. There is more pith, and matter, and truth, and value in those two paragraphs, making together but a short page, than in all the long speeches and disquisitions about Ireland that have been spoken and made by ministers, or opposition, since the famine of 1846—51 forced the more frequent and particular consideration of Ireland upon Parliament, or, we fear we may add, at any time previous. We have italicised two or three passages which deserve special attention—a degree of attention, it is perhaps vain to expect from an English government of any party, while there are so many underlings of office to interpose with plausibilities, and specious statements, that act as opiates to the political conscience.

Limited as was the space we could give to the endeavor, and hurried and compressed as our remarks necessarily have been, we cannot but think we have succeeded better than the



Census Commissioners, in assigning causes for the deplorable fact that the people of Ireland have "*trusted to one species of food alone,*" and that a species so disastrously and fatally precarious.

The whole matter treated of in the "Census Report"—at least with very minute exception indeed—is of a deeply painful nature; and therefore we have no right or pretext to shrink, merely on account of its giving us pain, from touching upon any particular part or parts of it that come fairly within the scope of our review. Amongst these, the question of the *sufficiency*, or otherwise, of *effort* made to *mitigate* the calamities of the famine, appear to have a prominent place. In reference to this, the Commissioners say :—

To alleviate the misery consequent upon this awful famine, the *most strenuous efforts* which human *sagacity, ingenuity, and foresight*, could devise were put in requisition. The British Government granted millions in loans and gifts. Private benevolence throughout the British Isles supplied hundreds of thousands of pounds; the country, (Ireland) through the Poor Law Unions, taxed itself to the utmost of its capabilities; the colonies of Great Britain poured in their contributions; and every civilized country of the world sent its offering of food or money to diminish the amount of human misery then existing in Ireland.

There can be no doubt of the truth of all the latter part of this statement. Private benevolence throughout the three countries nobly did its work—the Colonies most charitably and generously assisted, and the same is to be said of several European nations, including even the *Turks*. America was not behind hand either, in her contribution. It is also true, and pre-eminently true, that Ireland "taxed herself through her Poor Law Unions to the utmost of her capabilities." The British Parliament took good care she should do that. But the British Parliament did *not* itself *make* "*most strenuous efforts*" to alleviate the "misery" of the time. So early as the autumn of 1846, the loss of food—of the food of the *people* of Ireland—was calculated to amount in money-value to £16,000,000, and the British Parliament expended a sum amounting to little more than a million and-a-half, to alleviate the sudden and dreadful destitution. In 1847, the amount of loss was nearly trebled, and the British Parliament voted (and with great difficulty was induced to vote)—a niggard sum of *eight millions*. Some eight or nine years before, it had, with a generosity which was honorable to itself, but totally undeserved

by the recipients, given freely no less than twenty millions of money to the slaveholders of the British West Indies who had no claim in morality or justice to compensation for the loss of their slaves by Emancipation, but rather were criminal for having ever held human beings as property. For the starving and perishing Irish there was far less consideration—the eight or ten millions, (in the two years, 1846-7), was the total sum Parliament gave to them: and so long as there seemed a possibility of getting any portion of it repaid the screw was vigorously applied, and all propositions of further advances were indignantly and insultingly scouted. We do not allude to the illusory proposition of Lord George Bentinck made for a party purpose. The “Sixteen millions” scheme which he proposed would really have effected less than what was otherwise done. At the very utmost not more than four millions a-year were to be expended, whereas the sum actually voted, was made available at once to the fullest extent the immediate emergency required, and the delays were avoided which a change and re-election of ministers, and an organization of the Bentinck-Hudson railway scheme, so as to enable it to be got to work, would inevitably have occasioned. But we do allude to the scornful rejection of the earnest remonstrances and really practical and *honest* suggestions of the popular Irish members.

We do not want to give more credit to the latter than they really deserve, nor to cast more blame upon others than is rightly to be charged. There is no doubt whatever, that on the first sudden announcement of the impending calamity—announced just at the end of the Parliamentary session of 1846, English, Scotch, and Irish members alike—and men of all parties and persuasions who had the means or opportunity of expressing an opinion on the subject, were totally at fault as to what was to be done. A reference to Hansard’s volume for the latter part of that session will shew how completely *puzzled*, in short, our legislators were, and how crude, vague, and hesitating their suggestions of measures of remedy. Under these circumstances the efforts of the Government really did them credit, and confessedly were of service, so far as they went. At any rate there was scant fairness in criticizing them, after the sudden emergency which they at least partially met, was over for the time, and especially the criticism is unfair on the part of those who really had nothing better or other to propose. Nor is the inadequacy of after measures—

those adopted in the succeeding years, a ground for exclusive blame of the Ministry of the day ; for without dreaming of exonerating them from a portion of the censure, and a heavy portion of it, it should be borne in mind, that the House of Commons was got with great reluctance to go even so far as the ministerial plan proposed, and that any attempt to go farther would *certainly* have been indignantly rejected, as was proved by the manner in which the subsequent suggestions and enlarging amendments we have before mentioned that proceeded from popular Irish members, were treated by the House.

When speaking of the efforts of the Government we should not omit to mention the great stimulus they received from the earnest humanity of the then Lord Lieutenant, the lamented Lord Besborough, and his Chief Secretary, the Right Hon. Mr. Labouchere. If it had lain within their power, far more extended measures of relief would have been carried out in Ireland, and hundreds of thousands of lives would have been saved.

We cannot omit the following general description by the Census Commissioners of the state of things that had to be dealt with :—

Some idea of the destitution may be formed from the facts that on one day, the 3rd of July 1847—out of a population of about eight millions, *nearly three millions received food gratuitously* from the relieving officers, and *in addition, as many as 99,920 rations* were sold at a moderate cost to those who were unable to procure food otherwise :—that the Public Works afforded in March 1847, employment to 734,000 people ; and that there existed 131 Workhouses, *with their Auxiliaries* and Hospitals, giving, within the space of two years, shelter, food, and raiment, to 1,027,602 persons, and at one period 800,000 were *relieved daily*, at the charge of the poor-rates :—that, in addition to the ordinary eleemosynary institutions, 207 temporary fever hospitals, through which passed, during 1847 and 1848, as many as 279,723 persons, were erected ;—and that an emigration amounting to very nearly a million, occurred in six years. . . . With all efforts to relieve famine and avert disease, hundreds died from actual starvation ; thousands wasted away in the poor-houses, and thousands also perished from disease induced by despondency of mind and prostration of physical strength ! . . . These details will afford some notion of the extent of destitution and disease which devastated Ireland, leaving extensive districts of it uncultivated, and presenting the most desolate appearance.

It is but fair, after the remarks we have made on the inadequacy of the measures of relief, to give the statement of them, which the Commissioners have embodied in Part V. of their

**Report.** And it is a more pleasing act of justice to take the opportunity of stating what was done by private benevolence.

"Advances nearly amounting to £10,000,000 were made by Parliament; Local and Central Relief Associations distributed sums which could not have fallen very far short of a million and a-half as estimated by the "Friends or Quakers-Committee." Sir C. Trevelyan thus estimated it:—

Advances under 9 Vic., c. 7,—9 and 10 Vic., cap. 107.		
"Labour Rate Act"; and 10 Vic., c. 7. ("Temporary Relief Act,")		
Loans for Building Workhouses,	...	£6,967,420
Debts of Distressed Unions,	...	1,420,780
Grants by Parliament, 1845-9.	...	300,000
		844,521
Total,		£9,532,721
Arterial Drainage and Land Improvement, 1846-8,	...	
under Board of Works,	...	1,191,187
		£10,700,000

Of these advances, &c., the following, however, have been partially and are to be fully repaid, viz:—

Workhouses,	...	...	...	...	£1,420,780
Drainage and Land Improvement	...	...	...	...	1,191,187
Certain Votes under Board of Works	...	...	...	...	300,000
Repayments under Labour Rate Act	...	...	...	...	250,000
					£3,161,967

The actual amount, therefore, of *bonâ fide* grants given to Ireland in her dire necessity, was *less than eight millions*! This was the full extent of the "liberality and generosity" of the British Parliament. *Not one half* of the estimated amount of Ireland's loss in the very beginning of her visitation, the autumn of 1846. And we confidently say, that if there be an error in our calculation, it is on the side of *exaggeration* of those "gifts," and not on that of diminution.

Now for *private* exertions:—

When the potato failure of autumn, 1846, became known, the Society of Friends in London opened a subscription; and the British Association for the relief of extreme distress in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland was formed on the 6th of January, 1847. A "queen's letter" was issued with the same object; and the 24th of March was appointed by proclamation for religious observances "in behalf of ourselves and our brethren, who in many parts of the United kingdom are suffering extreme famine and sickness." . . . The remotest stations in India—the most recent settlements in

Canada, contributed, and, £625 was subscribed by British residents in Mexico. The sum collected under the queen's letter was £171,533; by the British Associations £263,251. Five-sixths of these sums were sent to Ireland, the other one-sixth to the Highlands of Scotland. The National Club in London collected £17,930. The General Relief Committee for all Ireland collected (in Ireland), upwards of £50,000, independent of £10,000 in cash, and an equal value in food, sent them from the sum raised by the queen's letter.

British North America sent	...	...	...	£12,463
United States	...	...	...	5,852
British India	...	...	...	5,674
Cape of Good Hope	...	...	...	2,900
Australia	...	...	...	2,282
Ireland herself (independent of local subscriptions)				9,888
Detached subscriptions in England	...	...	...	8,886
The Society of Friends collected and were sent,			...	168,000
of which £108,651 were spent on food, and £5,000 to				
£10,000 was the value of clothes sent from America and				
England. The "Ladies Relief Association for Ireland"				
raised	...	...	...	£11,463
South America	...	...	...	772
The Military	...	...	...	386
Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Gibraltar,				
The Channel, West Indian, and Ionian Islands	...			2,168
Irish Relief Association, including £17,782 from England,				
£151 from Ireland, France £1,390; Italy £2,708; Bri-				
tish America £2,821; United States £847; India				
£5,947; West Indies £1,043; Australia £2,314; and				
£508 from Military, Pensioners, and Constabulary.				42,000
(p.p. 286—288, vol. v.)				

The statement of the foregoing account, as we copy it from the "*Census Report*," appears to want some clue to explain whether the double entries, if we may so call them, for various parts of the world represent repeated contributions, or are simply different modes of classing the same items.

We observe that Turkey has been omitted in the preceding enumeration of our foreign sympathisers. The Sultan of Turkey contributed the splendid donation of one thousand pounds sterling!—besides which there were a few minor sums from private parties in Constantinople.

A thousand other details of interest and great value can be extracted from the "*Census Report*," and its pains-taking and copious Appendices. It has not been in our power to do more than (if we may be pardoned the expression) *summarise* the leading and principal of them. But the results of the Commissioners' most intelligent and indefatigable labors are not such as can be discussed and dismissed at one review of them,

and would require and repay many and many a *searching* before anything approaching to justice could be done, or those labors be adequately appreciated. Indeed there is hardly one, if there be one, subject connected with Ireland, from the most interesting archaeological and philological matter supplied to the Commissioners by those whom they no more than rightly designate "the eminent Irish scholars," Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. Eugene Curry, M.R.I.A., down to the latest statistics of a village national school, that is left untouched, or respecting which information is not given.

On one point, and one point alone, do they seem to be seriously at fault; and on that point they only share the fate of a multitude of other writers and public men of the present and preceding times. We allude to their prognostication of the coming fortunes of Ireland.

We make no pretence to keener foresight or better success ourselves. All that we pretend to is, to see more reason for doubting the efficacy of the measures and agencies to which they look for the permanent improvement of Ireland.

We admit of course that the Encumbered Estates' Act was one of absolute necessity under the circumstances of the country, and has operated beneficially; but *not* that it has raised up a class of small *proprietors*, nor that it has anything in it to check the tendency of property in these countries to agglomerate in the hands of a small number of rich men. Neither has it checked, save in a very small degree, the evils of absenteeism; nor has it caused upon the property of absentees, or of residents, any large increase of expenditure for permanent improvements.

We admit the increase of "*grazing farms*;" but we also *deplore* it. With Mr. Sharman Crawford and others we cannot bring ourselves to rejoice that animals are supplanting men.

We admit an improvement of agriculture, but not in proportion to Great Britain. The area under wheat in England has increased 36 per cent., in Scotland 35, or nearly so; while in Ireland it has increased but 18½ per cent. And we have before quoted from page xxxiii of the Census Report, that the number of families engaged in agriculture has decreased from 66 per cent. in 1841 to 53 per cent. in 1851.

We admit a diminution of small holdings, but deny that that is necessarily a benefit. On the Continent the countries

that are most prosperous internally are those in which the land is in a great number of hands. In our own country, the counties of Armagh and Down have been often boasted of and held up as examples of industry, thrift, and prosperity; while the county Tipperary, which they together equal in extent, has long been notorious for the poverty and bad condition of its people. Yet Armagh and Down had between them no less than 25,385 farms *under 5 acres* in area; and only 2,174 farms over 30 acres; while Tipperary had but 13,000 small farms and 3000 of the larger; and this before the famine and the great emigration.

We admit present high prices and of course we admit that there has been a good harvest. Both those circumstances being necessarily transitory, cannot be of much value to the "prosperity" argument. And we regret to say, that while we write accounts are multiplying of the fatal spread of the potato disease in many parts of Ireland.

We admit of course the fact that population in Ireland is at present in a better proportion to the means of subsistence, than before the terrible ravages of famine and pestilence; but we see no sort of provision made nor policy inaugurated whereby, when population increases again, as increase it will and must, a corresponding increase shall take place in the means of subsistence. And after all that has been said and written, and avowed and declared of the expediency and desirableness of settling the distracted relations between landlord and tenant, nothing at all has been done towards that end, and towards giving the farmers of Ireland that reasonable security for the enjoyment of the results of their own industry and expenditure of capital without which they would be little better than insane if they expended their labor and their money on the soil.

The breathing time which, at the expence of so much misery and suffering, has been obtained by the statesmen who control our fortunes, is fast passing away; the old evils un-eradicated are threatening to grow up anew, ere long, ranker and more obstinate than ever, and no provision is being made to meet them. The best service that could be done the present or any other set of men holding the reins of power and responsible for the destinies of this country, would surely be, not to assist in lulling them to sleep with sadly unfounded congratulations, but to waken them sharply up to the real preca-

riousness of the present calm in the condition of Ireland, and to the very evident symptoms of the social distractions which may be slowly, but still are most assuredly, growing and threatening again.

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NOTE ON PAGE 850 OF THE FOREGOING PAPER.

Very many authorities supporting the opinions stated or quoted in this portion of the foregoing, will be found in the papers entitled "The Survey of Ireland," *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Vol. II., No. 6, p. 217; "Rev. Samuel Madden," Vol. III., No. 11, p. 693: Ibid; "Maguire on the Development of Irish Industry," p. 735. Also in *The Repeal Prize Essays*: Dublin: Duffy, 1845; in the *Reports of the Parliamentary Committee of the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland*, 3 vols. Dublin: Browne, 1845; and also in one of the most valuable books which the student of our political history, in its rise and fall, can read, *An Argument for Ireland*, By John O'Connell, Esq., M.P. Dublin: Browne, 1847; Second edition.—ED. I. Q. R.



## ART. VII.—MR. MIALl AND HIS IRISH POLICY.

*The Liberator : a Monthly Journal of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control.* Nos. I. to XVIII. London.

*The Non-Conformist*, Nov. 12, 1856.

The English Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage, has reached that period of existence, when the observer in politics is obliged to make account of its presence and action, although, perhaps, he may not, as yet, be able to forecast the measure of its success. Nor is that success altogether matter of conjecture, calculation, or experiment. The fruits of the movement have been early but not unripe; although small they are sappy and full-flavoured. England, late our pupil, is now our mistress in political agitation. When a trade, a manufacture, an adventure, no matter where it may have originated, is in perfect harmony with the genius of a people, its development will be thoroughly national. The system of agitation invented by O'Connell had wonderful, though often secret, affinities with the English character. Its organization was practical from the outset, but in England herself it became so emphatically English as to preserve hardly a trace of relationship with the Irish original. Agitation in Ireland required to be stimulated by eloquence, to be amused by wit; it was wayward, pettish, and subject to intervals of languor. As it was the creation of genius, it never condescended to work for mediocrity. Like the bow of Ulysses, no humouring could supple, as no strength could force it, until it recognised its master's touch; and great indeed was the master who could collect the waste and straggling energies of a people like the Irish, give aim to their irregular impetuosity, reanimate it when spent, and check it when violent, reconciling and

matching its opposing elements till he made them obedient by habit and united through obedience. But the organization, working under this influence, although as perfect as the materials would admit of, was necessarily such as to obey no other influence. Before O'Connell's day we were the Bashi-Bazooks of politics; he made the most of us, but we are Bashi-Bazooks to-day, unreclaimed, though, it is to be hoped, not irreclaimable. We start upon our campaign in rather imposing force; brandishing the most dissimilar but formidable looking weapons; bestriding hobbies, wild, and often freshly caught; uttering the bravest words, pledging the most indissoluble union, plighting the most sacred troth. For a time we put our gipsy tendencies under a restraint that would be heroic if it lasted. We have not of course forgotten ourselves to stone that we should see a friend's house without indistinct suggestions of free quarters and forced contributions; true it is, at the sight of a well dressed traveller, or even of a brother Bashi in a lonesome place, instinct will speak, and we feel mechanically for our knives; but in the end we do control ourselves severely, and are virtuous though with a sigh. Nature, however, soon has her way for she is stronger in our leaders than in our very selves, and the historian of the war has early to chronicle our doings on our friends and on each other. No one is unfamiliar with the exploits of the well known chief called *Tablet* in the course of the last year. He came to the service from another country, exactly as a countryman of his undertook to make a Macedonian phalanx out of the original Bashis. Agreeably to custom, and just as Colonel Clutterbuck might become Sefid Pasha, he took the name of *Tablet*, once belonging to a deceased leader whose armoury he inherited, but who living overtopped him by the head and shoulders, and whose palm was so broad that the lance he bequeathed was too big for both the hands of his successor. *Tablet* II. came to his command with unexceptionable testimonials; he had letters of introduction to all the authorities, but unfortunately he soon proved a more decided Bashi than any of the rank and file he came to drill. His first attack was upon a general officer of the Parliamentary force, Moore by name, with whom, in the language of that corps, he was supposed to be in the habit of acting. The polish and temper of that officer's weapon are generally known, but the place was ugly, the road slippery, and the occasion altogether too seductive for the weakness of a Bashi. *Tablet* II. ventured a blow

with the spear of *Tablet* I., yea and got pinked with the edge as well as beaten with the flat of the general's sabre. But he was neither intimidated, nor reformed. Thus there is, in these regions, a house known as the Catholic University, a modern structure, sheltered, however, by venerable names while awaiting the growth of a young and small, but flourishing plantation by which it is surrounded. *Tablet* professes an intense concern for its prosperity, but the Bashi-Bazook is great and will prevail within him. He has frequently to pass the place in the course of his expeditions, and never does so without attempting to break a window or chip an ornament, if he cannot force a door, or scale a wall, for with the entire force, mischief is only less a passion than plunder. We might instance another celebrated partisan called "*Nation*," and promoted equally with *Tablet* to the place and name of a preceding leader; for *Nation* is, perhaps, even more predatory and irregular in his habits than *Tablet*. His appearance cannot fail to strike the least observant spectator, since he carries, in the most conspicuous place, the spoils of many friends and enemies. He has a German silver puzzle from Carlyle, a tatter of fustian from Meagher, a vinegar cruet from Victor Hugo, and a metaphor from Castlereagh. He has waylaid and attacked his brother officer, *Freeman*, and has totally lost sight of the enemy in fencing with his friends generally.

The entire list would carry us too far, but no one can say that this is an over-coloured or distorted picture of the hopelessness of Irish politics, or that upon the overthrow of the O'Connell influence, political society did not drop asunder. It would be desirable, no doubt; and profitable, to investigate the more immediate causes of this weakness, this paralysis, this decomposition of political life. They are to be found of course, to some extent, in the national character itself, but principally in the depravation of that character by past misgovernment, and by the actual misconduct of those whose natural duty it is to guide, moderate and reform the temper of the Irish mind. At all events, effective agitation in Ireland has died out because the success of our movements is far too intimately connected with the personal qualities of our leaders. In England as every one knows it is far otherwise. The anti-corn-law league was modelled to a great extent upon the various Irish associations which had gone before it, but neither oratory nor wit, nor enthusiasm, had a share in its management. The league altogether resembled

the Society at present working for the disendowment of religion. That Society is governed and set in motion by a cool and resolute purpose to compass its end by any fair and available means. It grows out of the voluntary consent of earnest men to work together for a common object. It is not swaddled in pledges or engagements; it is not tied up to the letter of a programme; it extorts no sacrifices from its members; it appeals to their interest rather than to their virtue; it relies upon facts more than upon principles; and is willing to fetch a circuit, where the straight road is beset. A representative character it must have to some extent, as it has been pushed to the surface by public opinion, but it does not assume any species of deputed authority, as that might involve the responsibility of making bargains or agreeing to compromises, a delicate, dangerous, and ungrateful duty. Its great strength is in the simplicity and distinctness of its object and its office. Its object is one, the disendowment of religion, and therefore its office is one, the promotion of that object. It does not regard itself as a contracting party enabled to make terms with a religious establishment, for the society has no business in life but the destruction of the Establishment. The operations of the Society are just the dissemination of its opinions at all seasons, and their application wherever that is possible; no matter how trifling the occasion, or how apparently unimportant the success. The circulation of tracts, the registration of opinion, the support of a journal exclusively their own, the supply of practical instruction in the working of the movement, the collection and tabulation of all desirable statistics, the promotion and publication of lectures upon the objects of the body, a regular scrutiny of the parliamentary divisions, in reference to the subject of religious equality—such are the principal modes of action adopted by the Society, whose leading publication, the "Liberator," has completed its first year and first eighteen numbers, representing eighteen months of existence. The operations of the Society as recorded in this volume are nothing wonderful; it does not seem to have the slightest ambition to be looked upon as an infant prodigy. It no way courts a reputation like that of baby pianists who at four years of age execute brilliant fantasias and derange your entire nervous system with variations of the "Carnaval de Venise," but lose all attraction when the nature triumphs over brandy, and the infant reaches four feet eight. The dimensions of the Society are not out of proportion.

tion with its years. Somewhat spare, but compact, sinewy, and active, it is gradually filling in. The questions at present disturbing the Church Establishment in England, and eating into the compromise, by which alone it exists, are daily detaching members from its communion, and whether these take the direction of Rome or Geneva, the hands of the society are strengthened. From whatever cause, the communicants of the Establishment are thinning in number. A Tractarian curate insists upon a travestie of Catholic symbolism, and a table, a candlestick, a hood, a flower-pot, a nothing, costs him half his congregation. The odious emblem, and perhaps the offending minister, is removed, but the congregation will not return, and the Society for the disendowment of religion has zealous adherents in the new dissenters. Suppose on the other hand, a peer, an influential commoner, an eminent lawyer, a great lady, an archdeacon, a vicar, a fellow of college, passes over to the Roman Church, the Establishment has perhaps no active hostility to dread from him, but its supporters are diminished, its numbers are thinned, although in a degree scarcely perceptible; and above all that exasperation is increased, which will eventually lead to new defections, and give additional strength and prominence to the leaders of what is called the voluntary movement.

The society is peculiarly dangerous to the Establishment, because it never stumbles from impetuosity, and is never disappointed from being over sanguine. It makes up in activity what it wants in weight, and husbands its strength for the opportunity which its vigilance detects or its sagacity provides. Hence if its efforts be modest they are at least successful, and its blows always tell, for they are aimed not at the most vital but the most exposed parts of the Establishment; and provided it inflict a real injury it finds abundant matter for gratification although the injury itself be small. The agitation it has for some years been leading against church rates is an instance of this. The question of church rates by no means involves the principle contended for, as a man may be a faithful son of the Establishment and yet vote against a rate. But the merit of the society lies in having appropriated the question, and clothed it with a character which perhaps did not originally belong to it. The object of the voluntaries is plainly to habituate bodies of the people to act in opposition to the Establishment, to regard this opposition as a normal and necessary state of

things, and to acquire a conviction that the Establishment is vulnerable. Accordingly every defeat of a rate, and every narrow escape from defeat, is carefully registered; the progress or decay of opposition in every parish is noted for the instruction of the public; the state of opinion and action in the colonies with reference to the object of the Society are all collected into a body of data, enabling the directors of the movement to keep it well in hand, and turn events to account at the desirable moment. This is done without anger, agitation, or apparent effort. The Association goes to its daily work with the same regularity, and with the like absence of excitement or emotion that belongs to the man of business, who never invokes his gods or appeals to his own or other people's passions, or even thinks it necessary to waste an argument when he presses for the winding up of a dishonest and decrepit concern. The association and the man of business have their work to do, and they both do it without question or hesitation, as a matter of course, a matter of duty, a matter of necessity, their part in life, their stock in trade, their reason of existence; and it is not difficult or hazardous to predict success for an association of this kind when its aim is just and its means honorable.

The question is one in which the Irish have of course a more immediate and a more than common interest. They require no enlightenment as to the theory or working of the voluntary system. They take some thirty thousand pounds a year for the education of their clergy as a matter of convenience, but as a matter of principle, they support that clergy at a cost of certainly not less than £400,000 per annum, and are, we believe, a thousand times more averse to Government handling than any Protestant in the Empire. They feel the existence of the Establishment in Ireland to be a blot upon their honour, a drain upon their substance, a monument of conquest, a brand of inequality. Its abolition is a long foregone conclusion, and as soon as the ability of the Irish will come to match their strength, there is at once, without waste of breath or expenditure of ink, an end of the Establishment. It will fall because it is opposed to the truth of things, because it has no proper place in nature, no function in the economy of the State—because it is a mere nuisance, a naked deformity. It will disappear because it has no life from the blood of the country, not even from a vice in the blood; it will fall because it cannot pretend even to the odious but undoubted relationship of an excrescence; it will fall because it is altogether

foreign to us and to our system ; it will fall because it is not a part of the nation, but a cap-and-bells or convict's jacket, the emblem of our folly and the garb of our servitude. This, whether expressed or suppressed, has been the feeling of the country for many a bitter year, and will continue to be its feeling during the duration of the Establishment. Our friends the English voluntaries will therefore understand that what is a principle with them is an instinct with us. As soon as it shall be in our power the Establishment must fall. Compromise is impossible ; the same island, according to the remark of an authority we shall quote presently, cannot contain a Catholic people free to work its will, and a Protestant establishment existing in defiance of that will. So long as the English form of Protestantism is maintained in Ireland as an established religion, so long will the members of that communion be looked upon as a garrison, and its ministers as garrison chaplains and no more. As an establishment it purports to be something national ; but if it be odious as a reality, it is ten-fold odious as a fiction. To an English voluntary, Church establishments are suggestive of simple injustice, but with us the idea is more complex : involving literal murder ; robbery as undoubted as ever earned a halter upon land or short shrift upon sea ; persecution longer, more immoral, and more ingenious than ever afflicted man or outraged heaven ; time past, the memory of which is in malediction ; time present that overflows with insult ; hands lately upon our throats ; hands still in our pockets ; hands filled with plunder ; hands filled with bribes ; unappeasable hatred and unquenchable greed.

It is hardly necessary for us to guard against being supposed to say one word in disparagement of the established form of Protestantism, or of any religious confession. With its doctrines or morality we have no concern, although we neither ask nor expect a similar forbearance from its adherents. Our remarks would apply indifferently to any religious communion, holding the same relation to any other country that the English Establishment does to our's. Happily for the world there is nothing remotely like it any where. To us the thirty-nine articles are objects of aversion, only in so far as they outdo the forty thieves. Any man is free to set faith above works, who has the negative grace "to keep his hands from picking and stealing." He may abjure purgatory, but he shan't repudiate his liabilities ; he may teach, for aught we care, the transmi-

gration of his soul, but we shall insist upon the transfer of our property. Nay, more, not only do we abstain from saying anything disrespectful of any form of religion, but since the truth must be told, and since it is right Mr. Miall and the English voluntaries should know us exactly as we are, we feel bound to say that our preference inclines to what in England is called the Churchman, rather than to the Dissenter. There is more consanguinity, more family likeness however faint, between Catholic and Anglican than between Catholic and Dissenter. The very pretensions of Churchmen though we ridicule them; their usurpation of our name and orders, extravagant as it is; their efforts to graft themselves upon our stock; their clumsy affectation of our air and carriage; these things alone have a spice of incense in them, not displeasing to our pride. But if, in addition to this, it be taken into account that the whole circle of Catholic doctrine is to be found in the works of English divines; that the Establishment in England is for us a nursery of clergy more accomplished than any we can afford to educate at home; that while Oxford is spared we can laugh at the disendowment of Maynooth; that the Prayer-book flows from the Missal, and that many of its students act upon the aphorism of Lord Coke, "*Melius esse petere fontes quam sectari rivulos*:" if all this be taken into account it will easily be seen that our hostility is not to the Anglican religion, nor even to the Anglican Establishment in England; but solely to that same Establishment in Ireland. Although agreeing with Mr. Miall as to the superior merit of the voluntary system, especially in an Empire such as ours, we are not such abstracts of virtue as to anticipate with any degree of pleasure the fall of the Establishment in England; and if it be a consequence of the fall of the Irish iniquity, we shall rather regret it, notwithstanding our determination that the latter must fall at any risk and at any cost. On the contrary, we rather hope that the extinction of the Establishment in Ireland will conduce to the prosperity of the Establishment in England, by the removal of a scandal which connects her name with an institution more incurably vicious than any which is known to civilization. Assuredly we have no particular hostility to Anglican Protestants. In England all that we consider hopelessly gangrened is sloughing off into the Salt Lake, the Agape-mone and the Surrey Gardens; while we have on the other hand positive evidence that the Romeward movement called Puseyism



is not on the decline. We do not like the Anglican Establishment the less, that it is plainly dying, that its only signs of life are symptoms of dissolution, and that if it be but allowed to die naturally, our interest in the succession will greatly increase.

We have been perfectly candid with Mr. Miall. We are satisfied to work with him for the extinction of the Establishment in Ireland, not because it may involve that of the same institution in England, but even with some regret that it should. We admit that we are altogether selfish, completely Irish, downright provincial in our views. A nation never can be disinterested. The interests of the English voluntaries and ours are identical, but our motives of action very different. Mr. Miall and those who work with him act in the furtherance of a principle—they are propagandists, apostles; we are nothing more than people endeavouring to get rid of a tyranny, and purge ourselves of a shame. Ours is an instinct, a purpose, a determination which we have inherited, not acquired; which we hold from intuition, not instruction; from conception, not inoculation; which we have neither invented, nor learned, nor even studied, but have pressed forth, caught up and drunk in, from the breasts of nature and of right. Under this feeling we accept the aid of Mr. Miall, the more readily of course that we have faith in his principle, although we are not satisfied with his plan of operations. We cannot approve his general policy in every particular, and we have no respect for an alliance with Mr. Spooner, in the movement against Maynooth, on the mere ground that the withdrawal of the grant would influence the public mind in Ireland against the Established Church to that degree, that its existence could not be prolonged. We consider it immoral for any man of liberal opinions to co-operate with Mr. Spooner; and we believe it to be injudicious, because if the grant be withdrawn from Maynooth, it will not be in consequence of the sound opinions diffused by Mr. Miall, but of the bad passions inflamed by Mr. Spooner. We cannot advocate the policy that would say, "If I cannot subvert the Establishment by strictly legitimate means, I will consider any means legitimate; if I cannot secure the triumph of my principle by its virtue or my own, I will recruit amongst the worst passions that can unsettle the judgment or corrupt the hearts of men. I will commit an injustice that I may have the

satisfaction of repairing it, and perpetuate confusion through the love of order." But this is merely the moral aspect of the question, and we think there is a logical application of our views that will not fail to recommend itself to Mr. Miall.

If Maynooth be suppressed, Mr. Miall well knows, in the first place, that for the time being at least, it will be the triumph of fanaticism, and can only be compassed through the intervention of that fury. His principle will never be able to effect it, and will most positively not be allowed to profit by the event. It is not by stimulating English hatred that you will succeed in abolishing the Irish Establishment. The people of England will not discriminate between the various opponents of Maynooth, for the English as a body are not sufficiently educated in politics to care for Mr. Miall's principle although they are coming to understand it; but they can be influenced by fanaticism to do any wrong at any risk if religion be the pretext and Ireland the victim. On the other hand, Ireland is not what she was; the slouch is wearing out of the gait of Irish Catholics, and along with the slouch they are beginning to forget the swagger in which they sometimes indulged, and not harmlessly. They have for years been in the enjoyment of rights that cannot be kept back; they have been increasing in wealth, intelligence and power. Their ambition will never slacken while the State withholds from them one privilege enjoyed by any class of their countrymen. The dignity of citizenship has had its effect in sobering and giving stability to their character. They threaten less, but they are intuitively more reliant. Their capacity for public duty and their integrity in public trust are no longer matters of speculation. They begin to take promotion as of course, and if they have an accurate remembrance of their wrongs they have a still more distinct apprehension of their rights. Should Maynooth be suppressed the body of the people will not vapour—some foolish oratory will naturally have vent, a given but moderate number of defiances will be hurled, and strong resolutions will be carried by acclamation, but the mischief will not lie there; national animosity will be envenomed to a degree of which Mr. Miall has a faint conception. Seminaries will be established in Naples, in France, in Vienna, in fine, wherever hatred of the English name and institutions can be propagated or imbibed—the work of the last fifty years will be undone; the web so toilsomely and so tediously woven will be unravelled in a night, and England will find the drivelling of Spooner

a draught more bitter than any from the sixth phial, and Irish disaffection a more formidable weapon than the little horn. We would press it upon Mr. Miall and the English voluntaries not to touch what has been offered to idols, to refrain their hands from meats that have been dragged through the claws, and fouled by the obscenities of Irish Orangeism; we should entreat them not to have the appearance of waiting upon "Protestant Associations," as Russian serfs are said to get drunk upon the voided swill of their master's debauch; we should ask them not to work with their enemies against their friends; we would finally recommend them to weigh the advice of one to whom they will naturally listen with more deference than they can to us.

"I will pass to other matters" (says Mr. Roebuck in the speech lately made to his constituents in Sheffield,) "in which myself and my honourable colleague differ, and in which, as you may suppose, he is in error. He says he is an enemy to state endowments of religion. So am I. We are agreed upon that, but we are not agreed upon the next application of the principle. Let us direct our minds at this moment to Ireland,—There are three sorts of sects—There is that well endowed body which my friend Mr. Grote, the Historian of Greece, calls the greatest ecclesiastical enormity in the world, the Established Church of Ireland. Then there come the many millions of Roman Catholics and the small number of Dissenters. They are all three endowed; but how? Why the very small body of the Established Church of Ireland is about the richest Church in Europe for its numbers: the many millions of Catholics have something like £30,000 a year. The Dissenters have the *Regium Donum*. I don't know what that is, but it is a very small sum (£40,000.) Carrying out the view of my Hon. colleague, he, if Mr Spooner makes a motion, as he annually does, against the Maynooth grant, goes into the same lobby with Mr. Spooner, but let my honourable colleague make a motion each day against the Established Church of Ireland, then we shall see how holy is the alliance. I would go into same lobby with him, because I begin with the strong. I always like to meet my strong foe, and not to wreak my vengeance on the weak. I should be in the same lobby with my honourable colleague on that question, but where would Mr. Spooner be? (cheers) So by this unholy alliance between my honourable colleague and Mr. Spooner you put down the support of £30,000 a year, that goes to the Roman Catholics, but you do not put down the immense ecclesiastical enormity, I mean the Established Church. \* \* \* Therefore if we cannot put down the Irish Church, I am not for putting down Maynooth."

We commend the wisdom of this speech to the consideration of Mr. Miall. The destruction of the Church Establishment involves the suppression of Maynooth, but the converse of the proposition would be far from true, for the

reasons we have already assigned. As for Maynooth, Mr. Miall may be well assured that if Irish Catholics could be made to believe that its suppression would lead to the results claimed for it, none would be more forward in the work of destruction than themselves. But they have no such hope, or rather their conviction is the other way. They cannot believe that after three or four years of savage controversy, in which they should have to act purely on the defensive, during which they should be yearly branded with the mark of the beast, paraded as Guys, baited by the most brutal portion of the English people, and finally disarmed and defeated, any one would dream of doing an act of justice, even of admitted justice, to *them*. As well send Miss Nightingale to a wounded rattlesnake, or give Pocock's cough lozenges to an asthmatic hyena—the hope is preposterous; it is entertained by Mr. Miall in perfect good faith, but argues a simplicity not uncommon in men of the acutest minds. We at all events cannot give it a thought; we are ready to abandon Maynooth, on terms certainly, but not without asking an equivalent. We invite the Society to regard the grant as a mere pledge retained in our hands, as a recognizance from the Society itself to prosecute the Church Establishment, not to conviction, for that has been done already, but to judgment; and we gladly undertake to hand back the recognizance the moment the sentence of opinion shall have been ratified and consummated by the action of the law.

And meanwhile it may not be inopportune to state here, the relations in which this Journal is desirous of standing towards the great liberal party in England. It cannot pretend an authority to speak in the name of any but its own writers. It wishes, however, to be regarded as an organ of *liberal* opinion, and as such *in Ireland*, it is of necessity Catholic. We ask the attention of Mr. Miall, and of the liberal party in England to this undeniable fact, that for all practical purposes there is no liberal party in Ireland, not Catholic, and no liberal opinion to speak of, outside the Catholic body. The race of liberal Protestants, never numerous or prolific in Ireland, appears to have died out completely. There are not at the Irish bar *two* liberal Protestants qualified for high judicial station. Men of the same class as Brady, Moore, and Perrin are quite extinct, and the Irish government, laudably anxious as it is to distribute its patronage with fairness, is perfectly unable to find a Protestant Whig or Protestant Liberal of any shade for promotion. The liberal Protestant members from Ireland represent constitu-

encies exclusively Catholic; the entire liberal press, with one or two exceptions, is Catholic, and the entire press in the interest of the establishment, is without any exception what is called Conservative. There is not one measure of liberal or beneficial tendency which has not united against it the whole force of the Protestant interest in Ireland; which has not had the undivided and what is better the effectual and crowning support of the Catholic population. Municipal and corporate reform were opposed by the entire body of the Establishment, and as unanimously supported by Catholics. The National system of education, the only English institution that ever flourished in Ireland, still encounters the most determined opposition from the Establishment; it received at first, a decided, and subsequently an unanimous support from Catholics. The repeal of the Corn Laws was resisted by the whole strength of the Church Protestants, and achieved by the co-operation of the entire Catholic people. These are the facts which it shall be the duty of this Journal to keep before the eyes of English liberals, in the endeavour to teach them not to forget so readily, as they are disposed to do, the services and the deserts of the Irish Catholic, the sole representative of liberal doctrines in one member of the British confederacy. We shall aim at persuading them, that it is not only bad policy but bad faith, to make Irish Catholics answerable for the vagaries or the necessities of foreign States belonging to their communion. We shall study to show that an alliance with Gavazzi or Kossuth, is less natural and less profitable, than the friendship of those whose co-operation was never wanting to them, in the advancement of their common principles. It will not be difficult, we think, for us to prove that our strength and weakness will produce corresponding results on their own body, and that putting aside all causes of estrangement, they should condescend as the easy price of our support, to take and act upon our own opinion, in our own concerns. True to our profession in policy, as well as in religion, we shall have no setting of faith above works. We shall not require of our Protestant brethren in reform, to believe any thing of us, upon our word, that we cannot confirm by proof; but looking at Ireland as it was, and as it is since Irish Catholics have been in the enjoyment of such rights as they do enjoy; we call upon them to affirm and to act upon these two propositions, first, that Irish Catholics are almost universally liberals, and secondly, that they are the only liberals in Ireland.

We fear the Presbyterian body cannot for any practical purpose be reckoned as liberals. They include a large number of speculative, and some working liberals, but public spirit as a community, they have none or at least shew none. It may be right, for Mr. Miall to know that when a Belfast Presbyterian, for instance, has made his fortune, he almost invariably passes over to the Establishment and that he has, consequently, a species of reversionary interest in that institution, which considerably weakens his enmity to State endowments. This is a well-known fact, and brings us to what we are disposed to look upon as the real strength of the Establishment in Ireland, and indeed in England; namely, the interest which every individual of the establishment, lay or clerical, has in that institution, as a state provision for some member of his family. There lies the secret of the attachment of the most devoted friends of the Establishment. The bare fact of its being an institution and an Establishment, gives it strength by the creation of vested abuses. Slavery is defended in America with a fervour of the purest patriotism, and Thuggee would have been upheld in British India with the soundest reasons, had reason been its assailant. We should have heard of the right divine to strangle, we should have been told with alarm that the purses of travellers now sought to be retained for the use of the owners, had become the subject of family settlement, and that hundreds of meritorious Thuggs had vested interests in the wardrobe of the passer by. It would be urged by eloquent advocates that compression of the stranger's wind-pipe was an incident inseparable from the Thugg tenure; that it was in fact nothing more or less than their peculiar livery of seisin; and that as a solemnity indicating the transmission of property, it had the merit not always attaching to similar forms, of effectually preventing controversy and litigation. We should probably have been reminded that an important branch of domestic industry, rope-making to wit, would suffer to its tenderest fibre; that the enormous amount of capital invested in that manufacture would be thrown upon the market, and the progress of education arrested by the closing of every strangling gymnasium in the land. Nay, strangling as a condition precedent to plunder, would be defended on principles of mercy and humanity, for the passenger (it would be argued) was in this way placed beyond the reach of pain or suffering, previous to being stripped, and not thrown, as in England or Arabia, naked, shivering, and in despair, to the world, and the north-east wind. It would be supported on principles of political economy as imposing

a gentle and wholesome restraint upon our population, while the civilizing influences of a number of educated gentlemen, (for the Thuggs were kept in thorough training), and religious too (for they acted in the discharge of a solemn duty,) would have been feelingly dwelt upon; influences the more valuable as they were not stationary or moving in confined orbits, like those of resident gentry; but from the locomotive habits of the Thugg visiting and vivifying every corner of the country.

Again, as this comparison might lead to misapprehension, we must protest against being supposed to say one word in praise or disparagement of any religious Communion whatever, and we authorise every Churchman, high or low, to read Papist for Anglican in every paragraph, if he can find a Catholic institution representing even faintly the enormity of this establishment. But returning to our inquiry as to what constitutes the real strength of the Establishment, let us take, for instance, the family of Trench, or Knox, or Beresford—First then compare the amount of revenue enjoyed by the clerical members of each family directly, as members or dignitaries of the Established Church; secondly, calculate the provision they are enabled to make for every member of their families, male and female, presenting Charles to this living and marrying Charlotte to that; and thirdly, endeavour to estimate the amount of influence growing out of these circumstances, when it is considered that the dispensers of Church patronage are also the lords of the soil, understanding the application of every form of pressure to the refractory or of seduction to the reluctant, and we shall have some idea of the task which has to be accomplished in the suppression of this establishment. The religious question is the least troublesome ingredient in the difficulty. The Church is a profession like any other, but the practice is secured to the Anglicans by patent, and we should not be altogether averse to buying up the patent—a peerage would silence many an opponent, and if we gave money compensation to West-Indian Shareholders, why not to the Irish Patrons? The thing has to be done, and it is our part to consider the safest, the most quiet, and most expeditious way of doing it. We should be most anxious to live in peace with all our fellow subjects, and provided our object can be attained, we are not much concerned in the means, if honorable, or the expense, however great.

There has been a general lull in politics for some years as every one knows, produced, in a great measure we believe, by the confusion of party relations, consequent on the repeal of the Corn Laws, and to some extent also by the absorbing interest of the

late war. Hence the absence of excitement or agitation from Ireland is not the eventful phenomenon that was supposed; and a narrow observer will see that at no period has there been anything like an acquiescence in the present ecclesiastical arrangement, and that the conviction of its instability has grown upon those most adverse to agitation, at the precise time when there seemed least prospect of a movement, in that or in any other direction. This feeling found expression in a publication remarkable for the calmness of its temper, and the moderation of its views—a publication rarely venturing into politics, and handling the most exciting topics with a sobriety and measure that find few imitators at the press. Taken therefore as the representative of Catholic feeling in those whose habits and associations are all friendly to repose, and whose moderation is in our opinion by no means the most servicable of their many good qualities, the “Dublin Review,” when it deals in language of unusual warmth and recommends measures of unusual strength, may be considered to speak under influences more searching, and more controlling than would be necessary to move the depths of a less composed and even temper. The passage we are about to transcribe would probably not be regarded as too quiet, even for our own pages, but with reference to the source from which it is taken, and to the time at which it was written, we claim for it a distinct and very emphatic significance, as shewing that the determination to do away with the Establishment is not confined to one class of men, to one tribe of writers, to periods of fever, or the reign of the dog-star, but that it is the settled determination of quiet men, whose heads are cool, and whose pulse keeps time, to work for the uprooting of the English Establishment in Ireland. Alluding to the ineffectual protest of Sir Theobald Butler, at the bar of the Irish House of Commons against the violation of the Treaty of Limerick as described by Sheil whose life was under notice, the writer in the “Dublin Review” goes on to say:—

It is with the solemnity of a deep conviction, verging on the melancholy of as deep a foreboding, that we say there are millions of our fellow subjects as pitiless, as remorseless, as inaccessible to reason, as obdurate to prayer as the parliament that heard those words and passed that law. In the obscurest walks of our own professional toil (for like the subject of our Memoir, the duties of Theobald Butler have been committed to us, though unworthy) we see that righteous Nemesis, the Incumbered Estates Commission, drive its ploughshare through the boundaries of ill-gotten estates, turning up at every step memorials of that impious statute, against which Butler invoked the



name of God, the faith of treaties, and the bowels of humanity is vain; as in vain perhaps he would invoke the same to-day before a similar assembly in another place. Assuredly, it is not wise for Mr. Napier, when he sanctions meetings where they tell us our religion was fabricated in hell, to put us upon bringing to mind the introduction of his own. He must be ashamed of it himself. The child of irregular love is made to blush when his parents are but named, and the right-minded Protestant in Ireland must blush at the origin of his establishment. In Scotland, the Reformation as a movement was hearty, popular, and almost universal. In England, if we scruple to allow the Protestant Establishment the title of a National Church, we cannot deny it the proportions, and magnificent ones, too, of a national Apostasy. It has been tried, if not purified by adversity and persecution; and what is most important, politically speaking, it has its reason of existence in belonging to an entire people. But here, the offspring of violence, it still lives by rapine; the hymn of its nativity was pealed in every sound of human woe; its progress might be traced, not in the blood of the evangelizers, but of the evangelized; its gospel devoted our heads to destruction; and if the destruction has been stayed, to God alone be the glory, for our apostles did their worst. Ask individual Protestants how their ancestors came to profess the reformed religion, and you may learn from one how his father took the sacrament in the college chapel, and a scholarship in the college theatre at short intervals. Another will tell you, his progenitor, in the undoubted exercise of private judgment, interpreted literally the text of Scripture that exhorts you to hate your father for God's sake, and by recanting his error antedated his succession—a large class would inform you that the Protestant founders of their houses belonged to no family in particular, and were converted to the pure reformed faith whatever that be, in the foundling hospital: while the ancestors of all not included in these categories established themselves in a way less disgraceful, but not more evangelical. They were sincere Protestants who owed their land to their convictions and not their convictions to their land, they dispossessed the original owners less by process of law than process of arms, and availed themselves largely, as their descendants would to-day, of the missionary labours of dragoons and hangmen. These in their turn have given way to missionaries of a different stamp, to men who establish corner houses of spiritual infamy; who lie in wait to crimp unwary souls, and to assail the virtue of the hungry with bread; who always begin conversion by corruption, season manna with onions, and think they have secured a valuable auxiliary when they take the devil into the pay of the Almighty. It certainly is not our fault if these things are put forward thus broadly for the first time after a lapse of more than a quarter of a century, and even now if a word has escaped us offensive to any variety of Protestants, as a religious body, we can only say it was perfectly unintentional. If Mr. Spooner and Mr. Chambers on the other side of the Channel, and Mr. Napier with Mr. Whiteside on this, have determined to precipitate a crisis, the blame be on their heads. Before Emancipation and since, we have had Catholic meetings of all complexions and dimensions, from the knot of idlers

in a chapel yard to the million at Tara. Some have been professedly Catholic, others political in purpose but Catholic in constitution ; and we think it can be said on the part of the country, that, neither in placard nor in speech, though both may have been inflammatory and ill-advised, was there placed deliberately, or perhaps at all, a single insulting phrase, a solitary denunciation, or a random sneer, against the confessional peculiarities of Protestants. On the other hand, we could no more calculate the amount of filth that has been showered upon us daily, that is to say upon our faith and doctrine, even as apart from ourselves, than we could investigate off-hand any of those problems so interesting to newspaper statisticians, such as the area which the national debt would cover in penny-pieces. Not content with the injury and dishonour which attach to the bare presence of the Establishment amongst us, the patrons of that institution assail our most sacred mysteries in language that, to say the least of it, can serve no other purpose than that of exasperation. As to the Rotunda oratory, we shall only say that it is almost too rank for the digestion of Exeter Hall. The placards that flare upon the walls, the hand-bills that are fluttered in our faces, the advertisements that figure between the miracles of Holloway and the poetry of Hyam, exhausting the varieties of indecency to create new varieties of insult, cannot but have some effect. It will not be to no purpose that Mr. Justice Crampton thinks it becoming to patronize Gavazzi, Mr. Napier to associate with Fleury, and Mr. Disraeli to acknowledge Gregg. Whatever may come of the intolerant temper of England, we ought not to regret the attitude assumed by Irish Protestantism on the question of Maynooth and every other ; it should not give us pain to hear the treble pipe of Irish malignity above the surly roar of English bigotry. The thing is not without its significance and its use, for on the one hand it bespeaks the dotage and foretokens the downfall of a tyranny the most crooked and decrepit that exists, while on the other, it shows us that the only way to redress the mendacious grievances of the Establishment in Ireland is to finish with its audacious existence. Its proceedings are strongly suggestive of the throwing down the coat, that form of challenge now happily obsolete, but once not unfamiliar to the citizens of every Irish town. The coat in question has already suffered in the service, and it would have been no superfluous tenderness to spare it the treatment such a defiance is likely to provoke, for we are greatly mistaken and shall be greatly disappointed if the Irish nation do not accept the challenge and trample down the coat till they stain it with the variation of every soil on every highway on the Island.

Again, upon the evidence quoted, may we not appeal to England and Ireland, to angels and to men, whether the Church establishment is to be endured amongst us longer ? Anti-national, it is a loathing to the people whose name it usurps ; anti-social, it alone is every day killing amongst us the charities of life ; anti-Christian, it effaces in us all the distinctive marks set by the Redeemer on His followers, that of loving one another. It is not easy to speak with temper upon such a subject, but the contempt in which every Irishman must hold himself for having endured so long the presence of the Establishment

ought to forbid any feeling of his to reach the dignity of indignation. There it stands, mocking at us from behind the skirts of the Queen, whose name it dishonours, trusting forth its impudent forehead and lolling out its obscene tongue before the insulted country. It is not less insatiable or thankless in its greed or more full for feasting now, than it was three-hundred years ago. Our substance is drawn off for its luxury not for its nourishment, the blood it circulated was always tainted, and meat serves only to pamper its distemper. Certainly, a tenderness less resolute than that of its nursing fathers would have abandoned the infirm nursing long ago, but they appear to have acted on the excellent advice of Horace, to regard the natural defects or moral vices of one's friend as amiable weaknesses, and qualify them with terms of endearment. They looked upon the rickets of their infant Church as pretty helplessness, and for them she snuffed with a grace peculiarly her own; when she cried for the moon she was appeased with substantial acres of the earth; when her cravings were too irregular, ingenuity was tortured to amuse their extravagance; she clamoured for a peculiar mutilation of our priests, and a penal law scarce less stimulating with difficulty found acceptance; if she swallow Maynooth she has stomach for Emancipation.

It is well for us who can afford to be merry upon such a subject, but, merry or sad, we must put the question to ourselves, are we to remain for centuries longer in presence with a corporation, the inheritor of such traditions, and the child of such a nurture? Can the same island contain the Catholic nation and the Protestant Establishment, or have we strength enough to say to that institution as Philip of Macedon said to the Olynthians, either you or we must quit? If we say this, *and mean it*, the worst part of the alternative will not fall to the nation. We must first set it before ourselves, and then it will be apparent to others that we will not allow the present state of things to last; [*allow must be the word*],—that our Protestant countrymen have as good a right to their country and to room for their Church in it as we, but that the clerical infamy known as the Establishment we will no longer tolerate. It is ignoble to stand on the defensive, but it is bad strategy besides. Nothing is more wearisome, more trying to the energies, or more exhausting to the spirits, than constant resistance. If we are satisfied with such a system—*ville assiégée ville prise*—Maynooth will fall first, as the most exposed outwork—our liberties will be taken in detail—and a very few years will see us utterly vanquished by the sheer tedium of resistance, and the conquests of O'Connell and Sheil a memory and a myth. To illustrate the fatuity of such a course we have a comparison at hand that ought to come home to the English mind, as being at once classical and national. "The policy of those," says Demosthenes, "who do not take proper measures for attack differs in nothing from a barbarian's style of pugilism. The barbarian, instead of meeting his antagonist with a careful fence and planting vigorous touches of offence when occasion offers, no sooner feels a blow than he claps his hand on the bruise until he is roused by another application of the glove to repeat the manoeuvre in another place."—Surely we cannot afford to do this—if we hold back or stumble now we are lost.

A few years ago, the Establishment fleshed its fasting tooth in the titles of Irish bishops, though no one alleged they had offended in the matter, and now, like an animal of savage nature, having once tasted blood it becomes irreclaimable.—Its jealousy was then aroused by a papal rescript—at present Maynooth is the national sin,—next day, by the sequence of an inevitable logic, the national guilt will be transferred to our mummery ceremonies—cut them down, and the impiety of our Mariolatry will draw judgment upon the land—but how horrible the prevarication to permit the public exercise of a worship which the sovereign solemnly swears to be damnable and idolatrous. This is what the Establishment will effect if we give it the advantage by our supineness, but if we grapple with it the danger is infinitely diminished. It has no real strength, because its power is from without, whereas “all the glory of the king’s daughter is from within.” Whether scoffing like Satan in his pride, or hissing like Satan in his humiliation, whether it strut a swaggering Briareus with a hundred hands, or crawl an angry insect upon a hundred legs—it is weak withal, for the giant is stuffed and you may set your foot upon the insect.—No doubt endurance is sometimes less grievous than resistance, and to suffer more profitable than to strive—but here we are quiescent at our peril—the object of the enemy is at least avowed—there is to be no peace with Rome until devotion to Mary is forgotten like the worship of Astarte, and a Catholic as unusual a phenomenon as a Gheber,—they strike the shepherds that the sheep may be dispersed, and they will not forbear till the country is thoroughly purified from that kind of animal *ὅπως ἡ χώρα τοῦ τούτου ζῶσι καθαροί γίνονται το παρρησίου*. And we eat and drink and are glad, and we marry and give in marriage, while this is being carried out around us, amongst us, and by us, for inaction when action may avail is equivalent to co-operation. Resignation to other grievances is often advisable and occasionally virtuous, but this one of the Establishment being even more a dishonour than a wrong, to endure it patiently is not longanimity but cretinism, and when we take into account the active and effective hostility of the Establishment to our dearest interests, spiritual and civil, the stupidity of our own endurance is the most startling anomaly where everything is anomalous.

All this is known to the fanatics in England, and they can hardly be wrong in supposing that a nation which is passive under such a wrong will submit to any other. They know as well as we that in the diocese of London alone there are more Protestants of the Established confession than in all Ireland. They know, furthermore, that in the lately created diocese of Manchester, the Anglicans are within 50,000 of our entire Protestant population. They know, too, that the population of the city of New York is as numerous, and that of Paris twice as numerous as the communicants of the Establishment in Ireland, and yet they see us allow that sprinkling, the ministration of twelve bishops, thirty-three deans, twenty-six precentors, twenty-two chancellors, twenty-one treasurers thirty-four archdeacons, one hundred and seventy-eight prebends, nine canons, and working clergy in proportion, as far as any of them can be said to work. Not to speak of London at all, the Bishop of Manchester does the entire work

of the Irish staff for so small a consideration as £4,500, without at all satisfying people that they have value for their money. Let the English Establishment be regulated on the Irish scale, and it will require forty archbishops and two hundred bishops; for taking the English Protestants to be twenty times as numerous as the Irish, they ought to have twenty times as many bishops, that is to say, two hundred and forty, of whom forty metropolitans, making in all nine times and a fraction their actual amount of bishops. The inferior clergy being proportionably increased, the church revenues should rise to the modest figure of thirty-two millions sterling, or rather better than nine times the present amount, which, according to the lowest estimate, that of Mr. Johnston, in his "England as it is," reaches £3,500,000. Or suppose we invert the proportions, as was done by the Edinburgh Review in 1839, the Irish ought to have, not as that periodical proposed, one archbishop and three bishops, but one bishop and a decimal. To what purpose, however, is it that men know all this if we suffer them to believe it gives us no concern? It has already been said, and with great show of reason, that we are satisfied because we do not complain, nor is it for us to complain now, but to show our determination to right all our wrongs, and this one first of all as foremost in our abhorrence, as most injurious and most degrading. If we are resolute, the path is smoother than men supposed for the adjustment of our differences. What was pleasantly called the Irish Church is acknowledged upon all hands to have no existence, but there is talk of a certain Irish branch of a certain united Church of England and Ireland, pursuant to the statute in that case made and provided. This being so, it can be no ground of complaint that we recommend or even enforce, a stricter union between the branch and the trunk. Railways and steam-packets exist for the Establishment as well as for everything else, and even should the tubular bridge not facilitate so much as was expected the flight of the viceroyalty, we hope to see the day when the Establishment at least will vanish along its galleries, and bear away with it the evil passions, the sanguinary recollections, and sordid interests upon which it lived. There can be nothing to prevent Dr. Sumner, the Patriarch of the British Island, as we remember to have heard him called by the University, from withdrawing his Irish vicars as soon as we insist upon it. Let him share the Metropolitans with York if he think fit, and give the suffragans to whom he likes in England. This would be to cement the union in very deed. The Irish branch would then be something; not a sickly slip starving under an inclement sky, and struggling to break an obdurate soil, but grafted on a majestic trunk, refreshed with vigorous sap, and clothed with flowers and fruit in season.

These are the convictions that force themselves upon our minds, and this is the lesson we should wish to see conveyed by the books under review, which give a full and faithful picture not only of Shel's own labours and triumphs, but of the passions, the struggles, and the characters amongst which he lived. Had the Establishment been satisfied to accept with more or less of an ill grace the changes brought to pass by O'Connell and Sheil, some of them unfortunately too favourable for itself, had it even confined itself to moderate and le-

gitimate hostility, our course might have been different, but when a determination is shewn to strip us of rights, the prize of weary labours, and sacrifices beyond reckoning; when we are driven to that point that we must advance or fall, we cannot choose but advance—*Survam corda*, therefore. The Catholics of Ireland have only to remember, that they are the nation, and they will be sure to act in this matter with the dignity, the gravity, and the decision of a nation. They are appealed to in the name of every motive that can sanctify a struggle, that can make resentment virtuous, and quietude a crime. As they cherish the memory of the dead, as they prize the triumphs of the living, as they tender the hopes of those that are to come, they are adjured to remember the wrongs of their fathers, to hold fast the rights that have been won, to bequeath to their children the remembrance of the one and the possession of the other. We have pointed to their confiscated lands, to their invaded temples, to their massacred priests, to broken treaties, and parrioidal laws, not to inflame animosity or stimulate retaliation, but as an admonition that the Church, which has survived all this, must not be suffered to lie at the feet of petty persecutors; that she who has not suffered the lion to destroy her, must not stand to be devoured by the wolf. Victorious over Cromwell, it cannot be her fate to yield to Spooner. If, on the other hand, we content ourselves with a timid, apologetic, unconnected, fretful resistance to attacks that are deadly, because they are linked and systematic, the world will despise us, but not so much as we shall despise ourselves; posterity will execrate us, but not so bitterly as we shall curse ourselves, and in presence of a nation degraded, divided, and oppressed; a Church mutilated manacled, and useless, or worse; with every chain new-riveted, every wrong become immortal, every vice ingrained; we shall be afflicted by the damning consciousness that all has been the work not more of hostile fanaticism than of domestic corruption.

To us, indeed, it appears an abuse of language to speak of the Irish institution as a Church Establishment. It is an established fiction, an established tax, an established scandal, an established provocation, established discord, conquest in permanence, provincialism in perpetuum, but not an Established Church. It is an abstraction of the law; it pushes us from our seats like the plaintiff "Thrust-out" in the old action of ejectment. It is supposed to be present in the island as "the Queen herself in person" is supposed to reside perpetually in her Court of Queen's Bench, with this difference, that justice is dispensed in the imaginary presence of the Queen, and plunder committed in the imaginary presence of the Church. Take the whole thing alleged to constitute the Church established—stone, clay, stubble, men, money, and bayonets—it does not bear the same relation to a real Church that the uni-

corn and the lion on the judgment-seat do the Queen herself in person. The latter are the acknowledged emblem of a real authority, the former the rejected badge of an odious usurpation. Before an institution can be called the **Established Church** of a country, it must be, in some sense, the **Church** of the people of that country, or of a considerable majority. However, when Lord Palmerston insinuates into discussions upon this subject the abstract question of established churches, he raises a distinct and irrelevant issue. The **Established Church** of a country stands to that country in the two-fold relation, first, of a Church, and, secondly, of an Establishment. It must, in practice, perform the duties of a Church more or less well, or more or less ill, to the country generally, not to a city, or province, or race, or regiment, or garrison, but to the country; and then, being so related to the country, it must also contract those relations with the state which are popularly considered to constitute it an establishment. It may be a question whether what is already the Church of a country should also exist as an Establishment, and that is the real meaning of the issue tendered by Lord Palmerston when he says, "are we to have an Established Church or not?" an issue, too, which the members of Mr. Miall's association may readily accept as far as England is concerned. But that is not the question to be dealt with as relates to Ireland. It is our case that it is impossible to have an Established Church in Ireland, and that if the attempt to establish any form of religion in that country were now to be made for the first time, no man would undertake the task. We do not say to Parliament, abolish the Established Church—we maintain, on the contrary, there is no Established Church, and can be none in Ireland. We call upon it to abolish the pretence of an Established Church which can neither confer the same benefits, nor be subject to the same infirmities, as an Established Church, properly understood; and, consequently, cannot be assailed or defended by the same arguments. To us it is a phantom, and no more, but a phantom which must be conquered; a phantom more tyrannous and noxious than the substance of any Established Church, Roman, Russian, Lutheran, Mormon, or Mussulman. England, indeed, has lately been styled by the *Times* "the first Mussulman power in the world." We never suspected it, and the news is many degrees too good to be true. Had it been so, our position should have been very different. St. Patrick's and

**Christ's Church** would have been converted into mosques, but every one knows their actual appropriation is quite as offensive to the right owners; and it is certain our worship never should have been made a felony, or a Catholic congregation have fallen through the loft of an old house, and been crushed into paste by the ruins, while serving God against the peace of Our Sovereign Lord the King, and contrary to the provisions of the statutes (gracious Heaven! what statutes!) in that case made and provided. Most positively, the muftis never would have claimed to be the rightful successors of our priests, and to hold our church property by any other than the distinct and well understood law of conquest. Nay more, so far from a price being set upon the heads or mutilation voted for a different extremity of our bishops and priests, their position would have been recognised and protected by Ottoman England. Justice in a technical sense would have been administered much as it has been, under either system; but, from the comparative mildness of the Ottoman government, and its deficiency in the refinement of wickedness that marked the penal laws, we should have gradually monopolized the industry and wealth of the empire, gradually become its bankers and its pay-masters, gradually have bound its kings in bonds under seal, and its nobles in fetters of piastres. There should have been no law to set aside the fourth Commandment and to foster parricide by bounties. Instead of being first tempted to enlist, and then whipped to go to Mosque, we should have been exempted from military service altogether. Finally, it would have been our destiny to attract the interest and protection of some imperial co-religionist, whose ambassador, after a brief visit to Windsor, in jack-boots, and smacking his horsewhip in the face of the Sultan,—there could be no lady in the case as at present,—would take an outlying county of Scotland by way of material guarantee for the security of our privileges. A great Greek and a great Protestant power would, of course, grow jealous of our protector, and Catholic, Greek, Protestant and Turk rush madly into war about us, blessed and interesting Rayahs. Meanwhile, our comparatively gentle tyrant, impoverished, demoralized, and brought into contempt by himself, the enemy, and the allies, would finally have consented to bestow all imaginable benefits upon the Rayahs, from his own spontaneous and inexhaustible benignity. All the belligerents would have shaken hands. Palmerston Pasha would have drafted a hatti-sheiff of the balmiest description,—the Sultan would have signed it with the most paternal eagerness, and the Sheik-ul-Islam himself have proclaimed it in the great



mosque of Canterbury, though not without scruples of conscience, and, most likely, under protest. England is not the first Mussulman power, but, in this vile Irish business, something unimaginably worse.

It is not in the way of argument that we think it right to notice the line of defence usually taken by the supporters of the Establishment. We believe that the parties principally concerned have reached a convenient and intelligible understanding that enables them to dispense with anything like argument or its abuse. The Establishment is determined to hold its ground, and we are equally determined to get rid of it when we can. The arguments of many a former debate upon this subject have been embalmed, mummy-clothed and consigned to Hansard; duplicate arguments will undergo a similar process; triplicates will appear and disappear in course of time; but although disclaiming the intention of dealing with these specimens as arguments of any kind, and although there is a tacit agreement upon all hands to treat them as purely conventional, we think it will not be found useless to examine one or two, - not as things to be refuted, but merely as features of the Establishment, as things partaking of its truth, its virtue, its reality. The present church property, it is said, belongs of right to the Establishment because the Irish were originally sound Protestants a thousand years before the confession of Augsburg, because the endowments created in that recent period were, it is well ascertained, Protestant endowments; and because they have simply reverted to the real owners. For about four hundred years of this period the Irish people, lay and clerical, are admitted on all hands to have been steadfast and zealous Romanists, when at length the bishops, under considerable pressure to be sure, suddenly fell back upon Protestantism; holding fast however by the endowments, and persecuting their flocks who objected to the change, with fire, rack, pincers, sword, screw-boots, thumb-press, scavenger's daughter, little ease, fines, confiscations, and a variety of Apostolic agencies unknown to primitive rudeness. Under these circumstances the Protestant clergy, the legitimate successors of the Catholics, are clearly entitled in possession to any amount of endowments without the cure of souls.

A good deal of the historical part of the argument will of course be denied, but we are willing for peace sake to make any supposition that will be required of us. We have not the slightest objection, for instance, to admit that St. Patrick was a gentleman, in that strict sense of the word which implies gentle descent. Sinking our private opinion as to his parentage and

place of birth, we grant at once and without reference to the herald's office, that his paternal ancestors are to be found in the noble family of Lismore, and his maternal in that of our excellent Lord Chancellor. His birth place we freely allow to have been the loyal town of Enniskillen, and accept, less readily perhaps, the tradition which connects the name of one of his parents with the retail spirit trade ; consoled as we are by the reflection that a less reputable bar than that of a Shebeen house is not uncommon in heraldry. Furthermore we are prepared to grant that he was an uncompromising Protestant, and converted the whole island to the Protestant faith or faiths unknown sometime about the year five hundred. We shall pass over the evidence of communion between the Protestant Church of Ireland, and the Roman Church of those periods, supplied by the writers of the time, who, we shall suppose were all in a conspiracy against the known truth, and against posterity as represented by Messrs. Napier and Hamilton. It will then stand thus. A wild and independent nation split up into petty sovereignties, and in no respect wilder or more independent of all law or restraint, than in its religion, is invaded by a foreign power. That power does not complete its conquest, for more than four hundred years. During that interval, the most implacable hatred, and the most barbarous hostilities, characterize the intercourse of the two nations, and yet we are required to admit, and for the purposes of this paper are ready to admit, that although the invaded resisted the temporal sovereignty of the invaders, during four centuries, they accepted in less than four months without struggle or remonstrance a new and foreign religion at the hands of those same invaders, whose very commission to invade them was from the head of that new and strange religion. Not one of the native bishops or clergy who thus came, *per saltum* from Protestantism to Romanism spoke one word of English or French ; and although in the course of time the invaders appointed bishops who could not speak Irish, yet as late as the Reformation, not a dozen of the second order of the clergy converted in this mysterious way could speak the invader's language. It is not suggested by what supernal or infernal agency the revolution was effected. There is nothing like it in history or romance. We may with less improbability suppose the Emperor of the French to land an army in England, under a commission from Pius IX, [that *would* be a papal aggression,] defeat the Queen's troops in a pitched battle, establish him-

self in one or two counties, and convert the entire island, Bishops, Ministers and Laity to Catholicism, without disarming the hostility of the country to himself or his nation in the slightest degree. Nevertheless we admit that Henry II. did all this and more. What then? There certainly never was agreement more spontaneous, unanimous or cordial, than that between the native clergy and people for this acceptance of the Roman religion. It was ratified by a perpetual accord for four hundred years, when at the end of that period, the foreign King thought proper to decree a change of religion, and the Bishops, some of them at all events, thought proper to obey him—say they all did so. Grant that every man of the clergy, which is more than is asked of us, conformed to Henryism or Edwardism, or Elizabethism,—will it therefore appear, that while the entire laity resisted and protested, the clergy could be justified in retaining the property committed to them upon trusts, still insisted upon by those for and by whom the trusts had been created?

We do not attempt an answer to this question, but we put a similar case, and suppose for one moment that the Jesuit who fills the see of Oxford should by some means known and available to the order alone, procure an appointment as tutor to the Prince of Wales, and succeed in tainting the mind of the heir-apparent first with Puseyism and next with Romanism. It only carries us a step further to imagine that the heir-apparent having at length come to the throne and being in due time affiliated to the same order as his teacher, undertakes to subvert the Protestant religion as by law established. He is a better tactician than James; he continues a professing Protestant, and gradually fills every vacant benefice in the gift of the Crown, including of course all the Bishoprics, with Jesuits in disguise, promoting perhaps Mr. Miall to the See of Canterbury. Meanwhile he uses court influence to advance open conversion amongst the gentry, although perhaps affecting to discourage it, and finally procures a vote of both Houses, repealing so much of the act of settlement as is oppressive to the royal conscience. To provide against all contingencies, he quietly negotiates a considerable loan with some of the Catholic powers to make him independent of Parliament for a few years to come, and at length, without the slightest appearance of illegality, restores to Convocation entire liberty of action, knowing before-hand that the first vote of that body will be a return to the Roman faith. His Majesty receives the vote most graciously; assents to it; hears Mass

himself in his private chapel ; in the course of a few days, re-establishes the Roman worship in every Church in the kingdom ; and procures a ratification of the whole procedure by a resolution of the Houses of Parliament. Meanwhile the people are more thoroughly Protestant than ever. Westminster Abbey on Sundays is given up to half-a-dozen of papists, who really go to worship, and half-a-dozen of idlers who go to hear the music, the Protestants being obliged to build churches at enormous expense, not half so spacious or convenient as those of which they have been dispossessed. The Protestant charities administered by the clergy while Protestant, are held by the clergy become Romanist, and the people are still obliged to keep up that apostate clergy, as well as to support the Protestant clergy that came to supply their place ; to maintain the confiscated charities, and to establish new charities ; to build new schools, alms houses, orphan houses, and hospitals in the stead of those retained by the perverts ; and all this simply because the property in question was the property of the Church, that is to say, of the ecclesiastics, and because the people had nothing to say to it. How long would English Protestants submit to this logic ? Would they deal with it by argument ? Would they be baffled by technicalities ? Would they listen to little lawyers, little rhetoricians or little statesmen ? Again, we offer no answer—the case is an imaginary, an impossible one perhaps, but neither so fanciful in its conception nor so impossible in execution as the supposed conversion of the Irish to Catholicism, by Henry II. in the course of a day ; nor would the right of the new Catholics of England to the present church property be one atom less substantial than that of the Anglican Establishment in Ireland, to the Church property claimed and enjoyed by it at the present time. Need we say that St. Patrick's, and Christ's Church, in Dublin, St. Canice's in Kilkenny, St. Nicholas' in Galway, and dozens of Churches that we could name in the centre of exclusively Catholic districts, are not caricatured by the picture we have drawn of Westminster Abbey in our imaginary case ? Need we say it is a scandal that the public money should be expended in building and repairing those cosey boxes with their rakish little steeples and smug stove-chimneys that we see scattered over the country for the accommodation of about twenty people, upon a liberal average, in parishes of twenty thousand souls, that are obliged to build their own churches and support their own clergy, not out of their abundance, but out of their misery ?

Again, we forbear to suggest an answer, submitting it merely to our English friends, whether the people who rely upon such arguments really expect or deserve any answer, other than being pushed aside the moment we have strength enough for the task.

In our last article we touched upon the question of the oath taken by Catholics, with respect to the Established Church, an oath on which its supporters appear to rely so strongly, and with the violation of which Catholics who forward the present or any similar movement are sure to be taxed. We feel somewhat penitent for having dealt so seriously with the amiable people who speak so reverently of their own oaths and so charitably of ours. We should be sorry to charge any one with a wilful violation of his oath, but were we in the same temper of mind, that we observe in others, and guided by the same rules of morality that govern the conduct of many, we should not hesitate to venture a free opinion of the man who affirms upon oath, that the Pope *has* no spiritual or ecclesiastical authority within the realm; knowing as he does all the while and often complaining in good set terms, that the Pope does exercise a real, substantial, visible, and tangible authority in every corner of the kingdom. What can be thought of the man who, after taking this oath, indignantly proclaims that the Pope reigns over the consciences of millions of British subjects; that he withdraws them from their natural allegiance; that he says to one, come here, and he cometh, and to another, do this, and he doth it; that he gives license to sin according to a sliding scale, and has a tariff of iniquity in his spiritual custom-houses; that upon payment of the proper fee you can have a dispensation for anything, from blowing up an opponent in metaphor to blowing up the Houses of Parliament in fact; and that so far from the Pope having no temporal power in the Kingdom, he issues his writs from under the fishermen's ring for the election of members of the House of Commons? One nobleman in the entire Empire, a Protestant of no doubtful hue, but honest and of tender conscience, was sensible for a time, of the absurdity and impiety of this oath. His scruples, however, have been calmed, by what process it is impossible to say, and Lord Clancarty takes the oaths and his seat with as little remorse as Lord Campbell or any other Scot that knows when he is well off. We are far indeed from insinuating that his doubts have not been set at rest, or that his conscience is uneasy,

but surely it would not become him, for instance, to complain that another man had adopted a construction of an oath. For our own part, it is nothing in the nature of things, no excuse we can ourselves frame, no explanation we have heard suggested by others, but charity merely that keeps us from imputing moral guilt to those who take the oath in question. The more exaggerated the Protestantism of the party, the greater is the seeming delinquency. We have an intimate conviction that the large majority of Protestants who take this oath are as free from perjury as we hope we are ourselves, but we have no reason to allege beyond that naked conviction; it is the faith that is within us, and no more—Upon external evidence there is no distinction, or perhaps a very unfortunate one, between the man who takes this oath for a seat in Parliament, and the man who swears an alibi for a shilling or a pint.

But we have to deal with another aspect of the oath, under which we are bound not to use our privileges for the subversion or destruction of the Established Church. Those who maintain that by voting for its disendowment the Catholic violates his oath, assert by a necessary implication that the disendowment of their religion is equivalent to its destruction, that rent-charge and Church are convertible terms, that religion without glebe is shadow without substance, that minister without minister's money is an abstraction and a myth, that parson and tithe-pig are one and indivisible. "Two scholars were fellow travellers from Pennafiel to Salamanca," says Lesage. "Finding themselves tired and thirsty, they halted near a fountain on the road side. While resting for a few moments, after having quenched their thirst, they chanced to notice upon a stone level with the earth some words, already a little effaced by time and by the feet of the flocks which came to water at the spring. Having washed the stone, they read the following Spanish inscription:—*A qui està encerrada el Alma del licenciado Pedro Garcias*—here lieth buried the soul of the licentiate Pedro Garcias. The younger of the scholars being abrupt and thoughtless, no sooner read the inscription then he laughed outright—'What a quiz!' he said, 'here lieth buried the soul—I should like to see the genius that wrote this comical epitaph:' and with that he went his way. His more thoughtful companion, however, said to himself, 'there must be some mystery here, I shall remain to clear it up.' Accordingly he allowed his companion to go, and then without loss of time set to work with his knife all round the stone, until he succeeded

in removing it. He found underneath a leathern purse which he opened. It contained one hundred ducats \* \* \* \* \* and the scholar, delighted at his discovery, replaced the stone, and took to the Salamanca road again with the soul of the licentiate."

No Irish member of the Establishment, we think, will apply the moral to his own Church, or say that its temporalities are its soul, that without them it has no principle of life, and consequently cannot live apart from them. He will not admit that his Church is bound to the soil like the Tyrian Hercules by a golden chain, and that she cannot choose but fly if it be severed. He will not liken her to the Venus in Brocade and Diamonds whom the artist painted rich because he could not make her beautiful. He could do nothing of all this: and if so, what becomes of the Catholic Oath? Where are the perjury and subornation of perjury? Does he really believe the uncommon nonsense he has been writing, talking, and flinging into the face of history, daily experience and common sense? Does he deserve to be answered? Is he to be dignified with refutation? is he worth rebuke? Is he penetrable to conviction? Is he of account at all?

We do not pretend to notice all the questions raised by Mr. Miall's agitation, and still less to count up all the disadvantages which though properly considered accidents of the position of the Establishment in Ireland, are not the less real or serious on that account. We have preferred dealing in the present instance with its essential enormity, with its necessary immorality, and with its abstract injustice. These are sufficient to bring it within the reach of the voluntary principle, and to attract the operations of the society which has taken upon itself to teach and to enforce the application of that principle. The interest of the Empire in the settlement of this Irish question is scarcely less considerable than that of Ireland whose individual concern it is. The Establishment is the one remaining cause of estrangement between the countries, it is the one worst and most exasperating wrong during the continuance of which no past injustice of England can be expiated, and upon whose cessation Ireland, that is, *all* Ireland will feel for the first time that she is a portion of the United Kingdom or even a favoured Colony. Let people say what they please, it cannot be sound policy to perpetuate a wrong, redress of which from any quarter must inevitably be welcome to the people at large. Judges in esse, or in posse; placemen, great and small, actual or expectant; the landed and mercantile interests; those who judge for themselves, and those who understand the

miseries of war, will not look out with longing for what has been called Ireland's opportunity : but when the opportunity comes none will fail to take advantage of it, and who can tell how near it may be at hand ? Our relations with France are amicable but precarious ; our good understanding with America depends upon circumstances which no forbearance and perhaps no meanness upon our part can shape to our wishes. The preservation of the Union will ever be the paramount care of an American statesman, as the preservation of internal tranquillity must be that of a French ruler. Much of what has been ascribed to the personal ambition of Napoleon I. may be traced to the necessity under which he found himself of strengthening the hands of the Executive for the repression of disorder at home, by having at his disposal an army not the mere creature of discipline but the darling of victory. The same necessity may soon exist again in both countries, a necessity completely overriding every interest of commerce, every danger to general prosperity, and every inclination of the ruling powers to remain at peace with England. To prevent the disruption of the American Union, the Executive will one day require an army such as we have described, an army fully under the control of the executive power, an army practised in a great war, and of imposing strength. Such an army never could be levied for the purpose of civil war or under pretence of filibustering in Cuba or Mexico.

The war that would place such an army at the command of the Executive in America, should be not merely a popular but a great war ; in other words a war with England. Into such a war the most temperate American statesman, the most sensitive of cotton patriots, the largest ship-owner or corn-merchant in the States, would find himself irresistibly drawn. We cannot therefore be persuaded that it would not be worth while to remove the one political wrong that estranges Ireland from England, and to remove it now, not under hostile pressure as heretofore, but by negotiation and arrangement, antedating by some years, gracefully and beneficially, what must be done at a later period, and looking forward to a war with America, not as a contingency but as a certainty more or less remote—or at least as a probability, that should never be omitted from our calculations. One of two events would seem to be inevitable in America, and either of them to be fatal to the maintenance of peace. Either the institution of Slavery will propagate its boundaries, until they include the entire territory of the Republic, but without threat-



ening a severance of the Union ; or else, as is more probable, the integrity of the Union will be endangered by the contest between North and South. In the former case no dependency of an European power, and no independent state in the Western hemisphere will be secure from the lawlessness of American invasion ; in the latter, it can hardly be doubted that any American statesman will look to the preservation of the Union through a war with England. We shall not enter into all the circumstances that would give to such a conflict the character of civil war ; we shall not enlarge upon the relations in which Ireland would stand to both the combatants ; we shall not say how many natural born subjects of the British Crown would find themselves as American citizens in arms against their brethren, and how hard it would be for the Irish mechanic or peasant to look upon them as hostile or ill-intentioned ; it is not our desire to exaggerate any danger or probability of danger ; we are far from saying that the utmost power of America could enable her to land a thousand men upon the island ; but we think, nevertheless, that it is unsound policy to maintain in the country an institution to which in the minds of the majority of the people any alternative would be preferable, and to keep open a sore which cannot fester for ever, which cannot eat upwards and downwards and all round without one day coming to a vital part.

For our own part, we are fully persuaded that nothing but the discreet and vigorous application of political power from Ireland can effect the removal of the Church Establishment. Reason will be yawned at, enthusiasm will be laughed at, vehemence will be stared at, oratory will be perhaps applauded, anger will be called to order, supplication will be despised, but power, and there is a good deal of it in Ireland yet, will be respected and obeyed. That power resides in every one of us, and if each one in the measure of his opportunities were to labour for the subversion of the Establishment, the sum of our efforts individually trifling would be very great. "If every one," somewhere says Demosthenes, "had stood his ground in the battle, the victory would have been ours." To us it is a marvel that any one of the five Catholic journals in Dublin, or any one of the liberal papers in the country, should issue a single number without some attempt upon the Establishment. If the man of studious leisure were to write its history for the enlightenment of opinion at home and abroad—if those who have the gift of speech were to lecture,

not to barangue upon its wickedness—if the press, as we have said, were to make it the subject of daily and weekly reprobation—if the clergyman, not as a part of his professional duty, nor in the holy place, but merely as an influential member of society, if fathers of families in their houses, and workmen amongst their comrades, were barely to discuss the subject as a matter of speculative interest, this harmonious diversity of efforts, this large aggregate of individual operations, all tending towards the same direction, although without plan or concert, could not fail to bring about a state of opinion in which the Establishment could find it impossible to live. We do not of course mean an opinion hostile to the establishment—that exists already to a degree quite sufficient for our purpose, but an opinion calling so firmly and so distinctly for action as to make action inevitable. At present we fear that no other course of proceeding than that suggested is open to us in Ireland, and that nothing in the nature of concert or organization is likely to be useful. Would it were otherwise; but we cannot divest ourselves of the fear that an Irish society for any political purpose would take up the antics of its predecessors. We have no doubt it soon would resort to the favourite amusements of drawing swords, flinging away scabbards, nailing colours to the mast, proposing ultimatums, tying itself hand and foot by pledges, and making itself useless in every imaginable way. These things, of course the last excepted, would not be inappropriate in a people of dogged resolution, like the English; or in Ireland, if there were another O'Connell, to exercise the salutary despotism we have mentioned over the Society; but for the present, we hold the thing to be simply impossible, and consequently far better not attempted. On the other hand, however, there can be no objection to the independent action of counties, corporations, parishes, or liberal clubs. The one thing necessary is that the attention of the country should once more be riveted upon this vital question, and that a determination of the very quietest description should grow up in us, to get rid of the Establishment the earliest moment we can, but without fixing the date; and to exert ourselves in an earnest business-like way for the attainment of our object, without any waste of strength or sweat until they are likely to be of some avail.

The final question comes—how are we to deal with Mr. Miall and his society? He offers himself as an able and zealous ally. He represents a society which we think we have

accurately described. He represents a principle which is being rapidly diffused and taking deep root ; it is in his power to do us most important service, and his inclination seems to correspond with his power. The party at the head of which he stands in the agitation of the question, is at once the most energetic and the most cool-headed in Parliament. All these advantages he brings with him to the Irish Alliance, and it is a serious duty for those to whom they are offered to take every precaution to estimate them duly. As might be expected there is considerable diversity of opinion. Some not only believe that we should co-operate with Mr. Miall, but recommend that we should enter completely into the spirit of his agitation, adopting all his principles and following his policy implicitly. It is through English opinion alone, they say, that we can hope to reach the Establishment. It must fall by English hands ; help will visit us from beyond the sea, and the liberation we have so unprofitably struggled for at home will come to us. "*Graiid minime quod remur ab urbe.*" Others again having confidence like ourselves in the good intentions, and generally correct views of Mr. Miall, and being anxious to avail themselves of his good offices, are unwilling nevertheless to pass over into his camp and lose their independence of action and their identity, in his party. Some, it must be admitted, but we believe they are not numerous, have no confidence whatever in Mr. Miall and the Non-Conformists, and very many while accepting the voluntary principle, as good in the abstract and suitable to themselves in particular, are not only indifferent to its extension in England, but believe that its enforcement in Ireland is obtainable by the Irish themselves and by them alone. There may of course be other shades of opinion which we are unable to catch, and it is equally of course that some men have such varying complexions of opinion that their changes cannot easily be registered, but on the whole we think our division sufficiently exhaustive, or in other words that it includes every section of politicians proper to be taken into account, those only excepted with whom Mr. Miall and we have nothing in common.

Neither those who adopt Mr. Miall's views exclusively, nor these who refuse him any confidence whatever, are, as far as we can discover, influential from numbers or energy, but with reference to the other sections whose opinions we share, although we have no commission to speak for them, we believe

we are right in saying that if Mr. Miall set any value on their support, or have any hope of inducing them to come to a definite understanding with him on the subject of the Anglican Establishment in Ireland, he will abandon his present line of action upon the Maynooth question, and also as regards the Regium Donum. We have already stated and will now for clearness briefly repeat our own objection to the alliance between Mr. Miall and Mr. Spooner. The former knows and will admit he knows, or we are mistaken in our ideas both of his ability and of his honesty, that if the withdrawal of the Maynooth grant be accomplished, it will be owing not in the slightest degree to the respectable principle he advocates and in which we all concur, but to the detestable bigotry lying so profusely under the beautiful surface of the English character, as Milton describes the materials of Satan's artillery to have lain beneath the soil of Heaven. This is sought out and torn up by black and grimy fanatics; it is compounded by demoniacs of a lower order still, by bishop-burning mobs, profane parodists of the catechism, intensely controversial pickpockets, night-walkers of burning Protestantism. It is retailed for the profit of more exalted sinners by obscure and disowned agents, by W. B. and others of the trade who in this way at least have emerged from their obscurity and been damned to everlasting fame; it is exploded by men whose more especial duty is supposed to be the diffusion of charity and peace; it is, we repeat, the sole moving power in the anti-Maynooth campaign; to it alone the victory must be due; and if Mr. Miall continue to defile himself by contact with the men who are engaged in this abominable traffic, he cannot fail to create disgust amongst those to whom he is looking for support. The Irish Catholic cares less for the Maynooth endowment than Mr. Miall can at all imagine; but rightly interpreting the anti-Maynooth agitation as an outrage, a defiance, a declaration of war, an actual war, as in fact all that it is intended to be; he not only resists it as he is bound to do in honour and in conscience, but he must identify with its authors all those who persevere in co-operating with them: and if he be compelled to acknowledge the purity of their motives, he cannot but question the soundness of their understanding. As to the Irish Presbyterians, we shall suffer them to speak for themselves by their clever organ the "Northern Whig." They give expression to some opinions upon this subject, our dissent from which we shall take occasion

to explain presently, but Mr. Miall will see that his course does not meet their approval, and is not considered as entitling him to their assistance in the way he could wish.

It is quite clear that the Anglican Church ought not to be established in Ireland. But who can show us the way to get rid of it. There it is on the surface—a nuisance and a stupidity; but no one can discover the art of annihilating it. It is the modern Round Tower. It is a conundrum. It is a freak. No one can understand its purpose. It has ceased to be a curiosity. But there it is. You may come to the conclusion that the Pyramids were pyres for Cheops, and you may guess that the Sphinx is a superb practical joke—a statue put in the midst of an arid desert, to grin at the traveller who ventures that far. But you can make nothing of the “Church of Ireland.” It is the Casper Hauser of Institutions. It is without origin and without purpose. Everyone is weary of it. The Tories of intensest insanity forego the hope that it will convert the Roman Catholics. Archbishop Whately jokes at it; and every Minister under it would prefer compensation to the absurdity of ministering to a myth. All the great Statesmen of the day admit the effectlessness and facetiousness of the thing; but a few, like Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston, say, as a housemaid does of her wart, it is inevitable, there it is and we can’t get rid of it, just as every Chancellor of the Exchequer, from time immemorial, has said so of every Pasha of Egypt—“We are much obliged for that Cleopatra’s Obelisk which lies, a present to us, in the mud of the port of Alexandria, but we really do not see how we are to fetch it away.” The Church of Ireland is the taunt of England, all over the world. It is the anomaly of the nineteenth century. Most Bishops know that they are failures, as compared with the Apostolic standard; but an Anglican Bishop, in Ireland, sometimes blushes, thinking of the impudence of the thing—winking, so to speak, at the Ministers of other religions. The Church of Ireland, in short, is a joke. It is an Ecclesiastical simulacrum, or parody, or burlesque. The point is—that we have to pay for it.

The London Nonconformists, undaunted by the failure of the English Whigs, the Irish Catholics, and British desire of fair play and common sense, are going to try their hands at an attempt to get rid of the Church Establishment in Ireland. Mr. Miall is the chief in the agitation, and the discovery he has made is—that we are to get rid of the Anglican Church by getting rid of all other state endowments in Ireland at the same time. He does not, as to be consistent he ought to say, that we are to get rid of the Queen’s Colleges, or of the National Schools, the Lord Lieutenant’s salary, and so on. But he goes against all the endowments of religion. It is a difficult thing to destroy the Church Establishment. It is a difficult thing to deprive Maynooth of the government grant. It is a difficult thing to get a majority against the *Regium Donum*. But attack all at once, advises Mr. Miall, and you will succeed. Well, we have, in this journal, recommended that conjoint assault, and we ought to support Mr. Miall and his Nonconformist friends. The Roman Catho-

lies are sick of the miserably small Maynooth Grant, which they are becoming rich enough to dispense with. There is in the *Regium Donum* nothing of the eleemosynary; it was a fair bargain with the State for what the Presbyterian clergymen sacrificed; but the Presbyterian body, free as they are from State control, do not enjoy State patronage; while it is certain, the Ministers would be far bolder Liberals once enfranchised from the receipt of salaries paid by strangers. Both Roman Catholics and Presbyterians would like to see the artificial Anglican Church swept away. Mr. Miall, proposing this sweeping abolition to parliament, secures the votes of all the English Dissenters and Radicals, and of the Irish Roman Catholic Members, with the stray Whigs who have not forgotten the day of the Appropriation Clause. Still, however, simple as is Mr. Miall's plan, it does not succeed. He was beaten last session, and he will be beaten next session.

There is yet a simpler plan, Mr. Miall will be astonished to learn. It is to leave the matter in Irish hands. Mr. Miall agitates from the sectarian point of view. Now the Irish point of view is better. Mr. Miall desires to destroy the English Church in England; and, clever general, wishes to turn the position in Ireland. The House of Commons understands these small tactics, and puts Mr. Miall in a ludicrously small lobby. We in Ireland, comprehend the motive, and withhold our confidence. We decline to be made subsidiary to English Dissenters' politics. We have no Dissenters among us. There is the South Roman Catholic and the North Presbyterian; two emphatic churches—two distinct races: and we both agree to stand on an equality, with reference to religious endowments. We attack the Church of England as an impudent intrusion on both, as an alien to both, as an insult to both. When we can organise common action against this factitious establishment, that is as little likely to advance among us as the Cockney accent is likely to influence our speech, Mr. Miall may rely upon it that we shall, on each side, make sacrifices—one sacrificing Maynooth and the other the *Regium Donum*.

We cannot say that we entirely concur in this expression of opinion, or that the Dissenting body in England is not too lightly perhaps too slightly, spoken of. We for our own part have the utmost respect for the Irish Presbyterians, and we admire the justifiable pride with which they disclaim for themselves the character of Dissenters, but at the same time we feel bound to say that the English Non-Conformists are entitled to treat with Irish Catholics as high contracting parties, seeing that we both of us are political powers which unfortunately the Irish Presbyterians are not. The English Non-Conformists do not possess in England half the relative importance which the Irish Presbyterians might command in Ireland if they had the public spirit of the English Dissenters. The Irish Presbyterians, an emphatic Church as they very properly call themselves, a match in number for the people of

the Establishment, somewhat inferior in cultivation but quite equal to them in intelligence, almost as wealthy, and far more enterprising, are represented by just *one* member of Parliament. Their dealing with Catholics in election matters in Down, Belfast and Monaghan, has not it is said been marked by the candour and liberality that might have been expected from them, and certainly they are not regarded with confidence either by Anglican or Catholic. We do not ourselves pretend to say how this comes to pass, but this we do say, that if the Presbyterians of Ireland were made of the same stuff as the English Non-Conformists, instead of one member of Parliament they could have a dozen, and then indeed the Presbyterians would have help to offer us, and a right not only to tender advice, but to make terms. They have as yet rendered the liberal cause no service whatever; and if it depended upon them the Test and Corporation Acts would still be unrepealed; Emancipation would have been still an open question never to be closed; the Reform-bill never should have been passed; Free trade never have been won: yet in all these things the Irish Catholics, and the English Non-Conformists have borne their part. We do not intend this as a reproach to the Presbyterians; doubtless they have reasons to offer, and we sincerely pray those reasons may soon have ceased to exist, but meanwhile, should the Presbyterian body induce us to decline the proffered assistance of the Non-Conformists what equivalent will it give us, or is any thing to be expected from the Irish Presbyterians but good wishes and bad votes? Assuredly the serious cooperation of the Presbyterians our countrymen, would be more valuable in our eyes, and Mr. Miall will pardon us for saying so, than all the countenance and aid we could receive from English associations, but we cannot count upon a political alliance where there is no political power and apparently no great anxiety to acquire it.

The English dissenters, on the contrary, have political power and love it, and cherish it, and increase it by every means within their reach. Their assistance is worth having if they tender it in a fair and generous spirit, and in the present instance, it has been our wish to meet their offer in the best way that occurred to us, namely, with perfect unreserve, with entire freedom of thought and absolute freedom of speech, exhibiting our likings and dislikings, and placing in the fore-ground our national interests, to which we avowedly postpone the imperial projects of the society. We have not hesitated to mark what we considered blame-worthy

in Mr. Miall's plaus, and it will be for him and his society to say if there be anything worth having or adopting in our observations. One thing however he may take for certain upon the joint authority of ourselves and of the Presbyterian journal, that both we and the Presbyterians are quite ready, the one to give up Maynooth, and the other to sacrifice the Regium Donum, the moment it becomes possible to do away with the Church Establishment. But not meaning any disrespect, we say of Mr. Miall's policy, with reference to the Maynooth question, what Chief Justice Bushe said of Paine's Rights of Man :—" It is a system of false metaphysics and bad politics ; any attempt to carry it into effect must be destructive of peace, and there is nothing practical in it but its mischief. It holds out inducements to disturbance on the promise of improvement, and softens the prospect of immediate disorder in the cant of the empiric, you must be ' worse before you can be better.' " Holding, therefore, these views in common with our Presbyterian brethren, views in which it is possible we may both be in the wrong, Mr. Miall cannot be taken by surprise, if we say that his present course provokes suspicion, and will soon beget disgust. This may be very unreasonable, very injudicious, very unfortunate, but it is not the less natural, not the less inevitable, or the less to be taken into account by a practical man who wishes to effect his object, and is obliged to calculate his resources. The Irish people, whether Catholic or Presbyterian, cannot see Mr. Miall in league with their enemies and believe him their friend—they will not put their trust in a man that serves two masters—they will hold by their old fashioned, distinction between God and Baal ; they will continue to detest monstrous friendships and kissing extremes. Let them have an unmistakeable bull, a thoroughbred horse, or a downright man ; but they loathe your Minotaurs as pagan indecencies, and they will prove Lapithæ to your Centaurs. Mr. Miall may plead the privilege of all boat-men to look one way and row another, but he will be answered that what is good in aquatics, may be bad in morality, and that at all events, people are against it, and will have nothing to do with it. It is a painful thing that it should be in the power of a man like Mr. Spooner to revive and envenom hatred, to perpetuate disunion, and to poison conciliation in a country such as ours, but it is more painful still that honourable men should be found to aid him in so bad an enterprise ; and we further say it is painful that Mr. Miall should not have already seen, that a consummation which cannot be the triumph of virtuous means, cannot be virtuous or profitable in itself.



In speaking thus of Mr. Miall, we have assumed a privilege which belongs to real friendship, sincere esteem, and community of object. That privilege is candour. Perhaps indeed we are wrong in styling that a privilege, which is more properly a duty on the one side, and a right upon the other. We are not of those who undervalue the assistance of Mr. Miall and his party, but we cannot be grateful for it in its present shape. For his sake and for our own we hope it may be tendered in a more acceptable form, but we must confess, that let assistance come from what quarter it may, in the Establishment itself are found our most effective helps. From the time of the Papal Aggression, downwards, its attitude has given us unmingled satisfaction, and allayed the dismay with which we witnessed the adjustment of the Tithe question by Lord Stanley. Our fears never overcame our reason to the extent of making us believe that any real vitality was imparted to a thing so vicious, so hollow, and so unsound as the Establishment; but we foresaw a tedious prolongation of its odious life. Many a man of feeble constitution, secures a long life by abstemiousness and care, while the vigorous and robust are spendthrifts of their health, and we feared lest the Establishment, rescued from death by the Stanley operation, but not beyond the danger of relapse, might after all, by avoiding exposure, by screening out the air, by keeping at home, by moderating its appetite, and especially by abstaining from riotous and heated assemblies, secure to itself a long, even if not a prosperous old age. But we saw with pleasure that it would not submit to nursing, confinement, and regimen. Its early, persistent, and delightfully stupid resistance to the system of National Education, gave a shock to its enfeebled system that we saw and registered with happiness. We could have embraced its Greggs, its Thompsons and its Fleurys, for poisoning the atmosphere all round their tender parent. It consoled us to think that ministers' money at least had not been changed into a rent-charge, and that the inflammation to which it gave rise, though small, was spiteful, and beautifully gangrenous; but what gave us the most unmingled pleasure, was the attitude of the Establishment during the Papal-Aggression fever. Before the excitement had spread to Ireland, it was a matter of anxious speculation whether the constitutional ardour of the Irish character would overbear all considerations of prudence in the Establishment. It was perfectly natural for the English Establishment to cry out against the wolf, for it had flocks, but no one could or did allege so amusing a pretext for the alarm of the Irish

Anglicans, or anticipate it on any supposition implying the coarsest good sense or most ordinary judgment in the men. The measure of our joy was therefore large when we heard the "treble pipe of Irish malignity," like the squeak of the Homeric ghosts, above the surging roar of English fanaticism. Our hearts failed us when the English Bishops appeared to set the proper value and no more, upon the sympathy of their Irish brethren, and met their brotherly advances with decent reserve, intimating with sufficient distinctness, that the Papal Aggression was no affair of theirs; but we were speedily comforted and reassured by the extension of the notorious Titles Bill to Ireland, the most fatal present ever made to the Establishment. The last new Reformation with its thrice conjured ghosts of old impostures, was another blessed symptom of incurableness, showing that no matter what others might do for the Establishment, she was most effectually doing for herself. When the Churches rang with defamation, ribaldry, and what Catholics deem blasphemy; when handbills of the most disgusting description were thrust into our hands; when we were specially and affectionately invited to hear ourselves blaguarded in places supposed to be reserved for the inculcation of morality and peace; when we found Bishop and Parson gambling with our money in Church Missions, Priests-Protection-Societies, and controversial classes; we loved to think that the people should see the Establishment supported at their cost, not to minister to the spiritual wants of Protestants, a grievance intolerable enough, but to overrun them the Catholics with an army of trained tormentors, who should ambush in their path, set traps for their children, put contention between them and their landlords, estrange them from their Protestant equals, and who having the venom of asps upon their tongues, should shed it most profusely on the day of rest and peace. Our satisfaction was naturally extreme when the Protestant Association that meets somewhere in Dublin, and of course opens its meetings with prayer, declared the present Commission of Inquiry into Endowed Schools to be composed of "luke-warm Protestants, Papists and Socinian Infidels, like every previous board of the description,"—but our joy overflowed when we learned that the same Association, after intoning a doxology, pronounced the murder of the late Mr. Little, a consequence of the protection extended to Popery.

We should fill more pages than we have inclination or leisure to fill, were we to enumerate the freaks of the Establishment or its patrons. Within the last week we have a gentleman of

property establishing a school at Inniskeen in the County of Monaghan, where the consciences of children are to be vexed and depraved by the enforced acceptance of instruction which they regard as deadly sin. That they may attend this school their parents are commanded to withdraw them from the excellent national school of the village, which, strange to say, enjoys the shelter of the same roof with a school exclusively Protestant. Colonel Lewis is reported to have said, in reply to the remonstrance of the tenantry, that he will not allow "priest or parson or devil to visit his school," a form of expression indicating sufficiently the scriptural character of the patron, if not of the school. Already the landlord and the tenantry are at war in virtue of the Gospel of peace, and a state of things has been brought about of which people in England have no conception. Should this gentleman succeed in forcing the consciences of those about him, and in winning what he considers a triumph over the priest; he will only have done something to perpetuate and ingrain the peculiar vices which this species of religious oppression and social tyranny has rendered for the present habitual, if not positively national amongst us. Sycophancy and dissimulation are those vices, the more to be dreaded that in the Irish character they cover no ordinary depth and energy of hatred. Everyone knows they have been bred out of the perverse relations which the Establishment has created between the peasant and his superior; and surely Mr. Lewis ought to know that his own temporal interest is concerned in their eradication. There will be small hope of improvement for the Irish peasant if in this attempt to cut down his sacraments to two, the articles of his religion be reduced to the well known two which are found in the Gospel not of Christ but of Cataline—*Simulare et Dissimulare*.

According as the underworkings of the system of which Mr. Lewis is a part, come to be known, we get at practical results, which enable us to calculate what might be the effect of the system, if per impossibile it could prevail. We see children sent to unlearn at school, the faith they are taught to hold at home; we see them brought up in contempt of their own pastors without learning respect for any other; we see men trampling upon the Cross under protest, and blaspheming God with a mental reservation; we find the Irish taught self-reliance by living at the cost of a conformity, which their conscience abhors or their indifference makes light of; in fine, we see the man conscious of having denied Christ, argue in favour of selling his soul as dearly as he can; and deny himself none of the luxuries of sin, after having tasted all its

bitterness. Will any one say that this is the work of any church either established or missionary? Will any one say that it is not a defiance to mankind, that it invites anything but repression and extinction? Will any one assert after this that it is possible to honour or to dishonour such an institution, to conceal its shame or heighten its deformity, to make it better liked, or more detestable, to do anything with it, in fine, but to abolish, and if in our power, to forget it?

We care little what is done with the reversion of what is called the Church property. The right owners will place no obstacle in the way of any legitimate application of the land or money. The consolidated fund will have no objection to be relieved by the rent charge, and the glebe lands. We say with all deference that the support of the national schools would be a more fitting and more economical application of the fund, than that proposed by Mr. Miall, and we cannot see why the remainder of the rent charge might not be placed at the disposal of the respective grand juries, for county purposes, an allocation equally beneficial to landlord and to tenant. Various it is said, are the uses of adversity, but still more various are the uses of money, and more various still the unsupplied, and ever clamouring wants of a nation. We may rely upon it excellent use will be found for the property falling to the Country, but no use and no abuse could be so pernicious as the present. We do not maintain that the church property drops into the treasury as of right, we do not recognise the measure as one of confiscation, legitimate or otherwise. We consider the present occupants as overholding by violence, and that it is in virtue of the relinquishment to which Catholics consent, that the State has a right to lay hands upon the fund. That, however, is matter of opinion, and to us it is indifferent under what pretence the State does its duty and our will, provided only it be done. We have not thought it necessary to notice the trash that is written, and spoken about the coronation oath; as if the oath in question meant anything more than that the prince is obliged to uphold whatever legal arrangement may exist at any time. It was also rendered unnecessary for us to discuss objections raised from the terms of the Act of Union, as they had been disposed of quite as effectually as was needful in the last number of this Journal; and we have contented ourselves with mentioning that the Irish Establishment must be abolished, any thing in any oath, declaration, affirmation, article, agreement, statute, custom, privilege or prerogative in any wise to the contrary notwithstanding.

It cannot it is true be denied, that even were our power as effective and available as it is substantially great, we should be obliged notwithstanding to go through the weary repetition of arguments which every one of our opponents in his own heart knew to be irresistible twenty years ago. The slave trade subsisted for thirty years after every pulpit in the Empire had continued to thunder against it, and statesmen, with the exception of Wyndham differing in every thing else, had grown unanimous in its condemnation. It fell when it could hold out no longer, but the old arguments were in at the death and marched in procession at the triumph. Within the last few days an old argument was very forcibly put from an unusual quarter by the Lord Justice Clerk in Scotland. Certain friends of civil and religious liberty, behind the scenes as was intimated by the learned Judge, thought proper to excite other friends whose zeal was not according to prudence and still less according to knowledge, to fire and destroy the Roman Catholic Chapel at Kelso, the property of Mr. Hope Scott. In vindication of this beautiful principle so well understood and so accurately applied in Scotland, the less educated rioters obeyed the instructions of their prompters; they burned down the chapel, were apprehended, imprisoned, tried, and sentenced in due course of law. The learned Judge in passing sentence, took occasion to throw out an extrajudicial intimation to Mr. Scott, that it might be worth his while to reflect, whether there was any need of a chapel in a town where the priest did not reside, and which consequently must have been built for the sole purpose of proselytism. As a matter of private opinion, we may say, the remark would seem to have been rather out of place, and perhaps rather suggestive to friends of civil and religious liberty like those in the dock, but the value of the moral it contains is so great as to redeem its impropriety. If a distinguished judge in Scotland considers a Catholic Chapel unnecessary in a town containing three hundred Irish Catholics, who without a chapel will be three hundred Irish nuisances, which chapel has been built and maintained at the expense of the congregation merely; what is to be said of Protestant places of worship built at the expense of a Catholic people, and what of Protestant clergymen and their wives and families, and parish clerks, and sextons, and beadles maintained at the expense of the same Catholic people in parishes not containing a dozen of Protestants, and these, rich, educated and generous, able to build their own chapel and support their own minister, but preferring to cast the burthen upon their Catholic neighbours? The answer is complete, the remedy obvious, and it will have to be applied.

Other practical illustrations of the working of the Establishment are in constant supply. It is well to note them when they occur and to have them at hand. We have purposely forborne the suggestion of any particular mode of carrying out our views, or even of co-operating with Mr. Miall if it should be found expedient to do so. We have ventured however to state what we considered impracticable, and that is, we regret to say, any large or comprehensive organisation. Entire freedom, absolute unrestraint, or enlightened despotism in the guidance of any popular movement, are in our opinion the alternatives presented to the Irish people. Could the despot be found to rule the popular movement, we believe its action would be prompter and more effective for that control; but in the absence of such we believe we should do wrong to flatter ourselves, and we do not think we should serve the country by endeavouring to nurse the belief that in the conduct of a great political society, we could look homewards for anything distantly resembling the good faith, patience, mutual forbearance, practical methods and self-government of the English societies. We hope we may be wrong; we know we may give offence; but we feel it a duty to express this conviction, unfounded perhaps, but not ill considered. We have really no tub to mount, we have no elixir to churn, and consequently cannot proclaim its wonderful and instantaneous efficacy. If we did, we doubt not it would beto an unbelieving generation. Not a single specific have we secured by patent; and should perchance a suggestion moderately useful have escaped us, we shall be only too happy if any one can act upon and improve it, nor shall we ever be heard to murmur at the untrades-man-like practice of saying, "this is the same thing or something like it." We shall in this Journal at least endeavour to obtain what we want as we can, *Salvo Honore*, and as occasions offer; meeting with readiness and warmth every kindly advance, but relying more upon the power of interest or necessity than upon that of justice or friendship. We believe that self-respect is not incompatible with a knowledge of our faults, and that in order to reach this knowledge we must have the courage to hear them told. Our enemies will do it for us in their own way. It is the peculiar sin of tyrants and slave owners, says Lord Brougham with great truth, to reproach their victims with the infirmities and vices which they the tyrants and slave-owners have engendered. Our enemies may say hard things of us, but the vices they censure will not be ours the less because our enemies have planted and cherished them. We must endeavour to realize our proper strength and natural virtues before we can know what we have to rely upon or what we have to respect. We must be far from

thinking meanly of the country or of ourselves, but the opinion that we are the first or finest people on the face of the earth is false in fact and dangerous in practice. We have been and are a much suffering much slandered, greatly tempted people; we have preserved many fine qualities, we have actually acquired some others; but we have retained many defects and contracted from oppression by far the greater number of our failings. Many of the latter are wearing out with time, and unless in rare instances can be removed by time alone, but we can purify ourselves of many, and our success in dealing with the Establishment will depend much on our success in dealing with ourselves. We shall require an unexaggerated idea of our rights as well as of our strength, the measure of one being often the measure of both. We shall need in certain conjunctures to temper the warmth of our feelings and to sober the extravagance of our imaginations by an admixture of English forbearance, good sense, and self possession; but above all things it would seem to the erring judgment of ourselves, that the most pressing want of the present time is not so much acute feeling as cold determination, not quickness of perception but quiet reflection, not readiness to act but patience to deliberate. The Establishment must yield in any event, but those who wish to help its fall will have to qualify themselves in the way we have mentioned, unless some happy event should interpose to bring it to the ground without their aid.

We have thought it no more than our duty to all parties, and especially to Mr. Miall and the Society for the Disendowment of Religion, to be thus unreserved. According to our view it could serve no good purpose, that people, having a wish to work together, should be ignorant of the character of their intended work-mates. Admitting the possibility of much incorrectness in our impressions as to Mr. Miall and his general policy, we know that we have been tolerably accurate in the enumeration of our own failings and weaknesses, nor do we think we have exaggerated any merit or any capability for which we have taken credit. Many will be found to say, we have under-estimated the political power of Ireland, and judged quite too unfavorably of our own fitness for organized agitation. It will doubtless be maintained that we are susceptible of the highest degree of discipline; and men, to whose opinion the utmost deference is due, will hold to the belief that without organization and direction, without the old machinery of Councils and Committees, no great political change can be effected. Looking upon this organization as impossible, or extremely difficult and precarious at the present

time, we are happy in the belief that it is not as necessary as it is desirable. Men, we hope, will always be found to devote themselves independently and constantly to the service of the country, not from any transcendental patriotism, but from motives as unselfish as the infirmity of our nature will allow. But these are not sufficient of themselves to constitute an organization, or even to guide one, unless their endowments happen to be of the peculiar order of those which, to some extent, were shared with O'Connell by the founders of the Catholic Association. Should the formation of any such Society be unsuccessfully attempted, or should its success be only partial, it would be matter of grave concern, and to our mind full of disaster, or, at best, of delay. It would falsely be taken to represent the entire strength of the country, and its defeat accepted by many as a settlement of the question. If it continued to live a spoon-fed life in Dublin, a weakly infant subject to occasional convulsions, it would die the death of ridicule after having communicated that most dangerous of all infections to the cause it had been born to support. Men, disposed to act under other circumstances, would be deterred from action, if any step of theirs could be thought to connect them with the abortive Society or its proceedings. Moreover, a political Society requires a certain state of the political atmosphere in which to live and thrive, even though we admit the existence of every other condition favorable to its growth. Raise the temperature, not, however, by the explosive agencies of Spoonerism, drain the swamps, clear the woods, work upon the climate, and the plant will appear of its own accord. The labour is sometimes, though not always, hard, obscure, and unpaid, but it is, in most instances, the necessary condition of ultimate success. Although ready to acknowledge the superiority—as who does not—of combined and sustained action; we think it wrong to despise action of any kind, however irregular and intermittent, if every act represent the determination of an individual, and particularly if the individuals be numerous. We should be glad to make sure of one blow at the Establishment from every passer by, even though we had no hope of its being repeated. For the present we care not where a man's road may lie, provided only the Establishment cross it, and he may have need to break a fence or force a gate. Better of course that he should sit down with us, work the guns, or delve in the mines, but we shall not be unthankful if he only lend a hand and pass upon his way.—One swing with the sledge, one push with the crow-bar, one stone loosened,



one defence turned, one advantage pointed out, will entitle the man to gratitude though we never see his face again. Let this feeling of ours come to be recognised, for it exists already without acknowledgment, and the wished-for unity will speedily ensue. The will and inclination of men will become more pliant when it is not sought to be forced and twisted and tied down ; public opinion will make herself heard when her identity ceases to be questioned, and the conspiring wishes and purposes of the entire Catholic community will either beget organization or triumph without it.

One duty now remains for us, and it is one we approach with pleasure. In dealing with the subject upon which we have been engaged, we have written as we felt, with considerable, but not unnecessary severity. Aware of the natural and excusable error which might lead some of our readers to think we had included religions or individuals in the censure applied to the Establishment, we took an early opportunity to disclaim any such intention. We now desire to renew that disclaimer with the view of placing it in a more emphatic form, if necessary, before the public. With regard to the earlier protestations to which we allude, there might have lurked an apparent bitterness in the commentary, of a nature to injure the effect of the text ; but having now said of the Establishment all that we thought right, and no particle of which we are disposed to hear questioned or to modify, we do not think we can close this paper more appropriately than by denying with the utmost sincerity any intention to speak disrespectfully of the doctrines or morality of what is called the Established Church. Without pretending to be at all more liberal than others in matters of religion ; free, we trust, from any suspicion of indifference ; having, on the contrary, opinions as hard and as angular as may be ; we have, nevertheless, at all times admired and adopted the beautiful doctrine of Bishop Berkeley, "that the different roads men take upon the way to Heaven, need never prevent them from following the same road upon earth." This was not the cant of conciliation ; this was not the liberality of a discontented Papist, languishing to tread the same road, to call the same flowers, and to reach the same heights to which the Protestant had once exclusive access. It is the expression of a Protestant bishop, one of the few of his order in Ireland that could almost dignify the bad eminence of his place ; and it is trebly valuable for having been conceived and written at a period when liberality and toleration were unknown outside the author's own breast. Acting, therefore, upon these sentiments which we

accept and embrace, and entertain, and hope never to part with, we declare that when the Anglican Church shall have undergone the process we are preparing for her, when we shall have made her independent of outdoor relief, and she shall appear in Ireland in her proper and legitimate character as a Voluntary Church like that of the Scottish Episcopalians, we shall be willing to forget the past and bid her freely welcome. It would be affectation in us to say that we do not regard the presence of any other religion than our own as an evil. The Anglican, the Presbyterian, and every sincere man of whatever religion, divides this feeling with us ; but in a country like Ireland the evil admitted upon all hands is also allowed to have an admixture of good. To a certain extent the jealousy and vigilance of rival religions, kept within proper bounds, does, we believe, exercise a purifying influence over all the rivals. To this extent, therefore, we shall be prepared to welcome the Anglican Church as soon as its existence shall have been made at all compatible with charity and sisterhood. The English Church, says Lord Brougham, somewhere, is a mild mistress and an unobtrusive neighbour. How she rules her family we do not care to know, but we desire nothing more earnestly than good neighbourhood and are labouring our utmost to promote it. We have already said, and with all respect for Mr. Miall, we say again, that, *cæteris paribus*, man for man, voluntary for voluntary, religion for religion, we prefer the Anglican to the Presbyterian ; we have already assigned reasons for the preference, which we have, no doubt, Mr. Miall will find excellent. We find the "Churchman" in general more genial, better educated and more natural, in a word more to our taste than the Dissenter ; a reason, perhaps, as unanswerable as any other we have given. But in this we are by no means singular. Our great Bishop of Kildare, Dr. Doyle, had the same tastes and opinions as ourselves ; looking upon the Anglican body as approaching more closely to the Catholic standard of doctrine and practice than any other of the Separated communities. If, therefore, we have spoken strongly of the Establishment as distinguished from the Religion, it is a distinction which the friends of the Establishment themselves should be able to understand and prepared to accept, unless they wish to make the Church identical with the Establishment. We have hardly used a stronger expression than may be found in Peter Plymley, and what we have said, would that we had said as well. May heaven avert a Sydney Smith from Ireland. He would be worth a hundred years of life to the Establish-

ment without reforming it in the least. Dr. Griffin, Dr. Higgins, and Dr. Knox are exceedingly inconvenient to us as it is. Their charity, sense, and tact are as a mantle to the nakedness of the Establishment. It is, however, reassuring to reflect that they are rather more detested by their brethren than Dr. Mac Hale, or the Delegate Apostolic. Dr. Whately was once a little in our way, but now we cordially wish him to remain. Let us have more Fleurys, an additional Whiteside, an extra Gregg, Thompsons ad nauseam, Scripture readers ad infinitum. A military chaplaincy for Gavazzi, a cure of souls and bodies for Achilli, the professorship of Italian for a conforming "figurista," "signori di ambo i sessi" contributors to the Church Missions—this or the half of this, and our work is smooth and light. Make the placards more inflammatory, the handbills more poisonous, the "special invitations to Roman Catholics" more tender. Let religion turn herself into fairings for the girls, tobacco for the old men, and tea for the old women. Let conversion come like Jupiter to the lap of Nora in a shower of half-pence, or lurk in a bale of corduroys and flannel petticoats. In mercy's name let us have more Scripture riots, additional constabulary and additional rates. Let us have, if possible, two Aprils every year, for we must apprise our English readers, if they will allow us a native figure of speech, that Irish May meetings are held in April. A double allowance of bad breath, bad passions, and bad oratory. What more? More ministers and more bishops. From our souls we regret that the number ever was diminished. But we fear we shall be thought unreasonable, seeing how actively the Establishment is working for us without our asking. We on our side, and Mr. Miallon his, are engaged in a work of mercy for the English Church in Ireland. We in particular, should have studied the reformatory movement to little purpose, if we shut out from our care the most unreformed, though, by no means, the most youthful offender in the empire. After having lived under our mild but vigorous discipline, the convict will be restored to society; not so much punished as reclaimed; deprived of her unlawful store, but trained to honest industry; stripped of her purple and fine linen, but soberly and decently attired; an object neither of dread, nor pity, nor aversion, but free, self-balancing and independent; with rights in full, without a solitary privilege; a citizen, not a free-booter; a Religion, not an Establishment.

## ART. VIII.—METTRAY; ITS RISE AND PROGRESS.

*Rapports Annuels des Directeurs de la Colonie Agricole et Penitentielle de Mettray. 1840 to 1856 inclusive. Tours: Imprimerie Ladeveze.*

Numerous notices of the Reformatory Institution at Mettray in France, have, within the last few years, been published in this kingdom, and several of these have even been reproduced in our own pages;\* thus some explanation may be deemed necessary of our reasons for again bringing the subject under the attention of our readers.

It will be recollected that the accounts which have yet reached us of Mettray have been written by strangers, who, attracted to it by rumors of its marvellous success, have gone thither to examine it for themselves, sometimes, perhaps, fearing that a close inspection would reveal defects and shortcomings which distance had rendered invisible.

Such a consequence, however, has never resulted from a visit to the Institution, and the desire which has been felt after seeing it to diffuse the valuable information gained there, has led to the publication of the various pamphlets to which we have alluded. But these convey to us the impression which the Colony has produced on individuals who have each viewed it under one phase only of its existence, and, so to speak, from without. They have photographed for our contemplation, the admirable results which have been obtained. For the amateur philanthropist this may suffice, but the earnest student of reformatory science seeks much more instruction than the finished picture can convey. He must learn how such a work has been accomplished, in what manner it was begun, what difficulties impeded its progress, and how they were surmounted—knowledge which can be gained only by a patient study of its gradual development. No history of Mettray such as can supply this need has yet been written, but the annual reports afford much of the desired information, and the whole series (the earlier numbers of which are become very scarce,) having been placed in our hands, we have thought to render some service to the cause of criminal reformation by laying before our readers extracts from them

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\* Among them we may mention Mr. Hall's two invaluable Lectures, another by Mr. Wheatley, and a Charge by the Recorder of Birmingham.

as copious as our limits will permit—occasionally abridging the narrative for the sake of brevity.

The Reports are addressed to the members of the *Société Paternelle*, a small association originated by M. Demetz as the first step towards founding Mettray. It consists of the chief promoters of the enterprise, having for its President the Count de Gasparin, for Vice President M. Demetz, and for Secretary-General the Count de Flavigny; but it has never interfered in the management of the institution, which has always rested solely in the hands of the Directors. It is consequently to their genius and self-devotion, that the system and the success of Mettray are alike owing, and strongly impressed as we had before been with their merits, we must confess it was not until after an attentive perusal of the seventeen annual reports which have now appeared, that we became fully aware of the exalted benevolence and the profound philosophy, which through M. M. Demetz and de Courteilles, have wrought such benefit to mankind—a benevolence, which neither the most arduous labors, nor the closest personal intercourse with the miserable beings it sought to reclaim, could weary or disgust—a philosophy, which while successfully solving the most difficult of social problems, did not disdain to occupy itself with the minutest details of domestic economy.

To the second and succeeding reports, up to the period of M. de Courteilles' death, the names of both Directors are appended, but the first which was read to the *Société Paternelle*, at their first annual meeting on the 7th of June, 1840, is signed by M. Demetz alone. Referring to it in his opening address, the President, M. de Gasparin, says:—

The modesty of its author will not succeed in concealing from you the sacrifices and self-devotion on the part of M. Demetz and M. de Breteignères de Courteilles, by which alone we could have reached the position we already occupy. Abandoning the career in which they were engaged, and the habits of a whole life-time, they gave themselves up with pious zeal to the cause of criminal reformation. Personal and pecuniary sacrifices they estimated as nothing; their philanthropy overcame every obstacle, and they find their reward in the approbation of their own consciences, and of all good men.

It is known to our readers that by the 66th article of the Code Napoléon children in France, under 16 years of age, who are found guilty of an offence, may be acquitted as having

acted *sans discernement*, in which case they are liable to detention in prison for a certain number of years, according to the sentence of the magistrate before whom they are tried. He has, however, the option of treating them as adult offenders, in which case they undergo conviction. This, however, happens comparatively rarely, but until the establishment of Reformatory Schools, the child derived little or no benefit from his privilege of acquittal. He was still exposed, for a period often of many years, to the injurious influences of a prison where he was frequently associated with hardened felons. It was to give life and action then to this dead letter that M. Demetz resolved to establish the agricultural colony of Mettray.

We will now turn to the first Report, only premising with reference to our translation, that for convenience sake we have retained the terms *colony*, *colon*, *chef de famille*, *sous chef*, and *contre-maitre*, as our language possesses no words precisely equivalent to them. The two first are self-explaining; the *chef de famille* is the officer placed at the head of each family, to which he discharges the duties of a father, concerning himself more particularly with the moral supervision and bodily health of his wards. He has invariably been trained in the *École Préparatoire*, as has also the *sous chef*, a youth who acts under the *chef de famille*, and in time rises to a similar post. *Contre-maitre* may be translated "industrial master," and during the early existence of the Colony it was not indispensable that he should have been educated in the *École Préparatoire*, though it is so now. If formerly, however, he had been so educated he was permitted to take a share in the moral training of the colons, by filling the office of *sous chef*.

In June, 1889, the *Société Paternelle*, issued its prospectus, and selected the village of Mettray as the site of the Colony it had resolved to found. M. Bretignères de Courteilles had offered a tract of land there, peculiarly suited to the purpose; and from that moment, we became associated in the enterprise to which henceforth our lives are devoted. We now appealed to public charity in favor of an institution eminently calculated to benefit society, and we met with a warm response.

Five hundred subscribers gave in their names within the first year, including the king and the rest of the royal family, his ministers, many members of the Chamber of Peers, and of

Deputies, judicial and educational bodies in various parts of the country, and more especially the inhabitants of the department in which the Colony was established.

Our aim was to rescue young offenders from the influence of a prison life, and to replace the walls with which they had been surrounded, by liberty and labor in the open air.

We proposed by persuasive influence, by justice and kindness accompanied by strict discipline, to reclaim lads, who, from their infancy upwards had never received any moral training, and had been subjected to no other restraint than that of brute force; we proposed, in short, to turn ignorant and dangerous vagrant lads, into good, industrious, and useful members of society. Such a problem could not be solved by ordinary means.

In order to succeed in detaining our first colons among us, and in attaching them to our institution, we began by founding a school for teachers, which should supply us with devoted and efficient officers, and we strove to imbue them with the spirit by which we were animated, that they might in their turn communicate it to the rest, and afford them a good example.

It was absolutely necessary that we should be able to show to those who were apprehensive of evil effects resulting to themselves from the assemblage of so many criminal lads in their vicinity, that even such a band might be well disciplined and harmless, and we have succeeded in dissipating all alarm and ill will, and in gaining the confidence of our neighbours.

On the 28th of July, 1839, we opened our *Ecole Préparatoire* with 23 pupils,\* from among whom we have already selected several individuals now actively employed as officers in our institution.

While occupied in establishing this school, we were also engaged in erecting not far from it, the dwellings destined to receive our colons, the plan of which we will explain.

The houses are all detached; each is 12 metres [39 feet] long, by 6 metres, 66 centimetres [21 feet] wide, and consists of a ground

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\* It will be noticed that wherever the word pupil (*élève*) is used, it is applied to the students in this school, never to the colons. Admission to the *Ecole Préparatoire*, is gratuitous; thus the Directors have the power of selecting as pupils, those individuals who appear most likely to suit their purpose.

They are invariably chosen from respectable families, but often from such as have met with reverses in fortune, and to whom, consequently, the education and maintenance thus obtained is a great boon. If a pupil is found to be unfitted for the vocation of teacher, he is dismissed, endeavours, however, being made if his conduct is not in fault to provide for him elsewhere. Some leave of their own accord, and no attempt is ever made to detain either pupil or officer, after they have expressed a wish to depart. As the Colony can afford to a few officers only salaries sufficient for the support of a family, a large proportion of them do leave after a few years service; but owing to the excellent education they have received, and the high character they bear, they seldom fail to obtain good situations elsewhere.

floor, and over that a first and second floor. The ground floor, where the colons are employed when not occupied out of doors, is divided into four workshops by a partition, sufficiently low to enable the superintendant, placed in the middle, to overlook every compartment, without, however, it being possible for the boys in one to communicate with those in another, or indeed to see each other when seated; while the upper part of the room being left free, the temperature of the whole remains the same, however unequal in number may be the lads at work in the different divisions.

On the first floor is a dormitory for twenty children; the hammocks in which they sleep are so arranged that surveillance at night is easy, while in the day time they are hung up against the wall, and the room is available for other purposes. They are suspended at night parallel with each other but so that the heads and feet of the occupants shall come alternately side by side, by which means conversation, even in a whisper, is prevented, and it is made possible to place them very near together without any evil consequence.

Planks fixed on to posts by means of hinges, and which can be lowered at pleasure, form a table extending the whole length of the room, which may thus be used as a refectory, and when the tables are raised parallel with the posts, and the hammocks are hung up against the wall, a large clear space is obtained where in rainy weather the boys can be employed in various occupations and at the same time be continually overlooked. A little room is partitioned off from the larger apartment, and having the side which commands a view of the latter furnished with venetian blinds, the occupant can see without being seen; in this post of observation, the Chef de famille has his bed, and as no one knows whether he is asleep or not, there is not a moment when the boys can feel sure his eye is not upon them.

The second floor is arranged on the same plan, and is also adapted to receive twenty colons.

Two contre-maitres keep watch at night in each dormitory, taking the duty alternately till morning.

Each house thus accommodates 40 children, divided into two sections forming one family presided over by a chef de famille aided by two contre-maitres. In addition to these a colon is chosen monthly in each section, who with the title of Elder Brother assists the superintendents in the management of the household.

Each of these houses containing 43 persons, cost, internal fittings included, 8300 francs [£332] that is 193 francs [£7. 14] for each inmate or 9 francs 65 centimes annually.

Four houses are already finished, they stand 10 metres [33 feet] apart, sheds filling up the intervening space.

The ground floor of the first house is occupied by tailors, shoemakers, coopers, and plaiters of straw, and there is a rope walk in the adjoining shed. In the second house is a carpenter's shop, the wood required being stored in the shed next beyond. In the third house we are this year cultivating silkworms, from which seven ounces of silk were obtained, and the third shed forms a covered court.

The fourth house contained six cells, (the punishment quarter not being yet erected), and various apartments for the



nee of the officers. A forge and blacksmith's shop occupied the fourth shed; the fifth house which was to be the chaplain's residence, was nearly finished. M. de Courteilles lived at his mansion at a short distance from the institution, but M. Demetz, the Sisters of Charity, and the officers inhabited adjacent buildings, which included also the chapel, infirmary, baths, and several other departments of the establishment, among which were the general kitchen, and various domestic offices.

The first house intended for the colons being ready by January, 1840, on the 22nd of that month both the Directors repaired to the prison of Fontevault, where they selected nine youths, with whose antecedents they, had made themselves thoroughly acquainted, to return with them to Mettray. A very interesting account of this journey is quoted by M. Paul Huot\* from the narrative of one of the young officers who accompanied M.M. Demetz and de Courteilles, which we regret we have not space to give.

All these nine colons behaved perfectly well from the time they reached Mettray, the change in their treatment appearing to produce an almost marvellous alteration in their conduct.

Towards the end of February M. de Courteilles brought four colons from Normandy, and early in March M. Demetz added six more who accompanied him from Paris, and their numbers were gradually increased from month to month by children coming from all parts of France; indeed in sending them

the departments farthest away considered the distance which separated them from us as a decided advantage; they knew that the boy would adopt with greater readiness the new course we pointed out if entirely cut off from old companions and associations so as to feel almost as if he were transported into a new world; and further important advantages must accrue from thus associating together children differing as widely in the place of their birth as in their national characteristics, and who will in course of time carry back with them to their homes the fruit of practical training and moral and religious culture.

Upon this latter point, the most important of all, we may say that M. Brault, our excellent and venerable chaplain, is thoroughly satisfied with the attention our lads give to his instruction, and with the zealous manner in which they perform their religious duties.

In the course of ten months then, we have provided houseroom for 120 children, of whom 84 with the proportionate number of officers

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\* *Trois Jours a Mettray*, par Paul Huot. Paris; 1848.

are already settled among us. We have exerted our utmost efforts to win the confidence and affection of these lads, and hitherto they have yielded to the influences we have brought to bear, in a manner to afford us the liveliest hope for their future welfare."

The lads were at first chiefly employed in making a carriage road to the colony, in laying out gardens, in levelling the open courts, and in building more houses. The prejudice at first felt against them in the neighbourhood had been already overcome by their good behaviour, and some vinedressers had even asked permission to hire them, which had been granted, when the applicants were respectable men, and lived sufficiently near the colony to render strict supervision of the young laborers, by their own masters, practicable.

Most of the lads having been employed while in prison in weaving, their health originally defective had been much injured by bending over the looms, and consequently many of them reached Mettray in a deplorable state of weakness and disease. The open air life there, however, produced a rapid improvement, and was so beneficial that it became a rule to select sickly lads from the prisons in the hope that their health would be restored by the change, a fact which sufficiently accounts for the delicate appearance of many of the boys, and for the deaths amounting to two per cent. of their number.

The colons spend only two hours and a half per day in the school-room, a period which is as necessary for bodily rest as for mental instruction. They are taught reading writing and arithmetic, the authorized system of weights and measures, linear drawing, and singing, which latter is very efficacious in promoting discipline and moral improvement, and whose favorable influence on very degraded natures we have already had opportunities for observing.

The events of each day will be found recorded almost hour by hour, in the journal kept by the upper contre-maitre in each family. Everything which occurs is entered with the utmost exactness and detail in this register of which we send a copy once in three months to your Committee. It contains the whole history of the colony.

The punishments inflicted and rewards given, are summed up at the end of each month ; the number and the nature of the offences committed and the names of the culprits, as also those of the lads who have not incurred blame, are all recorded, so that the conduct of each lad during any one month may be compared with his behaviour at a former similar period, and his progress thus ascertained.

Our regulations are severe and strictly observed. In food, clothing and bedding, our lads have only what is absolutely necessary ; obe-

dience and punctuality in the performance of their duties are rigidly enforced, and the smallest offence is punished. With all this, we have no walls, and yet not one of our boys has ever thought of escaping, not even on coming out of the cell, where many of them have undergone confinement for ten or fifteen days on bread and water diet. . . . It is by convincing them that we are guided in all things by a sense of justice, that we acquire so powerful a hold upon our lads.

To afford them a proof of this and to furnish ourselves with an additional safeguard, we cause all lesser offenders to be tried before a tribunal, consisting of colons selected by us from among those whose names are upon the Tablet of Honor—reserving to ourselves only the right of mitigating such sentences as we consider too severe.

At the second annual meeting of the *Société Paternelle* the Count de Gasparin thus addressed them—:

The agricultural colony of Mettray is no longer a project, it has become a reality, its success is no longer disputed, it is acknowledged by the whole neighborhood, and attested by the crowds of visitors who come to see the institution; and many of you whom I address have had the opportunity of convincing yourselves with your own eyes, that your undertaking is firmly established, and that it fulfils the promises it held forth.

Yes, Gentlemen, we have seen our lads, who came to us from prison overcome with bodily ailments, recover their health under the influence of the laborious and hardy system to which they are subjected at Mettray; we have seen their hypocritical expressions of countenance change to one of modest self-possession which testified to their moral regeneration, tranquil conscience, and their resolution to keep henceforth in the right path; we have seen dissimulation give place to candor, hatred of their fellow creatures to kindness, the schemes of a criminal course, to the hope of regaining a respectable position in society. Those who have once rejoiced in such a spectacle can never forget it, and it becomes their duty to make their experience widely known, that such results may not be confined to one spot in France, but may be multiplied on an extended scale. [This indeed had already to some extent taken place.] The institution has already borne fruit.

It has been imitated in many parts of the kingdom by pious and benevolent men; an improved system is rapidly extending, and must ere long become general, for the contrast between the lot of children who enjoy its advantages, and that of those who are excluded from them, will be too painful to be long endured.

You will learn, gentlemen, from the report about to be read to you the progress of the institution during the past year and that which may be hoped for in the next. We could not have obtained such results even with the aid afforded us by the Ministers of the Interior, of Agriculture, and of Public Instruction, but for the generous offering of a man whose help every benevolent enterprize is sure to receive. The Count d'Ourches in bestowing upon us the sum of 140,000 francs (£5,600) has anticipated by many years the time at

which Mettray would have arrived at its full development. With his assistance we are now able to finish the buildings whose completion we had been obliged to defer, and shall thus have it in our power to receive the full number of youths to which for the present we have felt obliged to limit ourselves.

The class of children admitted to the Institution at Mettray are thus described in the annual report for 1841 :—

We learn from the information we have been able to procure, and from the answers of the children themselves to the questions we address to them on their entrance, that a large proportion have been accustomed to live by begging ; that they have been badly clothed, ill fed, and have received no care from their parents, who made a profit out of the wretched appearance of their children, and often employed them as instruments of theft.

Though declaring that those children have acted *sans discernement*, the law has nevertheless treated them with great severity, for it may justly be said that they acted compulsorily, since they did but yield to the imperious commands of hunger.

We must admit, however that there are among them some who are most precociously wicked, and who if not dealt with in time would infallibly become deeply criminal.

Our first care on the arrival of each is to study his character, in order to ascertain the treatment most suitable to him.

If we would operate successfully on the individual we must convince him that he has been sent to the colony not only for his present good, but for his future welfare. He must be made to understand that if the work to which he is set here is more laborious than that in which he was employed in prison, its purpose is to develop his physical powers while promoting his moral improvement. Finally, it is necessary to awaken in his heart those principles of religion and virtue without which no reformation is possible.

The wretched state of health in which most of the children came to the colony, together with the laborious life there imposed upon them rendered a larger quantity of animal food necessary than they had received in prison.

It has been said that experience, which teaches us the importance of good conduct, teaches us also the importance of good health—certain it is, that the one exercises a great influence over the other, and we therefore neglect no means which can help to strengthen the constitutions of our lads. Thus, throughout the winter, excepting a very few days when the cold was unusually intense, they have worked in a quarry near the colony, clothed in coarse cloth, and their feet having no other covering than their sabots.

The uniform they wear is extremely simple, and so made as to leave their limbs the greatest freedom of action, and thus promote their healthful development. Without being very remarkable it is sufficiently peculiar to attract attention to the lads in case they should run away, for it must never be forgotten that they enjoy perfect

liberty; we desired in avoiding every precaution which might recal the prison to their minds, to impress deeply upon them the conviction that at the colony they begin a new life, where force is replaced by persuasion.

Field labor, besides its importance in a pecuniary point of view, affords healthful exercise to the body, while it sufficiently occupies the mind to banish the evil thoughts which idleness is sure to induce; it affords another advantage in making rest absolutely necessary to the peasant at the very hour that his brethren who dwell in towns are entering into those amusements and dissipations which tend to enervate and demoralize the partaker.

To effect a complete reformation it was required to restore to this neglected class the habits and affections of the family circle, so dear to man, and which supply the firmest bands by which society is held together. This has been accomplished by dividing the colony into sections of forty boys, in each of which superintendents, called respectively the *Chef de famille* and the *Elder Brother*, exercise an authority maintained by kindness and good counsel.

By placing the members of each of these sections or families in a position to provide for all their wants themselves, to build partly with their own hands their common dwelling, and to cultivate the field and the garden belonging to it, we created for them the associations of home, and a love for their own fireside, and familiarised them with the feelings and the duties which arise there.

It was we believe impossible to discover a better means for raising these unhappy beings—the offspring of vice—in the eyes of the world, and in their own, and of converting them into useful members of society.

Thanks to the spot we have chosen, we may hope that the Colony will eventually produce everything it requires for its own consumption.

Vegetables being the chief article of the boys' diet, and having to be provided in proportion to their increasing numbers, twenty hectares (about 50 acres) of land round about the houses, and in the neighbourhood of water, will be planted with vegetables of all descriptions; the land at a distance will be sown with cereal crops.\*

An agricultural master superintends the cultivation of the soil besides giving a course of lessons on this subject suited to the capacity of the lads. Each agricultural division consists of twelve colons and a sub agricultural master, who is either a good gardener, vine-dresser, field laborer, or hedger and ditcher, and who teaches the lads under his care the best methods of performing their work, and handling their tools. When the weather is bad the colons plait straw

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\* It has been said that the lads have a sickly appearance, and that their food is insufficient, consisting, as it does, largely of bread and vegetables. It must be recollected, however, that this is the ordinary fare of the French peasantry, who rarely taste meat, and that the duty of not placing individuals who have incurred the penalty of the law in a position of greater material comfort than their honest neighbours, is never forgotten at Mettray.

for making their hats ; and in future, when our sheds are finished, the boys will under their shelter break stones for the roads, our intention being to make road-menders and even stone masons of some of them.

A great number are employed during the season in picking mulberry-leaves for the support of silkworms ; we are rapidly increasing this branch of industry, to which our circumstances promise high success. M. de Ohavannes, Inspector of silkworm establishments, having been sent by Government into the Department of Indre-et-Loire, has been kind enough to give a weekly public lecture on the culture of the mulberry, and the management of silkworms. Last year we gained a gold medal at the Exhibition for silk, the product of our colons' labor.

It is a source of constant congratulation to ourselves that the Colony was established on land unencumbered by buildings, and that thus we have been spared the necessity of modifying our system to suit pre-existing circumstances. It has been often said with unhappily too much truth, in reference to our old prisons whose unsuitable construction exercises so injurious an influence, that stones made their law.

We have now (May 1841) six houses completed, and the new buildings under construction are the school-room, the place of punishment, and the chapel. It was at first thought that the former would also serve for the chapel, and that it might be used alternately for divine service, and for the purposes of a school. We consulted several persons whose opinion deserved to have great weight with us, and many instances of schools in which this plan is pursued were mentioned. But what may be very suitable for children who have early been trained to religious habits, cannot be applied in the case of individuals utterly different from them.

There is no task so delicate and so difficult as that of leading back into the right path those whose early education has been completely neglected, and it is necessary everything should tend, even in the smallest details, to promote the object we would attain. The words of the Chaplain, the associations of the place, the solemnity of the service, the harmony of the chanting, should all operate together on the child's heart, reaching it through his ears and eyes.

The munificence of Count d'Ourches, by enabling us to build both a school-room and a chapel, has put an end to our difficulty. Count Leon d'Ourches, after having on a former occasion given us 10,000 francs (£400) has recently presented us with a donation of 130,000 francs (£5,200).

We know not how adequately to thank our generous benefactor, and are glad thus publicly to pay him the just tribute of our gratitude.

We have already succeeded in destroying, or at least in weakening to a great degree, the spirit of combination which our colons had acquired in prison. Now any one who does wrong is blamed by his companions, and incurs their displeasure. We feel assured that we have reached the point when the good operate on the bad, and that

our lads are the first to repress the wrong acts committed among them. Lately they obliged a comrade who had behaved ill to return a book which he had received as a reward. On a former occasion they demanded the expulsion of one of their number, saying that they did not like to retain among them an individual who disgraced them all.

Another time one of them told us of some misconduct which had occurred in the infirmary; it was endeavored in vain to ascertain who had informed us, when the lad stood up in the middle of his companions, and said in a loud voice, "It was I, and I am not afraid to own it."

At the last election of Elder Brothers they at once selected a colon, who, having vainly urged one of his companions who had been guilty of some fault to own it, came openly, and informed us of it himself. Sometimes the culprits themselves tell us of their offence, but, it must be confessed, such an event is very rare.

Six months ago the abbé Fiasiaux, who is now at the head of the Agricultural Colony at Marseilles, having come to visit us, asked the lads to point out to him the three best boys amongst them. Their eyes turned instantly towards three colons, whose irreproachable conduct placed them far above the rest. He then applied a more delicate test, and one which rather alarmed us, not knowing what might be the result. He asked which was the worst boy. We expected that a certain lad would be pointed out by his companions, for there was no doubt on whom the choice should fall. All, however, remained motionless, until, at length, one came forward with a pitiful air, and said, in a very low tone, "It is me." The worthy abbé embraced him affectionately, and said, "What you have just done convinces me that you are mistaken, and I do not believe you on your word." From that time the child has behaved tolerably well, which is a great improvement on his former conduct.\*

Another fact proving the good spirit which exists among our boys, and the happy influence exercised over them at the Colony, is that when a serious offence has been committed by any of them, that very instant their games stop, they become silent on the play-ground, and for many days afterwards not the slightest fault calls for punishment.

We endeavor to foster a spirit of charity in our lads, for any one who has had an opportunity of practically comparing the anguish of mind consequent upon a bad action, with the sweet and holy pleasure which a good one leaves behind, can scarcely relapse into evil ways.

We read to our colons an account of the disasters caused by the inundation of the Rhone, and several of them who had relatives at Lyons proposed, in order to send some help to those who had suffered from the floods, to give a portion of the savings they had brought with them from prison. The others wished to follow their example, and only regretted our attempt to moderate their eagerness—they wanted to give away all they possessed. Besides the sum we per-

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\* We learn, from Mr. Hall's Lecture on Mettray, that he is now "*bon militaire*."

mitted them to bestow, we proposed to them to go without a portion of their food one day, and to add the money thus saved to the amount already subscribed—to perform, namely, by enduring this fast, an act of what has been rightly called *corporal charity*. This suggestion was received with delight by all but one, who murmured at the plan: his companions punished him for his conduct by condemning him to eat his full share seated alone at table, and he was so severely reproached for his selfishness that we think he is thoroughly cured of it. Perhaps this incident may induce the belief that the lads were carried away by general feeling, or that they yielded to external impulse. The following fact will prove the contrary. Very lately one of them, having adopted the evil counsel of a workman who happened to have been employed at the Colony, was put into the cell; on coming out he was told that the workman, who had a family to support, had been sent away, and that, perhaps, he and his children were without bread to eat, when the boy, deeply moved, exclaimed, "Let them give him everything I have."

Our colons work in the kitchen garden where the trees are covered with fruit, without ever touching it. This is a fact which visitors have had opportunities of verifying, and which has caused them much surprise. We have, however, been able to teach our lads that their antecedents make that a serious offence in them which if committed by others would be but a trifling fault.

In general they are humane and compassionate \* \* \* a melancholy incident which we must not pass over in silence, will convince you of their sensibility. For the first time since the foundation of the Colony into which a hundred and forty three children have been admitted we have a death to record. \* \* \* This loss was a very deep affliction to us, rendered the more severe by the gentleness and pious resignation of the poor child who died. Seized before he departed from Clairvaux (the prison from which he came) with a fatal disorder, he never left the Infirmary during the fortnight he remained with us. A few minutes before his death, he said, "It is sad indeed to leave the Colony so soon." His strength no longer permitting him to raise himself in bed, he begged the chef of the family to which he belonged, and who had watched all night beside him, to bend down, and kissing him, thanked him for all his kindness. His last words expressed repentance and gratitude. \* \* \* His companions attended his funeral and we made the ceremony deeply impressive. The words pronounced at the edge of the grave produced a great effect on our lads; all wept, and no doubt they will retain a solemn remembrance of a scene witnessed by them for the first time. You well know, gentlemen, how these things are managed in our prisons.

We have obtained land for our little cemetery near at hand, and its situation is calculated to affect the mind deeply. The Elder Brother of the family to which the poor boy who died belonged has it in charge to take care of the turf on his grave. \* \* \*

We have found means of employing a part of Sunday, a day so difficult to get through in penitentiaries and prisons, in such a manner that, while resting from labor, our lads are saved from idleness.

Two hours of the day are spent in gymnastic exercises. Children



possess an exuberance of animal spirits which they must have the means of getting rid of no matter how, and often this necessity has more to do with the blows they give each other than any malicious feeling. Every thing which tends to fatigue them helps to keep away evil thoughts, and we take care therefore that their games shall necessitate violent exercise that they may be tired by their play as well as by their work ; thus at night they fall asleep the moment they lie down, and their slumber is unbroken till it is time to rise.\*

As attempts to escape might destroy the usefulness of our Institution, we have classed them among the offences which are punished by relegation to prison, but meanwhile we have sought, and it would appear successfully, to make our lads feel that having been set at liberty as it were on parole, it would be dishonorable on their part to run away from the asylum which has received them.

The words " God sees you " are written on almost every wall, that our colons may be constantly reminded that if they can escape the vigilance of man, there is no hiding place from the eye of God.

Among our lads there is one about fifteen years of age who has a most peculiar and troublesome idiosyncrasy, he has a passion for appropriating everything he can lay hands upon, for which it is impossible to account. It is an instinct with him, as it is with some of the lower animals ; thus though he does not know how to read he steals every book he can reach ; he has not made his first communion and his religious sense has scarcely dawned, nevertheless he possesses himself of the various objects used in religious worship, hiding all these things in his hammock, or in some hole. His faculties, it is true, are very imperfectly developed, but he is by no means an idiot.

He has been consigned to the cell eleven times, and as soon as he comes out he begins his thievish practices over again, and even in the cell he finds means to gratify this unfortunate passion ; he hides within his wooden shoes the straw that has been given him to plait, and he has been found with strips torn from his counterpane twisted round his body under his clothes.

What will be the future lot of such a being ? It is painful indeed to contemplate his probable fate. Still we will not give up the hope that our mode of treatment may be successful with him as it has been with so many of his companions, though it must be owned none of them ever exhibited such unaccountable perversity.

The punishments inflicted in our institution are

Erasure from the Tablet of Honor,  
Detention within doors,  
Compulsory labor,  
Bread and water diet,  
Imprisonment in a light cell,  
Imprisonment in a dark cell.

Before inflicting any of these punishments we have invariably recourse to a preliminary measure of which the advantage is so great that we cannot pass it unmentioned.

If punishment is to produce a salutary effect it is imperative that its object should submit himself to it unresistingly, and indeed that he should be the first to feel that he has deserved it. To impress

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\* The boys rise at five, a.m., the whole year round.

this conviction on the culprit's mind it is in the first place necessary that the penalty should be inflicted in a calm and gentle spirit, and dictated by the strictest justice—that power of reason which convinces while it commands, as one of our excellent magistrates has so well said; secondly, that both he who inflicts and he who receives chastisement should be perfectly cool.

It is impossible that these conditions should exist at the moment when a serious offence naturally exciting indignation, has been committed; and therefore our masters are desired when they have a complaint to make against any boy to send him to the waiting room, (*parloir*). This is in fact our *salle de dépôt*, but we avoid the use of every term which would recall the prison to the minds of our lads. Being sent to the waiting room never prejudices the boy's case, and consequently he goes there willingly. Directly this step has been taken we are informed of it, and we have then plenty of time to refer to his antecedents, and institute an inquiry if we deem it necessary.

During this delay the culprit begins to reflect on what he has done, the master becomes cool, we have time to consider the circumstances of the case, to consult together, and when at length we decide the matter, in perfect calmness and thoroughly acquainted with the whole affair, we are sure that justice is administered in a paternal spirit.

. . . . .

Of all the punishments which unhappily we are under the necessity of inflicting, we must confess that the cell alone exercises a moral influence; all the rest, such as dry bread, being kept in on Sunday, &c., have a useful effect only on children under nine years of age, and always irritate older lads. Our officers have been struck with the change that seclusion in the cell has produced in the most obstinate dispositions. Indeed, our colonels themselves have expressed their opinion of it in very plain terms, and their authority in such a case is not to be despised. "As for us," they say, "we would rather have a whipping, but the cell does us more good."

Some persons have thought that *separate* confinement, as it has been well defined by one of our most distinguished writers, and which has hitherto been very absurdly confounded with *solitary* confinement, should be thrown aside now that such success has been attained at Mettray, where the lads are associated together. But this is a very serious error which it is our duty to correct.

Separate confinement, instead of being opposed to our system is in perfect harmony with it, and is, in our opinion, its indispensable complement. . . . In the United States children, before being received into institutions analogous to ours, are subjected to a shorter or longer term of separate confinement; they lay aside in the cell the turbulent spirit they displayed outside, and silence and reflection prepare them for moral and religious instruction, and for the adoption of a new course of life.

Independently, however, of this wholesome influence, separate confinement is necessary also as a means of restraint. The course of treatment pursued at an agricultural colony does not admit of

sufficient severity to intimidate undisciplined dispositions, some of which retain their vicious propensities, unless the fear of being sent back to prison can be made to exercise a wholesome influence over them. And again, the deprivation of liberty, which is part of the punitive power of imprisonment, cannot exist with the kind of employment pursued at a reformatory school.

If, then, it is desired that the operation of the law should not be illusory, and that those likely to fall within her grasp should not hope to escape with impunity; if, above all, our threat of relegation to prison is not to be an empty one, it is indispensable that the colons before they come to us, should have experienced confinement there in all its harshness and severity.

Many of the boys who have come to us direct from ordinary gaols, where there is no regular labor, and where the prisoners, especially if children, do almost what they please, ask to be sent back. In very cold weather some of them have even regretted the House of Correction, where, instead of working out of doors, exposed to the inclemency of the season, they were placed in well warmed workshops with just a shuttle in their hands.

It must be evident how embarrassing such requests are to us who wish admission to Mettray to be considered as a favor and a reward; though, on the other hand, they cannot fail to remove the apprehensions of those individuals who fear that our system is not sufficiently severe.

But to return. We never should attain our end unless the treatment in prison were harsh enough to create a dread of being sent back there, or, in one word, if separate confinement were not invariably the probation through which every colon must pass before coming to us.

For the rest, as regards this system, the effect produced by a less or greater period of detention is the only point about which there remains any difference of opinion; and the establishment of reformatory farm schools affords the means of conciliating all parties, by rendering it easy to abridge that period as much as may be thought desirable, without incurring the evils which would otherwise arise from too speedy liberation.

The value of the above remarks cannot be over estimated, especially when we know that fifteen years' additional experience has not altered the opinion of the surviving Director of Mettray upon the absolute necessity of subjecting the lad sent to a Reformatory School, to such previous treatment as shall make him feel the change to be a boon, and upon the expediency of this the first stage in reformatory discipline, consisting of separate confinement in a well ordered prison or analogous institution. The warm discussion which arose on the question of imprisonment prior to admission to the reformatory school, at the conference of the National Reformatory Union held at Bristol in August last, evinced the importance of the subject,

and the great difference of opinion which yet prevails regarding it.\* We therefore have been desirous, though at the expense of some space, to make known the sentiments of those to whom the practical knowledge of many years has given great authority.

The report dated 1842, was read at a much earlier period of the year than usual, namely in January, and consequently narrates the history of the colony during only eight months, the previous one having been read in May 1841. We are informed that,

Not a single colon failed at the musters during the year 1841. Their conduct has been good, better even than could have been hoped. In the course of January half our lads incurred no punishment; in February, March, April, and May, two-thirds; in June, July, August September, and October, three quarters; and in November and December, four-fifths, were exempt from its infliction.

These statements are not only highly favorable, but very remarkable, when it is considered that the least infraction of the rules of the Institution is visited with a penalty. Extreme severity of discipline is, however, accompanied by great personal kindness, and many gentle influences beside the affectionate demeanor of the officers, are brought to bear upon the colons.

Every child, and every man too, has a good side to his character by which he may be approached, and through which his feelings may be touched and softened; and if only this be carefully studied, and means earnestly sought by which the master may gain an influence over him, assuredly they will be found if the appeal be made from heart to heart.

However depraved and neglected may have been the early life of our lads, there is always some recollection and association connected with the village they came from, with its church spire (their landmark), or some attachment to their native place which may be profitably awakened.

Very few mothers are wholly bad. In the course of a miserable and disorderly life some brighter days have occurred when the father or the mother has bestowed a caress and given some good advice to their child. In cases where sickness or poverty has been the first cause of wrong doing, often before yielding to its pressure, before entering the path of crime, the child has hesitated, sometimes resisted the temptation, and many times, even while giving way to sin, he has not stifled the voice of conscience.

In the course of 1841, an important change was made in the method of conveying mental instruction.

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\* Authorized Report of the first Provincial Meeting of the National Reformatory Union. Arrowsmith, Clare-street, Bristol 1856. Price Two Shillings. See also ante, p.p. 782 to 791.—Ed.

Originally all the lessons were given by the schoolmaster himself with the assistance of monitors. It was found however to be impossible, with such large numbers, for him to address himself individually to his pupils, the monitors were in fact the teachers, and the master did little more than keep order. By the new arrangement the chefs and sous-chefs give the lessons to the members of their own family while the schoolmaster passing from class to class animates, directs, and superintends the whole. The chefs, themselves well educated men, make excellent teachers, and their presence preventing the infraction of rules, which otherwise so large an assemblage of boys would have opportunities of committing, the number of offences has been reduced to a startling extent. While there had been twenty-four instances of punishment during six months, under the old arrangement, a similar period after this change, afforded only two.

Nine colons had completed their sentences since the foundation of the colony, and had been placed out. All were behaving well, though some had been among the most troublesome at Mettray.

This circumstance is so remarkable and so gratifying, that we shall be excused for giving you the particulars of the conduct of two in whom we had the least confidence. M — J. a Jew born at Paris in 1826, was at ten years of age apprehended there for a theft committed in company with other young vagabonds. The *Vie de Cartouche* (an immoral book) was found in his pocket.

Acquitted, but sentenced to be detained five years in a House of Correction, he passed three and a half at la Roquette and twenty months at Mettray. His father is dead, his mother in prison at Clermont, his brother has been several times convicted, and his sister is a most abandoned character. Obligated to live in the streets of Paris, "my companions were bad," he told us, "and I lived like them, that is to say by theft and by begging." Gifted with remarkable intelligence, and acquiring with wonderful facility whatever it was attempted to teach him, he nevertheless exhibited the most perverse disposition; insolent, violent, and vindictive, he resisted every order of his masters, and poured forth abuse and threats of vengeance against any of his companions who he thought had used him ill, mistakenly declaring that his law authorised him in demanding an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

He was consigned to the cell seven times during his stay at the Colony, his seclusion amounting in all to a period of five months. Shortly before his liberation he seemed to delight in annoying the contre-maitres, and at last, just as he was about to leave, infringed the rules, thereby incurring punishment which he refused to submit to, saying he was going to be set at liberty. We replied, that no one was at liberty to do wrong, and that we should send

him to the cell on bread and water diet, and keep him there until he was reformed. For two months we kept this lad thus under our care, seeing him every day and striving to convince him that his true interest made it imperative on him to amend his conduct, and to perfect himself in his trade as a Shoemaker, that we might be able to apprentice him when he was fit to be at liberty.

This short but severe struggle resulted in our gaining the victory.

M——'s intelligence enabled him to perceive that efforts so persevering must be disinterested; overcome by us, he begged as a favor that he might be permitted to remain in the cell until he should so far have learnt his trade, as to have such a pair of shoes of his own making to shew to the shoemakers of Tours, as would secure him a good master.

We granted his request on condition that he would not leave the cell, and would work there industriously at his trade, telling him at the same time that he was free, and that his own wish alone detained him. The key of the cell was given to M——, he passed three weeks there, faithful to his word, working so diligently and with such right feeling, that we had at length the pleasure of placing him with one of the best shoemakers in Tours, where for six months his conduct has been irreproachable. His neighbours rejoice to see him in the shop of the excellent man who has received him into his house, he comes to pass almost every Sunday he can be spared at the Colony, and is improving rapidly in his calling, indeed there is every reason to hope that his reformation is permanent.

T——de l'Isere, twenty years of age who came to us from the Penitentiary at Lyons in May 1840, and left in October 1841, gave us great trouble. A Brazier by trade, he excelled in his calling; beside being unusually intelligent, he was active and industrious, and had brought with him from Lyons savings, amounting to 600 Francs (£24). He exercised considerable influence over his companions. Violent in temper, but professing great attachment to us, he appeared to restrain himself in order to prove his devotion to us. We hoped much from him, and secured him an excellent place with one of the best Braziers in Tours, who was to give him, as soon as he left the Colony, board, lodging, and a Franc and a half a day. A fortnight before his time was up, several pieces of money were stolen from the dormitory occupied by the pupils of the Ecole Préparatoire, by one of the colons who cleaned the room, R—— by name, the worst boy in the Colony, and whom we immediately sent back to the Penitentiary at Lyons. . . . The wretched lad had no sooner committed the theft than not knowing what to do with the money, nor where to hide it, he gave it to T. who was weak enough to take care of, or rather to conceal it, for several days. From that moment T——'s whole appearance changed, his conscience allowed him no rest; always uneasy, he constantly hovered about the place where he had hidden the purse containing the stolen money. For two days, as he afterwards told us, he was continually on the point of giving it up to us, but the delay was fatal; he feared, after having postponed it so long, that his repentance would appear tardy and insincere; he remained silent, but his uneasiness had not escaped our notice, and

we were inquiring the cause of it, when an Elder Brother informed us of the theft which R. had committed, and of T——'s complicity. We took the latter to the spot where he had hidden the booty, and made him give it up, then having had him brought into the presence of his assembled comrades, we tore in pieces his indentures, and made him confess his fault to the master who was about to have received him.

Thus all his companions saw every chance destroyed of his entering that path which, but for his offence, promised to lead him to prosperity.

We ordered him to the cell, and kept him there until we were convinced of his sincere repentance, when one of those excellent men who never despair of reclaiming a fellow creature, took him under his care, although we concealed nothing from him of what had occurred; and now T—— fills a confidential situation and is unexceptionable in his conduct. Excuse these details, gentlemen—you will appreciate their importance as we do; our officers were constantly saying, "If the Directors reform M— and T— they cannot but reform all the rest."

The time during which these two lads were under our care was much less than it should have been, for they were little more than a year with us, and nevertheless we feel we may reckon on their future good conduct."

This Report records that M. Giraud, (whom we learn from another pamphlet,\* having come to Mettray for one day, never left it till his death, performing meanwhile gratuitously the duties of accountant to the institution,) had resolved to build, out of the savings of a life of honourable industry, a house for the reception of a family of colons, which the Directors intended to call by his name. Another house too was about to be erected at the expense of Madame Hebert, of Rouen, in memory of a beloved daughter whom she had lost.

We learn from the next Report, dated March 1843, that 241 boys had been received at the colony by the end of 1842, of whom 45 had been placed out, and, under watchful patronage the excellent effects of which are constantly brought before us, all, excepting three, were conducting themselves well. One of them—

"D—, naturally of a violent ungovernable disposition, who alluding to the circumstances of his birth, said, "I have no name now, but only give me a sword, and I shall know how to earn myself one," has been admitted as a volunteer into the 8th regiment of Hussars quartered at Tours. He has already won the esteem of his superior officers and of his comrades, and indeed belongs to the best set in his regiment; he has not been punished once though it is a year since he joined the army, and we are expecting that he will soon be made a

\* Notice Sur Mettray, par A. Cochin. Tours.

brigadier M—, the Jew whose history we quoted from the preceding Report, is fulfilling our most favourable expectations.

Another lad, T—, gave up his place in order to join his mother who was in the greatest destitution, and whom he wished to support by his labor. On leaving the Colony to return to his relatives he found on the road to le Mans, between six and seven miles from Tours, a parcel containing property to the amount of 75 francs, which belonged to the Vice-president of the *Tribunal Civil* at Tours. T— retraced his steps and faithfully delivered into our keeping the bundle he had picked up, and then resumed his journey homewards, where he well knew nothing but poverty awaited him.

Unhappily his virtue was not strong enough to resist the temptations of the position, in which with the best motives, he had placed himself, and he fell again into the hands of the police.

One of the three who relapsed robbed his master of two francs and a bottle of wine, to the great indignation of his former companions at the colony.

Our lads always feel the ill-conduct of one who has been among them as a disgrace to themselves, and do not fail to express their disapproval whenever an opportunity occurs. We take care to keep them informed of the behaviour of their comrades who have gone to service. For this purpose a table elaborately drawn up is hung against the wall in the schoolroom. It contains the names of the colons who have been apprenticed, together with those of their names patrons, their place of abode, and the information which is sent us every three months, respecting their industry and moral conduct. These tables are read to the assembled Colony whenever any new facts have been entered. The fear and the hope of having their names thus quoted with evil or with good tidings, exercises a powerful influence over the youths, and this publicity produces an equally good effect on strangers. Patrons who come to the Colony see the information which they have themselves transmitted respecting their wards copied word for word on the wall of the schoolroom, and thus they can convince themselves of the truthfulness of our mode of proceeding.

Experience continued to demonstrate the wisdom of abolishing all physical means of detention at the colony, the effect of which is to make the lads feel they are on their honor not to attempt to escape.

This is so true that a chef happening one day to ask one of them who had tried twice over at the risk of his life to escape from prison, why he never thought of running away from the Colony where he had to work much harder, he answered, "It is because there are no walls at Mettray."

The Duc Decazes paid a visit to the Institution this year, and in speaking to the colons of the advantage and happiness which should flow from domestic life, quoted as an example of what this should be,



the royal family, who had recently sustained a loss in which the whole nation shares.\*

His remarks produced such an impression that when he had left, our lads asked to subscribe the proceeds of a day's labor to the monument that France and the army are raising to the memory of a Prince so deservedly esteemed and regretted, and whose name was one of the first inscribed in the list of our founders.

The tablet of honor at this time presented a very favorable aspect. Out of 172 colons, the names of 89 or more than half, were inscribed there.

The beneficial effect of the Tablet is very apparent, and we have also every reason to be satisfied with the employment of Elder Brothers, elected, as they are, every month by their companions. The individuals chosen are generally well fitted for the post. Our chiefs acknowledge that their co-operation is most useful in the management of the families, and upon the lads themselves the office has a powerful effect for good.

Every one who exercises authority over others feels it to be necessary to make his example conform to his precept, and thus we have seen lads who had acquired this distinction correct faults in which they had before indulged. Through them, too, we know every thing that occurs in play time, and indeed at all hours of the day, the Elder Brothers being on the same level with their companions; moreover, we acquire this knowledge without recourse to that system of espionage which degrades alike those who execute and those who employ it. The Elder Brother, wearing a badge upon his arm, feels that he is invested with authority, but though it is his duty to prevent causes of punishment, he has not the power to inflict it; he reports all infractions of the rules, and as in so doing he is only fulfilling the duties of an office in which his brethren have placed him, they submit without a murmur to the consequences.

The choice which the lads make in their elections indicates the spirit and tone of the family; because if an insubordinate feeling prevailed, or if any hostility were entertained towards the chiefs of the family, the boys would select to fill the office of Elder Brother one who would be likely to aid their evil designs.

Of the 28 lads who, up to this date, had gained the honorable distinction of being elected Elder brother, 13 had come from one prison, that of Fontevault, and indeed almost all the colons received thence at Mettray were remarkable for their excellent behaviour. This circumstance is explained by the course pursued by the Governor who then presided over that establishment. He held out the hope of removal to Mettray, as an inducement to behave well, and felt himself recompensed for the loss of his best boys, by the strong motive to good conduct with which he was thus able to inspire all under his

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\* The death of the Duke of Orleans is here alluded to.

care. His successor in office being unwilling to spare the lads who do him most credit, prefers to retain them in his own institution; the boys now sent from that prison are no longer distinguished among their companions at Mettray for good conduct, while Fontevault suffers from the absence in the lads of that potent incentive to right behaviour, the hope of thereby bettering their condition.

The labor of the colons had yet brought but little profit, but the Directors having every reason to believe that the great object of their undertaking, namely, the reformation of their wards, was being realized, they could wait patiently till time and experience should make it successful also as a commercial enterprise. This would have been more rapidly achieved had they been willing to exchange agricultural for mechanical occupation, but convinced of the importance of the former to the moral and physical regeneration of their boys, they regarded every other consideration as secondary.

The lads were delighted with harvest work, and thoroughly enjoyed getting it in. "Just look here," exclaimed one of them, one day when he was raising a huge sheaf of corn on his shoulders, having never before doubtless gathered more than a few scattered ears, "Oh! if my mother had this!"

Children should be employed on fertile soil where they can soon behold the effect of their labor. Their interest in their occupation can only be awakened by speedy results, for even the morrow seems to their minds, afar off. They witness with delight the young corn sprout from the seed they have themselves sown, and the vegetables which they have planted growing higher from day to day, while the spectacle of an abundant harvest attaches them to the soil they cultivate.

Some of them are placed in the flower and kitchen gardens, where, besides the cultivation of flowers and vegetables, they are taught how to bud and graft fruit-trees, an art which is practised near our large towns and in the gardens of wealthy individuals, but generally much neglected in the country.

To stimulate the enterprising and active spirits of our young laborers, we allow them to compete in each class, among themselves, the trial, however, being made on the soil instead of on paper. Every month the boys assign their respective places to each, under the superintendence of their master, and once in three months these places are announced in the presence of the whole colony, when three rewards are granted to the three best workers in each class—namely, one franc, ( $9\frac{1}{4}d$ ) 75 centimes, ( $7\frac{1}{4}d$ ) and 50 centimes, ( $4\frac{3}{4}d$ ).

With regard to instruction in music.

We find that very great advantages are attached to this pursuit. The singing of our boys promotes good order, prevents conversation

among them while moving from place to place, fixes good thoughts and good words in their memory, and attaches them to the institution where they have first felt these happy influences.

A knowledge of instrumental music, ensures them good pay and the prospect of advancement in the army; and practice in chanting gives them opportunities of being useful in whatever district we may find them employment, and brings them into advantageous communication with the clergy and other respectable inhabitants of the parish; of this we have already had satisfactory proof.

Every individual who has acquired the power of doing any one useful thing thoroughly well, will find opportunities for turning it to account. An instance of this occurred in the case of one of our lads whom we had placed in service at a little town in this department. He was amusing himself one Sunday by performing gymnastic feats in the market-hall, where he was seen by some respectable boys belonging to the town, who begged him to teach them the exercises. Thus he became their instructor, and they, out of gratitude, struck up a friendship with him which helped to keep him in the path of virtue.

Success of some kind, and the sympathy of our fellow creatures, are necessary to all of us. How many alas! unable to win the approbation of the good, have been driven to seek the applause of the wicked. We cannot make too great an effort to supply useful and noble objects of ambition.

Proofs of the increasing desire for instruction in the provinces, which we lately alluded to, have reached us in an interesting fact respecting the last colon who left us, and who is in service with a farmer of la Sologne.

This youth, D—, remained only a short time at the Colony, and departed before he had received more than a very moderate amount of instruction. Nevertheless, he wrote to us lately to ask for some elementary books, for he said, among the rustic population in which he was placed, some respectable laborers who could neither read nor write, had begged him to teach them all he knew, promising to pay him a franc and a half a month; and he has now seven pupils.

His letter being read to our lads gave them substantial proof of the advantages of knowledge, and his excellent conduct will ensure us situations for thirty of his comrades in this department.

The Chapel, for the building of which the liberality of Count d'Ourches had provided the funds, was now, with the exception of a few internal fittings, completed.

The Chapel in the midst of our little settlement, and its steeple, are familiar objects to which our lads become strongly attached. It gives Mettray a home-like aspect to their eyes, and it is with pain that they part from it. When those who are in service come to see us, they express in the warmest manner the delight with which they recognize the Church spire of the Colony.\*

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\* We asked one of them if he enjoyed coming back among us; he replied with a most naïve expression of pleasure, "Monsieur Demetz (for our lads rarely use the title of Director), when I catch sight of the steeple of the Colony, I can't walk any longer; I am forced to run." Letter from M. Demetz to the *Journal des Economistes*. January 4, 1856.

All the outward signs of religious worship affect the childish imagination, and nothing should be omitted which can deepen its impression on their hearts. We generally find them well disposed in this respect. The Bretons especially, all retain something of the religious customs of their country, and of the creed of their parents.

When in summer they practise the art of swimming, which is alike useful in developing their physical powers, and affording them the means of aiding their fellow creatures, our Breton lads never plunge into the water without first making the sign of the Cross, and they always wear an image of the Blessed Virgin round their necks. Their companions never ridicule these outward signs of a devotional spirit, which secures respect because it is sincere, and besides we have so effectively brought every purifying influence to bear, that any such unworthy expression would find no echo among our lads.

The founders of Mettray did not escape the censure which has been lavished upon the promoters of similar undertakings in our own country, by those who imagine they detect injustice to the innocent in the attempt to reclaim the guilty. Is then their reformation a boon conferred on the guilty alone? Is it no benefit to the innocent man, be he rich or poor, but more especially the latter, since it is his class which suffers most from the deeds, whether of violence or dishonesty, of our criminal population, to be relieved from at least some portion of the risk to which he is exposed from their brutal and thievish propensities? May we not esteem as a very real benefit to all who share it, the consciousness that some effort is being made to rescue our fellow creatures, sunk, often by no fault of theirs, in misery and crime, and by teaching them to use to the advantage instead of the injury of mankind, the powers with which they have been gifted by our common Father, to make them useful members of the great human family? Again, is it no blessing to the honest and meritorious parents of the humbler classes who cannot watch over their offspring as the more wealthy are able to do, to have their children saved from the contamination of evil companions by the removal of these from among them? That it is so regarded by them we happen to have convincing proof in the fact related by Mr. Thomson of Banchory, that an Industrial School at Aberdeen, established for the reception of the most degraded children in the town, was warmly supported by the working classes, who, during the first year of its existence, while the wealthier inhabitants contributed £150, subscribed themselves £250 towards its funds, assigning as a reason for this liberality, that their

children had been greatly benefited by the clearance from the streets of the young vagrants who formerly infested them, corrupting whoever they came in contact with.\*

We maintain that great as is the boon conferred upon every individual reclaimed from a life of crime, the advantage to society is of no less magnitude; and when such reformation is effected by a system like that in operation at Mettray, and at many other institutions at home and abroad, where the material condition of the inmates is so regulated as to afford no temptation to the criminal, or cause of envy to the honest poor, we do not hesitate to assert that it is attended with no more incidental evil than is inseparable from every thing human. To dispute in which of the great works for the improvement of mankind, we ought to engage, is a melancholy waste of that energy for all of which ample employment may be found. Let us earnestly apply ourselves to the task lying nearest our hands, and rest assured that so we are best promoting the interests of our fellow creatures; but on this point we cannot do better than quote the words of the Directors of Mettray.

It has often been said, "before you improve the lot of criminals, and try to reclaim them from their sins, you should ameliorate the condition of the poor, and reform the vices of society." This is telling us to relinquish our endeavour to remove the causes and repair the effects of the evil round about us, in order to snatch hastily at the good which all desire to attain. Undoubtedly the sores which cover the social body, are numerous, and we ought to study the cause of the evil, and seek to dry up its source; but while the accomplishment of this great work is yet unfulfilled, and while the best means to attain it are being developed, let each apply himself to one sore, and heal it if he can; he will deserve the gratitude of all around him, and meanwhile each separate cure will hasten the restoration of the whole body to perfect health.

The Report for 1844 was read on the 12th of May, of that year, M. Duchatel, Minister of the Interior, presiding on the occasion. In the course of his address he said:—

Since the foundation of Mettray, not only the duties of my office, but my deep and personal sympathy in the undertaking, have led me to watch its progress closely. During a recent visit I have been able to observe with my own eyes how fully, under the guidance of the capable and excellent men who devote their lives to this noble work, the results obtained respond to the hopes of the founders and friends of the Colony. It is a grand and touching spectacle to behold those

\* Social Evils, their Causes and their Cure. Nisbett and Co., London. 1852.

lads trained to order and to labor, strengthened and purified by the culture of the soil, and by the spiritual care they receive, and yet restrained by a discipline strict though beneficent, in accordance with the origin and the aim of the institution.

Morally lost while yet in childhood, through the neglect of their parents and the contaminating example of vice, our prisons in the old state of things would have left the greater part of them sunk in crime to the end of their lives. But you convert them into honest and industrious laborers, and through your exertions society no longer regards them as enemies to be pursued and punished, but as instruments useful to the welfare of all. When I examined the colony in its minutest details, and made myself acquainted with its daily course of events, I felt what a rich reward for their devotion and their labor, must the results attained and the hopes engendered, afford day by day to its two Directors M. M. Demetz and de Brétignères de Courteilles, whose very names I love to pronounce.

In this Report we find the following passage :—

Deeply convinced of the importance of first impressions, we make it a point to fetch our lads ourselves from prison. The intimacy which a journey produces, and the confidence resulting thence will be at once understood. Three days of travelling will make you better acquainted with the character of your companion, than a whole year of the intercourse of ordinary life, and we cannot too soon gain a knowledge of the disposition of our lads, so as to know what methods we can most successfully employ for their reformation ; possibly it is for want of studying the moral constitution of man as carefully as the physical, that hitherto so little comparatively has been accomplished by education.

During the journey we converse with the lads, and more especially we allow them to talk among themselves in our presence, by which we discover much of the tendency of their minds, and of the secret motives which guide them ; thus, too, from the very first, we have opportunities of observing whether they are soberly or intemperately inclined, whether neat or slovenly, lively or dull, all which characteristics inevitably reveal themselves in the familiarity which travelling permits.

When engagements deprive us of the pleasure of going ourselves to fetch our new colons, and of witnessing the first hope of liberty kindle in their hearts, we depute benevolent individuals whom we can entirely trust to supply our place.

On reaching the Colony our first care is to distribute these new recruits among our families that, being widely dispersed, any unfavorable influence they might exercise shall be concentrated as little as possible, and so also that the old colons may, by their example and advice, predispose the new ones to obey our wishes.

Inscribed on the front of one of our houses are the words, " Let us love one another ; for charity comes from God." This precept, which has penetrated deep into the hearts of our lads, exercises a potent influence on their habits.

We can affirm, strange and almost incredible as it may appear, that among our boys, who have hitherto lived among companions indulging the grossest propensities, and who have had none but the most brutal examples before them, nothing is more rare than a rude or coarse action, and that, on the contrary, there never occurs an opportunity of helping and comforting each other of which they do not eagerly avail themselves. Thus, if one of their comrades is dangerously ill, the struggle is for permission to watch at his bed-side; and their eagerness in this respect is carried to such an extent that we find it necessary to treat the privilege to discharge this irksome duty as a reward.

The organ in our chapel is played by a blind youth, whose infirmity has excited the compassion of all our boys; one of them said, "I would gladly give two of my fingers to get him back his two eyes."

Some persons, though approving in many respects the system pursued at Mettray, have not concealed from us their opinion that we employ too large a staff of officers.

Doubtless they would be right if ours were simply an industrial institution, and our object were solely to instruct each lad in some trade.

In a factory a single superintendant may overlook fifty pupils in a workshop. But morality cannot be taught like a trade, and very different care and treatment are required to reform the character of a child from what will suffice to train his fingers.

Without referring to the difficulty of superintendence in the case of field work and farming operations, where the laborers are necessarily much dispersed, to replace evil by good aspirations is a task which can never be accomplished but by often repeated efforts, and the employment of, we might almost say, a superintendant to each individual child we have to watch over.

Although in our choice of occupation for them we always consider the natural tastes of our young laborers, we do not thereby escape requests for permission to change from one to another; but this arises from the natural tendency which exists in the child, and in the man too, to imagine that the worst of all positions is the one he happens to occupy.

We have, therefore, made it a rule that, before such permission can be granted, the applicant must have risen to be one of the three highest lads in the workshop where he was first placed, and that his

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\* News that a fire had burst forth in a factory near us arrived one day, and in seven minutes and a half our lads had started at full speed for the scene of the disaster, with their fire engine and all the necessary apparatus.

We were already half way there when we were informed that the fire had been got under. Though rejoiced that the evil had been put an end to, the boys were sadly disappointed in losing this opportunity for attesting their courage, and it is impossible to express the mortification and regret evinced by those of our colons who were under punishment at the time, and who, in accordance with our rules, were not permitted the gratification of risking their lives in the endeavor to serve their fellow creatures.

name shall be found on the tablet of honor. Thus, not being discouraged by a decided refusal, and feeling that compliance with his wish is only delayed, he returns to work with redoubled energy, and soon attains the rank which had been made the condition of change. But having by this time overcome the more important difficulties of his trade, and pleased with his success, gratified, too, by the little reward granted in such cases, and with the praise he receives, he becomes the most desirous of all concerned to persevere in the calling from which he has already reaped so many advantages.

Thus we overcome in our lads that love of change which induces men to take up one vocation after another, and often renders them incompetent to succeed in any one ; and it is the more important to do this, because our boys seldom stay more than three years with us, a period absolutely necessary for acquiring any trade.

The Tablet of Honor continued to present very encouraging results.

Out of more than three hundred colons, several of whom had arrived so recently that it was impossible for them to have yet attained the distinction, the names of 133 were there inscribed, and it is further mentioned that during the last three months of 1843, only nine names were erased out of 104—erasure, be it remembered, following immediately on any breach of rules.

Four colons died in 1843.

Among the lads we have lost by death, there was one whose last moments were deeply touching, and produced a great impression on his companions. This was Bassière, aged 16, whose conduct had been irreproachable ever since he came among us. Elected an Elder Brother by his family circle, he discharged the duties of his office with zeal, firmness, and entire self-devotion. There never was a calmer death-bed than his ; his countenance wore a smile, and as his end approached the expression of his features was that of the most perfect serenity ; he spoke of a future life with earnest piety, and telling them of Heaven he besought his brother colons to be obedient and grateful to their masters, who endeavored so sincerely to make them happy. He asked to die in the arms of M. de Courteilles, whom he called his father.

Of the 90 lads who had already quitted the colony, 79 were irreproachable in conduct, and four only had fallen again into the hands of the police ; one of them being the poor lad T—, of whom we heard in a former Report, whose desire to help his mother, induced him to give up a good situation at Tours, and return to his native place where the difficulties and temptations he encountered caused his ruin.

Of the 79 one who had entered a Zouave regiment with two other colons, was their guide and support, and by his good



advice preserved them from going astray. Another, named Blay, had been placed as *contre-maitre* at a small Reformatory School in Bretagne, whence the manager wrote that he was exceedingly pleased with him, and was unable to thank the Directors of Mettray sufficiently for having sent him so excellent an officer.

Another named Boscher had been placed in a situation in la Sologne where he soon acquired his employer's confidence, and became his farm bailiff.

Sent to Paris to fetch a sum of 4,000 francs (£400), Boscher discharged his commission not only faithfully but prudently, for having heard of the temptations which a stay there would afford, he resisted the wish to see something of the metropolis, and remaining only long enough to fulfill his errand, he brought the money safely to his master. Being afterwards trusted to sell some cattle, he made an excellent bargain, and received 300 francs as their price. But Boscher's prudence failed him this time; he allowed himself to be tempted into a tavern by one of the purchasers, and very little accustomed to wine he soon became completely intoxicated. Meantime the village clock had struck ten, and Boscher was not returned; he was anxiously watched for; towards eleven the rumbling of a cart was heard; Boscher was come home, but he was dead drunk.

He was searched but no money appeared, and it was in vain they asked him what had become of it. The next day his master, who was resolved to discharge him, questioned him again, but he could recollect nothing of what had happened. Another servant, however, who had been desired to use the cart which Boscher had taken the day before, found some pieces of money among the straw, where on carefully searching farther, and by an extraordinary and most happy chance, the whole sum was discovered, not a single coin being missing. Great was the delight of the poor lad, to whom, however, his master thought it right to speak very severely. His fault was a source of deep regret to him, and he redoubled his efforts to atone for it. We have since heard that for some time past he has again enjoyed his master's entire confidence, and has never since done anything to forfeit it.

Surprise may be felt that the names of those who have been at the colony and have afterwards done well should be so freely mentioned, and many persons may imagine that the less said of such antecedents the better, if the ex-colon is to succeed in life. Far, however, from the circumstance of his having been at Mettray militating against him, it is absolutely an advantage to him to have it known. Thus,

The Comte d'Ornano, Commandant of the 9th military division, being present when our lads were passing under review, and observing in the ranks a former colon, who then wore the uniform of an hussar, he kindly said to him, "the time you have been at Mettray shall be reckoned in your favor."

It has already been determined among the colons that the first who should be able to set up a shop should put over his door as his sign [which are still much used in France] "The Colon from Mettray," and it was expected, when the Report for 1844 was published, that Hermerel, a very steady lad, who was establishing a small trade as a tailor, would gain this envied distinction. When he had completed his apprenticeship the curate of a village near Mettray, having heard him chant in the chapel there, wished him to settle in his parish, promising to become his patron. So good an offer was not to be rejected, and as there was no tailor in the neighbourhood, and consequently Hermerel could not obtain work as a journeyman, the Directors of the colony hired a little room for him, and advanced a small sum with which to purchase what was absolutely necessary to enable him to take in work on his own account. The youth used to bring his village friends on Sundays to Mettray, and show them all over the colony, explaining its details with expressions of the most intense pleasure and gratitude.

The colony was deprived this year by death of its munificent benefactor Count Leon d'Ourches, and the Société Paternelle caused his bust in bronze to be placed in the Institution in a position where the lads could see it.

In the next Report (dated June, 1845), we find the first mention of a former colon receiving a ring in virtue of which he becomes one of a little Society, formed in 1842, of which all the officers of the Institution from the Directors downwards are members. The ring (we have seen one), is of silver, and is inscribed with appropriate emblems and mottoes. It is presented to every youth who desires to receive it, two years after his departure from the colony, provided his conduct has been irreproachable, and is accompanied by a certificate of membership, which the owner often has framed and glazed and hung up as the chief ornament of his little dwelling. The object and effect of the society is to unite in a friendly bond those formerly colons who are living in respectability, and to cement the tie which yet connects them with the colony.

The colons who have settled at a distance from Mettray gladly correspond with us and with their former companions, to whom they frequently send excellent advice. This brotherly counsel coming from those already gone out into the world, verifies and adds force to our warnings to those who remain behind. "Listen to

what the Directors say," wrote one of them, "you hear the truth at the Colony; but you only understand what you have lost, when you have left, and then you find how hard it is to gain your living."

We punctually answer all the letters we receive from our former colons, so that every addition to our number, imposes on us a double task. In the first place, we have to subdue and reclaim them when newly arrived, and secondly, to maintain a constant intercourse with them after they have departed. This latter duty continually increases, for it is not simple supervision that we exercise, but rather the unceasing watchfulness of a parent over his adopted child. Fortunately all our colons do not go to a distance; the greater number remain in our vicinity, and live as we may say under our eye, and within sight of the steeple of the little settlement, which has become a home to them. \* \* It is a source of pride to us to meet on every road round about Mettray, carts driven by lads who have been with us, whose good conduct affords a powerful stimulus to their former comrades. Many habitually spend their Sundays at the colony, where they mix with their school-fellows, join them in their occupations, eat at the same table and kneel before the same altar, the only difference between them is in their dress. \* \* Every meeting tends to mutual encouragement, and the good example which each affords to the other, seems to impose by tacit consent an obligation to conduct themselves well. Some of our lads are already earning 200 francs (£8) a-year, as farm servants [in addition of course to board and lodging,] and the advantages which these enjoy create a little useful emulation among the rest.

Mettray, containing as it does lads from fifty-two departments, offers many points of interest to the psychologist. During five years of experience and observation we have become convinced of the strong influence which his birthplace exercises on man, and how completely he is a type of its characteristics. The Breton is obstinate, persevering, religious and devout; he is best suited for field labor. The Norman and Alsacian are peculiarly adapted to take care of animals. We have received eighty-four Parisians at the Colony, in whom we have observed an absence of premeditated wrong-doing, and an abundance of intelligence and vivacity, accompanied, however, by a want of discipline and an amount of levity, which yielded only to the firmest rule and severest means of correction; by addressing ourselves, however, to their understanding, we have never failed to produce an impression, and have in the end subdued them, by attaching them to us. One of them said to his chef de famille, "I could very well get away from the Colony, nothing would be easier, and I have often wished to try, but thinking of the confidence our Directors put in us I could never find it in my heart to do it."

It was found necessary this year to sow a much greater breadth of land than before with corn, and it was accordingly determined to rent an additional tract. At the same time M. Augustin was engaged as Agricultural Superintendent, of whose skilful management and its important results we shall hear shortly.

Sheds, store-rooms, granary, carthouses, a building for storing agricultural implements and one for flour, stables, a dairy, a kitchen for the use of the carters, and for cooking food for the live stock, had been added to the Colony during the past year, while in the course of the next it was hoped that various other farm buildings, including sheep-pens and cow-houses, would be completed.

As had happened on former occasions, a member of the government honored the Annual Meeting of the *Société Paternelle* (held in May, 1846) with his presence.

It was M. de Salvandy, Minister of Public Instruction, who presided this year. He delivered an eloquent address in which, after describing the position and duties of an ordinary teacher, he proceeded to speak of Mettray;

You, Gentlemen, have set yourselves a more difficult and even a nobler task; you take under your care the corrupted child, who has plunged into vice, and from vice into crime, whose mental and moral being alike must be reformed; whose misled and depraved soul would become more and more deeply steeped in iniquity if you did not intervene to save him from himself, and to save society from his precocious wickedness.

This task you have undertaken—and more than undertaken, you have succeeded in it. You have proved that virtue is inherent in the human breast; that the good seed planted there by the hand of God, may always be found by man if only he truly endeavor to seek and to foster it; that there is no insurmountable barrier in the path from crime to virtue; that the fallen being whose evil course saddens the beholder, and terrifies society, is our fellow creature still, that we may yet discover in him the man whom God has made, and who is capable of loving and serving Him.

Thus Mettray has a character of its own, distinct among all the undertakings of public benevolence, among all the valuable institutions which are one of the glories of our age; for, Gentlemen, this age though we sometimes greatly depreciate it, is not only rendered great by all its creations of art, by all its marvels of industry, which force back the limits put to man's powers, which in every sense enlarge our universe, and double the time that hitherto Providence had allotted us; it will be prized in time to come, for the spirit of devotion in man to man, for the endeavor to ameliorate the lot of those who are themselves unequal to the task, by them whom Providence has placed in happier circumstances; finally, for all these institutions both beneficent and useful which meet our eyes on every side.

Unconsciously, Gentlemen, I have related your own history, I have traced out the course taken by the *Société Paternelle*, indicating the good it has effected, and what has been accomplished by the admirable institution at Mettray.

What spectacle could be more striking than that afforded by the distinguished men who surround me laboring together in this

good work—men who have grown old in the great affairs of France, and who now devote the experience gained at the head of the State to an agricultural penitentiary which seeks unobtrusively to reform criminals.

But, in descending to undertake that charge, they are far from lowering themselves; on the contrary, they are raised in the estimation of others, and in their own, for they have undertaken a task at once the noblest and the most difficult—to restore children to society, citizens to the State, souls to God.

By whom was Mettray founded? By that magistrate who, after having from the seat of justice visited the culprit with chastisement, sought him and never quitted him till purified by repentance. By whom besides? By that distinguished man, by that soldier, illustrious as are all who bear his name, who having by choice spent his life in profound seclusion, has now surrounded it, involuntarily, and without seeking to do so, with a brilliant halo; in performing a good and holy work he sought, by a path which he believed to be unseen and unknown, the satisfaction of his own conscience, but he found glory, the purest of all glory, that which crowns the benefactor of mankind.

Let me indulge a personal reminiscence. The founder of Mettray and I were schoolfellows. We met again beneath our country's flag. Since then thirty years have passed away—what years they have been you well know. During these thirty years we have never met; our paths in life have been different in all respects, and we remained wholly unknown to each other; his course was voluntarily a hidden one, mine was involuntarily patent and stirring; and here by chance to-day, if such things can be said to happen by chance, we have unexpectedly met to promote the interests of Mettray which we shall each have aided, he by the devotion of his life, I simply by appearing amongst you for a moment. For even thus I do aid it, but because it is not I merely who am here—it is the State, it is popular power, it is royal authority, which, alike beneficent and watchful, I have the honor to represent before you, and in whose name I express sympathy and respect towards the good work in which you are engaged.

Just before leaving the meeting he again addressed it in the following terms:—

I am astonished to find that the Minister of Public Instruction, who must be deeply interested in the moral results obtained at Mettray, should contribute less than any other department of Government to this undertaking. I now raise the aid afforded annually by the office of Public Instruction to the amount granted by the Ministers of Agriculture and of Commerce, namely, 12,000 francs (£480), or 7,000 francs more, yearly, to spend on your noble enterprise.

I beg pardon for thus disarranging the accounts of your able financier, M. Gouin, who, after being Chancellor of the Exchequer for France, has undertaken the same honorable post at Mettray, devoting himself to it with unwearied zeal.

The more extended agricultural operations entered into the preceding year are described by M. de Gasparin in a speech which, as relating to a development of one branch of the economy of the Institution so important in its results that it may claim to be regarded as the commencement of a new era in the history of the Colony, we feel ourselves justified in quoting at length.

In calling the Institution which it had founded at Mettray an agricultural colony, the *Société Paternelle* incurred a very serious obligation towards the public. It found it no easy task to organize a large school of agriculture from the elements there collected. What was its staff? Some very young, feeble, and sickly children, who had been entrusted to it for far too short a time. What was its field of operations? It had only 12 hectares [30 acres] of land, including that upon which the buildings stood. What was its agricultural capital? Its resources were barely sufficient for its wants, and all extraordinary receipts had been already employed, or were tied up for years to come, in order to erect the buildings necessary to the undertaking. It was in this state of things that the Society, feeling how much its future welfare depended on the fulfilment of its obligations, and how important it was to hasten the full performance of its promises, undertook to bestow upon the country a real farm school.

Thus was realized the title it had assumed—thus will the children committed to its care be put in a respectable position in life, one favorable to their health and to their morals, one which will withdraw them from the temptations of our large towns, which will save them from relapsing into crime, and will ensure them constant employment.

To put this plan in execution the Society took upon a long lease a tract of about 203 hectares [500 acres] of tolerably good land at a rent of 11,560 francs [£466 : 8]. This land bordered the colony on one side, and there were standing upon it two farm buildings, in which two families of colons were placed, who are thus located at the extreme end of our territory.

This step happily accomplished, there remained another and far more difficult one to be taken,—that of finding a skilful agricultural superintendent who should save us from those mistakes which inexperience can never avoid, whatever be the enterprise embarked in.

We fixed upon M. Augustin, who was already known by his success in other similar undertakings, and who has justified our most sanguine expectations. He has evinced in the course of this year a perfect knowledge of his profession, the power of seeing at a glance what is right to be done, and an amount of resolution without which all other qualities are useless.

The shoal upon which agricultural undertakings are most often wrecked is the insufficiency of capital expended in cultivation; much more is thought of acquiring a vast extent of land than of retaining the funds which will be necessary to make it fruitful. We took care not to fall into this error, and knew well the large sum which we must

have at our command if we would not drag on for many years in an inferior position, which would have compromised the institution, and thrown discredit upon agricultural pursuits in the eyes of our lads and of our neighbours who were very attentively watching for the result of our scheme with no lack of unfavorable predictions respecting it.

Our calculations, founded on circumstances analogous to our own, proved that we should need an amount of capital, in cattle, revenue, or else in labor, equivalent to 180 francs (£7 4s. 0) per hectare or about 36,000 francs (£1440) and the same value in labor and manure, besides implements with which fortunately we were already tolerably well supplied. A sum, however, of 60,000 francs (£2,400) we needed to have at our disposal immediately in order to begin our agricultural operations.

This amount we obtained, thanks to the credit granted us by our excellent colleague, M. Gouin. One half is secured upon our live stock the value of which has increased and continues to increase daily; the other, namely, the cost of cultivation, is provided for by the harvest we have gathered. The appearance of the crops in the month of April, when M. Augustin entered upon his duties, was far from promising any such result; on the contrary, indeed it seemed then as though it would scarcely repay the expenses of cultivation.

His knowledge and resolution, however, soon altered this state of things. Perceiving the deplorable condition of the seed corn he forthwith purchased some stable manure in Tours with which he covered it, proceeding at the same time to sow clover upon the wheat. Its condition changed rapidly, and it yielded a magnificent harvest amounting in value to more than 40,000 francs (£1,600). Meanwhile all the fallow ground had been prepared and sown with various crops, potatoes, beet root, carrots and rutabagas, which enabled us to feed 78 cows from this land which hitherto had been unproductive. In the ordinary course of affairs, with a less skilful superintendent, this improvement would have been delayed a year at least.

We might give you details of the agricultural results obtained at Mettray this year, but we have thought it better to reserve them till next season, when our position disembarrassed from the peculiar circumstances incident to the first year of such an enterprise, may be clearly and simply set forth in such a manner as to justify the highest expectations from the ability of our overseer, and the zealous care of those in authority. But the result already gained is somewhat remarkable. To have got such crops from the very first year, after paying rent, repairing the mistakes of the former tenant, and bringing the land into excellent condition,—to close our accounts with a clear profit, and from badly sown impoverished land, coming into it when the young corn was in a deplorable state, to have obtained a harvest worth, at a rough calculation, 67,000 francs, from land paying 11,560 francs rent, is, I venture to say, a feat of which it would be difficult to find another example.

An early passage in the Report for 1849 demonstrates the firm root the Institution had taken. It was no longer an experiment—it was a success.

At our early meetings, when the colony was still in its cradle, and was yet scarcely understood, when its object was hardly comprehended by the public, and the expediency of our course might appear doubtful, it was the duty of the Directors to enter into full details, and to answer objections raised by persons of weight and reflection ; it was their duty to overcome the injurious prejudice of those who recognized our lads only as culprits condemned by the law, whose reformation appeared chimerical ; thank God success has crowned our efforts, your labour is appreciated, and it is now well known that youths at Mettray come there to receive moral training, and not to undergo punishment.

Your example has not been barren ; generous hearts have been filled with a noble emulation, and numerous colonies the offspring of yours, have been founded in several departments ; we may unhesitatingly affirm that your cause is now established, and that agricultural colonies have taken their place among the charitable institutions of our country.

It is with lively satisfaction that we assure you of the continued and increasing prosperity of Mettray.

We began with ten boys, our roof now shelters four hundred and twelve ; notwithstanding this important increase in the number of our colons, order and regularity have been maintained, and the discipline is unrelaxed. To obtain such results we have had to redouble our care and vigilance ; but we have been admirably seconded by our officers, to whose worth we rejoice to have this opportunity of bearing public testimony.

Our system of discipline is maintained by severe penalties and by rewards which we endeavour to render valuable in the eyes of our lads.

In the course of the present year, we have had recourse to a mode of correction which we trust will be approved by you. Certain cases have arisen in which it appeared to us domestic correction would be insufficient ; we desired that our wards should become early aware of the severity they might encounter in that world which they must enter on leaving us, and thus imbibe a salutary dread of its just punishments. Thus, a theft having been committed by one of the colons, we thought it best upon the above considerations, not to employ our ordinary means of correction ; we informed a magistrate of the circumstance, and a policeman was sent who arrested the culprit in the midst of his comrades, just as would have been the case with a dishonest laborer at work on a farm. The accused was forthwith tried in the Court of Justice at Tours, and his sentence was read aloud to his assembled companions.

This display of public authority, and the natural operation of the law produced a deep impression, and by means of intimidation has had an excellent effect. But we are desirous to add that side by side with this inexorable severity, without which obedience could not be enforced among a youthful and restless population such as ours, we neglect no opportunity for encouraging those who respond to our efforts to benefit them, never forgetting that to punish effectively we must also reward at the right time.



After analyzing the conduct of the youths who had already left the colony, of whom the number of relapses was in 1846 only between six and seven per cent, the Report continues:—

This proportion certainly need not discourage us, and yet we can confidently affirm that it would be far less if the lads remained longer at Mettray; often the period of liberation arrives after a stay of only two or three years, and sometimes we have been obliged to discharge children of scarcely twelve years of age. In this there is a double evil which we would point out to the attention of magistrates; time has not been allowed to complete our course of training, and the lads are too young to resist the bad examples and pernicious influences to which they are about to be exposed, often even in the bosom of their own families.

On Christmas Day, as our lads were coming away from evening service, a man out of breath rushed among us crying, "They have set fire to Gaudières"! (one of the outlying farms of our institution.) In seven minutes the engines and our lads were ready to start, and all hastened to the scene of the misfortune under the guidance of M. Hubert, a gentleman who gave up an appointment in the Fire Brigade at Paris in order to come to Mettray. Thanks to his admirable direction the efforts of the young firemen and of all who had assembled to give their help, were crowned with speedy success; in two hours the fire was extinguished without causing more injury than the loss of three thousand trusses of straw; the buildings and their contents being moreover insured.

We have a pleasant duty to discharge in recording the praiseworthy conduct of M. Hubert, who had already on another occasion saved at the peril of his own life those of two workmen who had fallen down insensible at the bottom of a well which we were having cleaned. Such actions do not seek the reward of praise, but we deemed that in telling you of our lads, we ought also to say a few words respecting the right-hearted and devoted men who second us so well in the difficult task we have undertaken, and who understand how thus to enforce their lessons with the irresistible power of example.

The fire of the 25th December appears not to be attributable to ill-will. From the evidence elicited by the judicial inquest it seems that it was kindled by a little girl whom epilepsy had reduced to a state of idiocy. She has been arrested, and it is for the judge to decide whether she acted knowingly (*avec discernement*.)

This occurrence has obliged us to take increased means of precaution.

Until it happened, one person only remained during the night in charge of the outlying farms, the boys going thither in the morning and returning in the evening; we have since decided that henceforth forty boys shall remain there always, living and sleeping at the separate farms. This, which is now simply a prudential measure, may eventually lead to the happiest consequences as regards the multiplication of agricultural colonies in France.

In the outlying farms which are members of Mettray, our system is seen on a limited scale, which easily admits of imitation, and visitors may be convinced by their own eyes that an Agricultural Colony can exist with a very small number of colons, and yet confer immense benefit upon agriculture.

The time devoted to intellectual instruction had been lessened to ten hours per week, and was afterwards further reduced to eight.

Side by side with religious teaching and elementary instruction we place industrial education. We desire that on leaving Mettray our lads should be able, without undergoing the laborious life of an apprentice, under often a very harsh master, to support themselves, and to earn what are usually considered good wages. Two thirds of the colons are employed in agriculture, the rest are occupied in our workshops, in trades connected with agriculture, or which are required to supply the Colony.

M. Augustin, the director of our agricultural department, gives lectures on agriculture, and then setting his class to work on the land, he is able to simplify the difficulties of theory by reducing them to practice. M. Jules Petelard, formerly head Veterinary Surgeon in the 8th Regiment of Hussars, and Member of the *Indre-et-Loire* Agricultural Society, gives another course of lectures on the constitutions and treatment of domestic animals; these important lessons are listened to by our children with a fixed attention very unusual at their age, proving how true it is that if they are to love their labor, it must interest their understandings.

Our lads are occupied as follows :—

Agricultural laborers	...	...	...	276
Gardeners	...	...	...	31
Wheelwrights	...	...	...	18
Blacksmiths	...	...	...	12
Farriers	...	...	...	10
Makers of Wooden Shoes	...	...	...	14
Carpenters	...	...	...	12
Tailors	...	...	...	18
Shoemakers	...	...	...	12
Masons	...	...	...	6
Sailmakers	...	...	...	3

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Perhaps we should offer some explanation regarding the above table. Why, it may be asked, have sailmakers in an Agricultural Institution? We offer one word, on this point. All our colons sleep in hammocks, and we require workpeople among us, who can provide and repair this sort of bedding. Further, it must not be forgotten, that we have at Mettray a large number of lads from the coast of Bretagne, who have already made coasting voyages, and are irresistibly attracted by a sea-faring life. One of our Masters, who

was formerly the mate of a vessel, teaches them the manœuvres of a ship\* and gives them useful instruction in a sailor's vocation, which seems to be by nature theirs.

The number of lads who had now been placed out in the world amounted to 197, of whom twelve only had relapsed into crime. Of the remainder the conduct of 173 was irreproachable; perhaps the following particulars respecting some of them may not be found uninteresting:—

Among those who have profited by our efforts in their behalf, we cannot resist the pleasure of mentioning G—, who after being one of our best colons, is now serving in the 8th Regiment of Hussars. He is a good soldier, and has won the approbation of his superior officers. His comrades, far from reproaching him with having been at our Institution, call him among themselves, and as a term of endearment, "*Little Mettray*."

Thus, in the army the name of the Colony, has in some degree become his; let us hope that Mettray will have brought happiness to him, and that he will do honor to Mettray.

We will also recall M—, to your kindly remembrance. M. Marion, Vice-President of the tribunal at Nantes, who has undertaken the patronage of this lad, writes us that M— makes the best use of his wages, and devotes a portion to the relief of his father, although the latter has not always recognized the duties which this relationship imposed. "This feeling of filial piety, (adds M. Marion,) which shows itself, notwithstanding the faults of the parent, is too generous, and too rare among us, to pass unnoticed."

You will not learn without interest that six of the colons from Mettray have married. One of these young heads of a family called B—, now a farmer near Loudun, came with his wife to see us, and their visit produced a very marked and touching effect upon his former companions. C—is married at Nantes; he lives near his mother and is her comfort and support. M. Marion wrote again to us lately, and speaking of C—says, "this little household is admirably conducted."

This year, as in former ones, the *Conseils Generaux*, the *Cours Royales*, and various corporate bodies, indeed all who had before given aid to Mettray, have continued their support.

We desire particularly to acknowledge the generous assistance accorded to us by M. Delalleau, Rector of the Academy at Poitiers. This distinguished man is well aware of the touching and purifying nature of assistance rendered by the young whom fate has gifted with wealth and happiness, to the wretched of their own age; he believes that to inculcate charity among the youth in our schools is a holy and

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\* In the principal court of Mettray are fixed the bulwarks, masts, tackle, &c., of a large ship, the gift of the Minister of Marine, upon which the boys, who are likely to become sailors, are exercised in nautical duties.

salutary lesson—not that charity whose efforts are limited to alleviating individual suffering, but rather that enlightened and foreseeing charity which, like Providence, considers the future as well as the present, and which turns every opportunity of diminishing misery into a means both of relieving those immediately afflicted and of securing the well-being of society in time to come. M. Delalleau did not overestimate the kindly feeling of the different masters in the college when he besought their zealous co-operation, and the pupils, responding to the appeal of their Preceptors, sent to Mettray the money which had been given them to spend as they pleased. A similar example had been already afforded by the schools of Medicine and of Law at Poitiers, the Colleges at Amiens, Limoges, Orleans, Poitiers, Pont-Levoy, and Tours ; by the Ecole Neopédique at Paris, conducted by M. Louis Leclerc, and by the Loubens Institute. Besides these the municipal college of Bollin has lately enrolled itself among our founders. The Director of the latter college considered it his duty to pay a visit to Mettray in the course of his vacation. His approbation of our system of instruction, and his expression of sympathy, when fully acquainted with our labors, are deeply gratifying, and we gladly take this opportunity of assuring him of our lively sense of his kindness.

The above information gives valuable proof of the increasing interest in Mettray which, as we have gathered from former Reports, was gradually spreading among all classes of society in France,

“Gentlemen,” said M. Hebert, Minister of Justice and of Worship, in the course of a most eloquent address delivered at the eighth annual meeting of the *Société Paternelle*, “you have recognized the fact that the same labor which renders the earth fruitful, purifies and strengthens the human heart. Our country’s soil inspires a love for it in those who cultivate as much as in those who defend it; and in the midst of the fertile plains of Touraine, in that model farm which has arisen and now prospers under the hands of the reclaimed outcast, your young laborers do not learn only how to drive the plough, they learn how in becoming more useful, to become also more worthy members of society.”

The sympathy and approbation of one high in power could never have been more acceptable, judging by the opening passage of the Report by the Directors :—

Since the foundation of the Colony, we have never yet passed so difficult a year as that which has just elapsed, and never have we had greater need of your counsel, your confidence, and your support.

Our internal management has encountered many difficulties, our financial estimates have been unavoidably exceeded, our Institution has been threatened from without; nevertheless, we have passed through this anxious period better than could have been hoped, and

that Mettray should have remained unshaken is proof that it is based on solid foundations.

The department of Indre-et-Loire, has, as you are aware, been the scene of disturbances, and the Colony ran some risk owing to the excitement which had seized upon the inhabitants of the villages round about Tours, from which we are not far distant. Hunger, caused by the dearth of bread, and evil passions roused with sinister design, incited men, who are ordinarily among the most peaceful, to riot and pillage. The agitators had cast their eyes on the Colony, and had laid a plan to entrap our officers, whose uniform they would have rejoiced to see among them; numerous and threatening mobs, came to our very door, but they never crossed our threshold.

We will not detain you longer by detailing events which happily are now past; but we must not omit to inform you that in the midst of the excitement which encompassed us, and of the sounds and threats which reached our ears, our youths justified our good opinion and deserved our confidence, by the calm attitude they preserved, by redoubled order and diligence, and by proofs of devotion and subordination which contrasted forcibly with the disorder without, and demonstrated, in the most striking manner, the inestimable value of judicious training and firm discipline.

We have yet further evidence to offer to you. Fire, which during the last two years has done great damage in this district, at last attacked the Church of the village of Mettray; as it was, it suffered to the amount of 10,000 francs, (£400,) not a stone however would have been left, but for the two fire engines from the Colony, and the united aid of our colons and the neighbours.

Our young firemen, under the direction of their chief M. Hubert, gave on this occasion ample proof of their zeal and courage.

The Directors record that many distinguished fellow-countrymen came in the course of this year to inspect the Colony, which was also attracting much attention abroad; Mr. Gladstone visited it at that period, and gave convincing proof on his return to England of his high appreciation of its excellence, by aiding with his time and fortune in the establishment of the Philanthropic Farm School at Red-hill, which more nearly resembles Mettray than any other reformatory institution in England. The Report also states that

Lord Brougham has discussed this year in the House of Lords, with all his extraordinary eloquence, the juvenile delinquent question, which he regards as one of the gravest his country has to deal with.

"To show the effects of these experiments [in reformatory treatment] he would take the French institution at Mettray as affording more details. . . . Besides this one there had been twelve others of a similar character established in France, which were founded in consequence of the great success that attended the original institution. He avowed that, if he were animated with feelings of

rivalry towards France, if he were animated by those national feelings of rivalry which pervaded the bosoms of Englishmen—those national feelings would lead him more to envy the French people for the erection and usefulness of such institutions than for any glory they might have derived from their Algerian colonies, from their Spanish marriages, or even for all that redounded to the glory of Napoleon. He envied them for what they had, and which this country wanted—those noble and useful institutions.

Let us rather rival their noble and generous nature by imitating them in the erection of twelve establishments similar to Mettray, and thus taking the first step towards the amendment of our criminal law, which would be the first real attempt that had ever been made since we had a criminal law.”\*

Referring to the evils of short imprisonments the Report continues—

In a word, every youthful offender who is thus thrown prematurely upon the world, finds himself under precisely the same conditions which caused his fall, and which can scarcely fail to plunge him again into beggary and crime. We have omitted no opportunity during the past eight years of pointing out this miserable and injurious operation of the penal code, and of urging the Minister of Justice, and the members of both Chambers, to introduce an amendment more in accordance with the spirit of this article; it should be framed to provide for the education in an appropriate institution until they have attained their twentieth year, of all children committed under the age of 16, and detained by virtue of article 66.

Another subject which we find dwelt on again and again, and to which, as we have already had occasion to see, the Directors attribute a large share of the success they have attained, is the elaborate and efficient system of patronage by which they exercise a kindly surveillance over all the youths who leave the Colony. As it would be impossible for the Directors of Mettray to perform this duty personally, they obtain the assistance of benevolently-disposed individuals (of whom an abundance are always to be found), residing in the various neighbourhoods where the colons are placed in service. These persons are denominated patrons, and as the duties of their office are at present but imperfectly understood in this kingdom, and as we are convinced that a system similar to

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(\* From Lord Brougham's Speech in the House of Lords on the 18th Feb., 1847, on presenting a petition from the magistrates of Liverpool for the amendment of the Criminal Law.—*Hansard*, Vol. 90, pp. 197-9.)

that which is so efficient in France, is equally essential here to the successful operation of reformatory schools, we shall venture to give a passage, though of considerable length, which will explain the course pursued by our neighbours:—

We have already placed out 286 youths (89 during the year 1846) each under the care of a good patron, provided with a small sum of money the fruit of his industry, with a suitable wardrobe, and having a trade in his hands in which we aid him to find employment; thus a lad when he leaves Mettray begins a new life; he has been saved from himself, to use the words of M. Agénor de Gasparin.

He is as much sought after by the farmers and the various employers of labor round about us, as the convict coming direct from prison is avoided and driven away from every workshop where he may offer himself.

The reformation of the neglected child and his good conduct after he has left us, being the object which the founders of Mettray had in view, permit us, Gentlemen, to give you some details on those points, by reading extracts from our correspondence with the patrons of our lads.

M. Lefebvre, commissioner of police at Beaumont-Sur-Oise, writes us:—

"I am exceedingly pleased to inform you that the time passed by G——, at the Colony at Mettray has been most beneficial to him, and I consider him now as a pattern to lads of his age; I shall do my utmost to keep him in the situation where you placed him."

The Mayor of Beurley writes, "my surprise at the change I found in Augusté D——, has been very great; he has become civil, attentive, and modest; indeed I did not recognize him until his name was mentioned."

M. Marion, Vice-President of the *Tribunal Civil* at Nantes, who for a long time past has kindly undertaken the patronage of all our lads there, says, "I can speak only in terms of praise of the Mettray lads who since their liberation have resided in this town; not one of them has relapsed into crime.

"I was a little uneasy about the two T——s, in consequence of the masons here having struck, but they had no inclination to join their riotous meetings.

"I beg to draw your kind attention to C——, and his family; his conduct deserves your sympathy. Under the above mentioned circumstances he has displayed honesty of purpose, right feeling, and courage which are above praise. He would be glad to have a view of Mettray &c., &c."

I should gladly quote the whole of M. Marion's letter which is full of touching details, but it is too long for the limits of our report.

M. Daguin, Secretary General to the Prefecture of the Jura, informs us that B——, by working hard, is able to wholly support his aged grandmother, and that his conduct is excellent.

To conclude our quotations, and satisfy you of the trustworthiness of the information we lay before you respecting the youths whom we

have placed out, permit us to read to you at length the form which our kind correspondents are good enough to fill up. They are the chief magistrates and different authorities, and persons occupying the most respectable positions in the various localities, who generously take upon themselves this charge. This form was filled up by M. de la Pierre, a manufacturer, who wrote to us from Clamecy on February 1st, 1847.

"Sir,—Being always desirous of complying with your wishes, I hasten to forward to you the statement of the conduct of J. V—, one of the numerous individuals rescued by your institution which takes them from our prison, and returns them to society corrected of all their faults.

"I am glad to have nothing but what is favorable to tell you of this young man. He fulfills every religious and social duty ; he always regrets living so far from the Colony, and being thus deprived of the pleasure of seeing his benefactors there.

"I have the honor to be, &c., &c."

This letter was accompanied by the following form :—

#### AGRICULTURAL COLONY AT METTRAY.

CHRISTIAN AND SURNAME OF THE COLON.	NAME AND RESIDENCE OF THE PATRON.
J. V.	M. de la Pierre, manufacturer at Clamecy.

#### QUESTIONS TO THE PATRON.

Does he perform his religious duties ?

Does he repeat his prayers morning and evening ?

Does he go to church ?

Is he diligent ?

Does he show intelligence ?

Is he obedient ?

Is he civil ?

Is he careful of his personal appearance ?

Is he economical ?

What different occupations has he been employed in ?

#### ANSWERS BY THE PATRON.

Invariably.

Regularly.

Regularly.

Yes.

Rather goodwill than intelligence.

Nothing to find fault with on this head.

Always.

No.

Yes.

Until now he has been employed only in field labor ; but his father, notwithstanding ill health, being obliged to work at his trade as a carpenter in order to support his five children, now employs him to work with him, he being himself very weak.



- Does he occupy himself sometimes in reading and writing? Yes.  
 What books does he read? Religious, moral, and instructive works.
- Does he attend an adult school? He has neither time nor opportunity.
- What are his leading tastes? None that are evil.
- What are his most striking characteristics? Goodness of heart, obedience, gentleness, and civility.  
 He is now living with them.
- Does he hear from his family? At church, in walking, or with his father.
- How does he spend Sundays and fête days? None.
- Has he any friends or connexions? He associates only with his father, who is poor, but honest.
- What character do the persons bear with whom he associates? To learn to work so as to help his father.
- What are his wishes for the future? Constantly.
- Does he think of the Colony? Yes.
- Does he acknowledge the benefit he received there? With the warmest gratitude.
- In what manner does he speak of it? No.
- Has he been ill? Before working with his father he was with very excellent people who employed him in field labor.
- What is the behaviour and character of the people for whom he works? Yes.
- Do they perform their religious duties?

*Particulars of his conduct whether good or bad.*

In consequence of a long and painful illness, his father had fallen into extreme destitution, which still continued. Accustomed to the use of tobacco, he had been obliged to forego it, his utmost means being needed to obtain food for his family, when on the 1st January this lad having received a few sous as a new year's gift, hastened with them to his father, who, however, refused to accept them. Your former pupil went then himself to exchange his sous for some tobacco, which he brought to his father. The latter wept while relating, only yesterday, this kind act of his son.

The minute information thus obtained respecting every colon (not one of the 236 who were now placed out had been lost

sight of), enables us to accept with perfect confidence the statistics relating to the numbers reformed, as it also goes far to account for those numbers being so large. With respect, however, to the relapses, it must be recollected that they do not, of course, include the boys who are sent back to prison. Of these we hear as follows :—

In 1846, the number of lads sent back to prison from the Colony since its foundation, amounted to 34, including five during that year.

While acknowledging our failure in dealing with the deeply rooted depravity of those youths, and, moreover, the necessity we were under of inflicting upon them a punishment which should deter their companions from following their evil example, we have never lost sight of, or compassion for, those unhappy individuals; 16 of them are dead,—the first actually died of remorse. He belonged to a noble family in Bretagne, whom poverty had reduced to the necessity of cultivating with their own hands their few remaining acres. "Remember," wrote one of his relatives to him, "your aged father sank his head upon his breast the day you brought disgrace upon us by appearing as a felon at the bar, and has never raised it since." A monomania for theft was this lad's ruin, and pursued him at Mettray, where he found means of stealing even in his cell.

As regards the others we have been gratified to learn, and often by correspondence with themselves, that their conduct in prison was generally better than that of their companions; many of them write to us expressing their contrition, and come to see us on their liberation. Some grains of the good seed took root even by the wayside, and bore fruit though tardily. Many of those lads have behaved well since their discharge from prison.

In the course of this year the Colony sustained two sad losses from its staff of assistants, the first that had occurred since its foundation, in the death of one of the estimable sisters of charity, and of a sous chef—a youth of great promise.

Almost all the farm buildings, which we heard of in the preceding Report as in progress or contemplated, were now completed, and a mill had been erected and was already at work.

Between the publication of the Reports for 1847 and 1848, the political aspect of France had entirely changed. The Orleans family, which had always shown favor to Mettray, and most of whose members are inscribed as founders of the Institution, had utterly vanished from the country, and it remained to be seen how far their successors in power would be willing and able to aid the good work.

Meanwhile, despite the shock which made itself felt from

one end of France to the other, we learn that the position of the Colony was tranquil and secure.

While keeping our wards, as it was our duty to do, free of all political influence, it is nevertheless right you should know they have not remained in ignorance of the important changes which have occurred, and that they are deeply interested by them. The eager curiosity of such restless and intelligent lads has never failed to follow closely the course of events, when indeed it has not been in advance of them.

We had no other means of preserving order among our colons, than by informing them calmly, but unreservedly, of what was taking place in Paris. Besides, many of them would certainly have learnt it from their relatives. The interest with which they received our communications proves, in the most convincing manner, how fully we have succeeded in kindling in their breasts a feeling of honor, together with a genuine love of their country, and of home. The Colony has become a home to them; they have attached themselves to us, as a son is attached to his father, and confidence in us and a sense of duty have kept them around us.

After relating to them the news, we always concluded by an appeal to their sense of gratitude, and by assuring them that under a republican Government, the performance of our duties, readiness to work, and obedience to the law, should be the rule for all; that it was especially under such a government that each could and ought to stand alone, supported by his own ability and his own merit; that we should be the first to set this example to all, we who in founding our Institution had taken for our motto, "Let good workmen trust in the future", (*aux bons travailleurs, l'avenir*)! "If order, and respect for all that deserves respect, be banished from the rest of France," we said to them "let it be on this spot of ground in an obscure village, that a wholesome example of them shall be afforded by a Colony of lads, of whom all the world despaired." We can assure you, gentlemen, these words were heard and appreciated; we are convinced of this by the fact that not only has the strict and systematic order of our customary discipline not been disturbed, but on the contrary, the number of infractions has sensibly decreased since the Revolution of February.

This was indeed remarkable at a time when almost every public school, and even some private ones, were in revolt, and proving their national origin by throwing up barricades.

But though so far as it depended on the officers and the colons, the prosperity of Mettray was undisturbed by external agitation, it could not wholly escape being affected by the convulsion of February.

The distribution of our young laborers among the different workshops has undergone, since February, a most untoward change.

In consequence of a decree by the Provisional Government suppressing labor in prisons and in charitable institutions, we have been obliged almost entirely to close the workshops of our smiths, wheelwrights, *sabot* makers, joiners, and rope makers, in other words those which were most profitable.

We still manufacture the articles we require for our own use, but external sale is strictly forbidden. This measure has had three injurious results.

1. It has obliged us to discontinue employing as apprentices lads who had worked in that position a considerable time, an obligation equally disadvantageous to them and to us, for their labor had begun to be profitable to us, and on their side would have insured them good places when liberated.

The change too of occupation, and the being obliged to give up so suddenly and with so little reason a trade they were fond of, inspired as may easily be supposed, discontent among even our best lads, and made them all the more indisposed to field labor.

2. Our workshops had been much enlarged and we had fitted them up on a liberal scale; we had engaged excellent teachers whom we were obliged suddenly to dismiss; we had received large orders, in fact the ruinous prohibition against work has deprived us this year of 25,000 francs (£1,000) clear profit.

3. These losses are the more unfortunate for us that it will be difficult to replace them or provide better for the future.

At the time when every evil passion of the working classes was inflamed, and they were led astray by those who excited in them hatred and even vengeance towards any who seemed to be competitors, all our neighbours looked with fear upon us. Local ill-will however had no just foundation, for we had never sold our goods at less than the current price, on the contrary we had from the first, invited the neighbouring tradesmen to share the advantage of our manufactures by offering to consign to them wholesale, every description of article that they could sell retail, by which they would have gained twice as much profit as by their own goods, which not being so well made nor so cheap, were not so much liked as ours.

Their mistaken opinions made our neighbours forget the good conferred upon the country for the last ten years by an institution which has spent more than a hundred thousand francs on the soil.

\* \* \* \*

The government has recognized the difficulty of our position, and has granted its benevolent aid to the colony—We continue to receive the same daily allowance, and the subventions accorded by former administrations.

Among the combatants in the streets of Paris, which included persons of all ranks and all opinions, Mettray was not unrepresented, but it was on the side of order that her children fought.

Permit us to return for a moment to the conduct of those of our lads who are now members of the *Garde nationale mobile*. They performed a gallant part in the lamentable days of June, but we should in particular mention Louis François Richard, who was born at Paris. He came to Mettray in 1843, and left the Colony in 1845. His conduct while there was invariably good, and his name appears

on the tablet of honor. After his liberation he maintained himself honestly by his labor.

Having enlisted in the 8th Battalion of the *Garde mobile* when it was first organised, he distinguished himself even in that gallant band. He took part in the encounters of the Faubourg St. Antoine. After several barricades had been carried he rushed to the attack upon the last three which still blocked up the faubourg. Here he fell into the hands of the insurgents, who had planted on this, their last remaining stronghold, the flag of the 8th legion of the National Guard, which they had carried off from the council-house of the *arrondissement*. Richard freed himself from their hands by an immense effort, and then, with irresistible courage, threw himself on this barricade in the midst of a murderous fire; there he recaptured the flag, and had the signal honor of restoring it to the hands of the National Guard who were struggling to regain it. Conducted by them in triumph to the National Assembly, the *Moniteur* announces that he there received from President Sénart, his decoration as *Representant*, with the promise of that of the Legion of Honor.

All our lads who have become soldiers have behaved remarkably well. Priat, of whom we have spoken to you several times already, has obtained the rank of Sergeant in the Zouaves regiment; three other colons are corporals in regiments of the line.

Frequent reference has been made in the passages we have quoted to the *Ecole Préparatoire*; and some particulars of that invaluable branch of the Institution, which we find in the Report for 1848, give too much useful information to be omitted.

The results already obtained by our *Ecole Préparatoire* deserve your attention.

Of 155 pupils admitted,

37 are still at Mettray, where they fill the various offices of secretary, accountant, treasurer, schoolmaster, steward, labor-master, *chefs* and *sous-chefs* of families;

9 have left Mettray to become teachers;

15 have taken various situations (in railway, insurance, and commercial companies, &c., &c.);

10 have entered the army;

5 have become agricultural superintendents;

29 follow industrial occupations;

49 have left the Colony from want of capacity;

1 is dead.

There are at present about eleven pupils in the School; several are trying to obtain a schoolmasters' certificate; others devote themselves more particularly to agriculture, both theoretical and practical.

All help as monitors in giving instruction to the colons, and thus commence their apprenticeship in the difficult art of guiding and reforming their erring fellow creatures.

At a time when the subject of agricultural colonies engages universal attention, our *Ecole Préparatoire* cannot but acquire fresh importance, and demand increased care.

We cannot forget that it is to this establishment that the success of Mettray is in great part owing. We can rely with confidence upon the success of agricultural colonies, only when they are conducted by practical and experienced men. The school, then, in which Government can meet with such individuals deserves to be considered eminently useful. Such, gentlemen, we trust, will be the case with our *Ecole Préparatoire*; such is the object we proposed to ourselves in establishing it, and to attain which our efforts have been unceasingly directed.

1849 found the finances of the colony seriously depressed by the prohibition to manufacture goods for sale. Meanwhile expressions of sympathy and offers of pecuniary aid came from Holland and from England, and the colony received a visit from Louis Napoleon, then President of the Republic, accompanied by several of his ministers. They fully recognized the importance of the Institution, but nevertheless the Directors had great reason to fear that the subventions which each successive Government since that of Louis Philippe had continued to grant, might now be withdrawn. To avert this threatened ruin, they asked for a Committee to be appointed by the chamber of Representatives to visit Mettray and report upon it to Government.

Happily their investigations resulted in the subventions being continued, but the loss of profit from the workshops remaining closed, necessitated a reduction in the staff of officers. The Directors dismissed twenty of their assistants, parting from them with deep personal regret, and grieved for the decreased efficiency of the Institution which must result from their departure.

There are very few events recorded in the report for this year, but we find instead very elaborate and important statistical details on the number of youths received and of those placed out, of their parentage, of the proportion whose names were inscribed on the tablet of honor, of the degree of instruction they possessed on entering the colony, usually very small, and of the time devoted to its acquisition while there. This had latterly been increased and amounted now to fourteen hours per week, which was found amply sufficient to enable them to acquire the elementary knowledge—reading writing and arithmetic and, in some cases, linear drawing and music—which it was considered desirable to teach. A

certain portion of the above mentioned time was moreover occupied in religious instruction, but to youths who were preparing for their first communion the chaplain devoted an additional hour daily. From the Report for 1850, we learn :—

Sixty five of our wards have made their first Communion, and in the most satisfactory manner ; and a large number have renewed it.

We have no fixed time for the performance of this solemn duty ; it is determined chiefly by the amount of religious knowledge, and the fervor of the aspirant.

At Mettray a large number of our children are foundlings ; it is impossible to form an idea of the neglected state of these poor creatures, whose birth is their only offence.

Many of them have done nothing from quite infancy, but watch cattle, and their brutalised condition is often on a level with that of the animals among whom they have lived ; indeed we have had boys who seemed to have acquired their most degraded attributes. Thus, if they quarrelled with a companion, they would after regarding him sideways, rush against him, and overturn him by butting at his chest with their heads, all done with such incredible rapidity that their adversary had no time to save himself from the blow.

The health of the colony continued to be exceedingly satisfactory.

We cannot but call upon you to rejoice with us that Mettray has been preserved from the scourge of disease which has found victims even at our very door. The Penitentiary at Tours lost two-thirds of its inmates in three days. It may be answered, that Mettray is situated on a high table land, free from stagnant water and injurious exhalations. But the houses in our close vicinity are in a similar position, and nevertheless in one of them a whole family was carried off.

It is shown by examining our register that the number of boys admitted into the Infirmary diminishes in proportion with the length of their stay at the colony, which proves how much their constitutions must be strengthened by their healthful mode of life.

We never allow lads who have been placed out at neighboring farms to go to the hospital ; if they fall sick they return to the colony. We claim the right to relieve them in suffering and in sorrow, as a father does his children.

The time spent in curing their physical ailment, we make additionally profitable by reawakening in their hearts the good principles, which during their residence at the colony we endeavored to implant. Our excellent sisters of charity, seconded by the chaplain, lose no opportunity for exhortation, and their counsel is always received with gratitude.

Thus our lads return into the world strengthened both in body and mind; and our gratuitous hospitality has the happiest influence on their characters, for by such evidence they are convinced of the disinterestedness of our advice and feel all the more willing to follow it.

An increased expense is the unavoidable consequence of this rule, as we receive nothing from government, for youths who have left the Colony; but you will agree with us, that there are sacrifices by which we gain.

We have already had occasion to inform you, in preceding reports, and our financial position obliges us to recur to it now, how seriously we have suffered from the decree by the Provisional Government which obliged us to close many of our workshops, and employ our supernumerary laborers in the fields. You will understand the difficulty we had to find useful occupation for so many hands; while, at the same time, it was imperative that the boys should not remain idle; we employed them therefore in making drains, which will not for a long time repay the cost of hand labour; it is indeed an agricultural advance that we have paid beforehand. The Colony will reap the benefit of it hereafter, but at present it appears to be so much loss. It was, however, far better to employ our lads thus, than 'in grinding the air,' as the English say, when speaking of their tread-mill.

Referring to the family system the Directors remark:—

In our endeavour to replace the home which has failed in its duty, we do not conceal from ourselves that the imitation can never equal the reality, and consequently, whenever our wards come from respectable families we lose no opportunity for enabling them to meet, in order to preserve the bonds of natural affection.

Our Colons often beg permission to send some help, out of the little fund which accrues from a portion of their earnings, to a father or mother suffering from poverty, and we always incline a favorable ear to such requests, being only too glad to foster every generous sentiment in their young hearts. If the amount of their savings is too small to meet the want, we add enough to make it sufficient, and nothing is so potent in exciting their feelings of gratitude towards us. We generally appreciate kindness rendered to those dear to us more highly than if we were its immediate object.

When the character and conduct of the parents are good, we allow them to see their children, and often their fathers, more often their mothers, come from a great distance, frequently on foot, even in the worst weather.

Our lads are not in a position in which strong passions are brought into play, and we may rejoice that it is so; but owing to this circumstance, when speaking of what concerns them, the incidents we have to relate are necessarily very simple. Love of labor, obedience to their officers, religious feeling, such are the virtues which we usually have occasion to mention. Some of our Colons have fortunately however had opportunities of distinguishing themselves by rendering a service to their fellow creatures, and even in saving human life.

One day a bull on the farm became infuriated and rushed at the



woman who has the superintendence of the dairy, when the lad Bourdin, seeing the danger which threatened her, instantly threw himself just in the animal's path, and with a stick struck it a tremendous blow between the horns, which enabled the terrified woman to escape. The boy was not deceived as to the risk he ran, and said to us afterwards with much simplicity, "I made sure it was all up with me."

Another Colon, also quite recently, named Roch, having seen the wife of a laborer fall into a piece of water, which was more than three metres [10 feet] deep, jumped in to rescue her, and was fortunate enough to drag her to the edge.

Some high officers of the State, who happened to be with us when we congratulated these two boys, in the presence of the whole Colony, were so touched by the recital, that they suggested we should request the Minister of the Interior to reward their self-devotion by a medal of honor. We did not, however, think it right to yield to their proposal, for we wish that our lads should regard themselves as fortunate rather than meritorious in profiting by an opportunity to render a fellow-creature a kindness.

The lads who belong to the Department of the Seine are those who give us most trouble, for all our efforts do not always avail to prevent their returning to the Capital, which has an irresistible attraction for them, and whither, moreover, their families usually urge them to come; and you are aware that under no circumstances is our active and watchful care more constantly needed, than for those poor lads who are exposed to all the temptations of a great city.

Detained as we necessarily are at Mettray by the duties of our position there, it is impossible for us to exercise a due superintendence over our lads in Paris. It is M. Verdier, (barrister-at-law), the agent of your society, who, notwithstanding the duties already imposed upon him by the office he so disinterestedly discharges, does not hesitate to take upon himself this additional responsibility, and there is no trouble he will not undergo to obtain places for our boys."

The following passage enables us to judge of the position which the colony had attained in the course of ten years of active existence. It will appear that the apprehended withdrawal of the subvention from Government had to a certain extent taken place.

If Mettray even at the present time has not yet assumed its rank among first-rate agricultural establishments, we can assure you it is not for want of making the most strenuous efforts in that direction. But the task is a difficult one. Many and very different objects are there sought to be obtained. Intellectual instruction, moral training, the requirements of strict discipline, fixed hours which cannot be changed, the employment of youthful and inexperienced hands, of which moreover we have often more than we know how to occupy, render the task of cultivating the land well and economically, and of producing good agriculturists, a very hard one.

Now, however, that our efforts have effected in a moral point of view all we dared to hope for, and even more than that when we recollect the perils we have passed through and the class we have had to deal with, we intend to devote our utmost efforts to repair the losses which the agricultural portion of our enterprise has incurred, and also to place agricultural training on the footing which it ought here to occupy.

You have not forgotten, gentlemen, the critical position in which the colony was placed by certain acts of the government affecting us.

A ministerial order reduced by 10 centimes (1d) the daily allowance for each child, which has diminished our annual income by 18,250 francs (£730). The allowance for clothes has also been lessened 10 francs (8s) a head, by which we lose annually 1000 francs (£40). Finally, the suppression of certain of our workshops, those namely for the manufacture of waggons, carts, wooden shoes, and agricultural implements, have deprived us of an annual profit of from 10 to 15 thousand francs (£400 to £600). The total annual sum we lose then is 34,250 francs (£1,370).

The extension which our factory of agricultural implements had undergone led us to hope for still larger gains. We deplore the circumstances in which we have been placed, all the more that the time seemed near at hand when our institution should become self-supporting independently of governmental aid.

On the first of January, 1848 our receipts fell short of our expenses by only 30,000 francs (£1,200). The amount of work done in our workshops increased so rapidly in 1847 that we felt sure that by enlarging them still further, and considering the large orders we had received, we should, in succeeding years, have realized very greatly increased profits.

After ten years of strenuous exertion we have the right to say—“Either Mettray is an exceptional and ephemeral institution, and ought to receive neither the help which might retain a benevolent but useless experiment in existence, nor praises which would afford it futile encouragement,—or Mettray is the first stone laid of a complete system of correctional education founded in no rash love of novelty, but on the eternal principles on which society itself is based, and susceptible of infinitely varied application.”

In the latter case it ought to be unreservedly adopted, that so difficult an enterprise may not be left at the mercy of this or that favorable disposition which may fail us at any time, nor dependent on our individual efforts to obtain aid, which, whether more or less successful, entail always considerable loss of time, seriously interfering with the good management of the institution.

It devolves upon you, gentlemen, the founders of Mettray, to ensure the permanency of your work.

We gave ourselves ten years for accomplishing this great experiment; that period is completed to-day, and we may safely say, **METTRAY IS ESTABLISHED.**

Praise has succeeded detraction, approval has taken the place of objections, and the most convincing testimony authorizes us in adding, *Mettray is understood.*

Both at home and abroad our plan has been eagerly adopted, and similar institutions projected or already established elsewhere, enable us to exclaim, still more rejoicingly, *Mettray is imitated.*

Finally, if our anticipations and our wishes do not deceive us, the day is not far distant, when your system being applied to all those children who before that period had been a burden or a source of alarm to the state, they will, by promoting its prosperity, become to it a mine of wealth.

The report for 1851 contains no new facts of importance, but it again insists on the ruinous consequence of sending lads to Mettray for so short a period as two or three years, and upon the advantages resulting from effective patronage. It mentions also that the cultivation of the colza plant had been introduced, and promised to be highly remunerative.

In 1852 a most elaborate report was issued by M. de Gasparin on the state of the agricultural department, which it appears was then in a very flourishing condition.

In the course of this year the directors were away from the colony for a considerable time, owing to ill health.

Officers and colons whilst we were absent from the Colony redoubled their zeal, in order to prove their attachment to us, and to our esteemed representative M. Blanchard, whom they alike love and respect, and whose task they sought to lighten. This fact affords a most convincing answer to the objection we have often heard raised, that the existence of Mettray depends on two men. Mettray, we affirm, rests on an educational system based on established principles, and will bear fruit long, very long after those who originated it shall be no more.

Little did he who spoke or those who heard these words imagine in how a short a time the prophecy they contained was in part to be fulfilled; on the 10th of September of the same year, M. de Courteilles died. "He was attending the sick bed of a youth who had to all appearance become thoroughly hardened, when the latter, for the first time since his admission into the colony, exhibited some sign of contrition. The joy which M. de Courteilles experienced on the occasion reminded him of an extract from a sermon of the Abbé Lacordaire, which he had inserted in his work on prisons. \* \* \* He went for the volume, and was reading the passage to the friends that were around him when the book dropped from his hand: he was dead."\*

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\* Mettray, a Lecture, by Robert Hall, M. A.

"Thus," writes M. Demetz,

the Colony lost its firmest stay, and I the tenderest and most faithful friend, the companion of my early years, the adopted brother given me by God.

It may seem rash in me, to those who knew the force of his character—the power of his genius, to have consented henceforth to take upon myself alone the responsibility of this great enterprize. But it is to those very qualities, which circumstances enable me better than any one else justly to estimate, that my resolution must be attributed. M. de Courteilles has placed the administration of the Colony on so sound a basis, that I have only to execute what he has already organized. His zeal and devotion were never more evident than in the year which has just elapsed; the narrative of its events demonstrates the greatness of his creative genius. He regarded the position attained by the Colony, both in a moral point of view and in respect to discipline, as most satisfactory, an opinion which has very recently received ministerial confirmation,\* but he deplored the irregularities still apparent in our domestic economy, and which resulted from the want of sufficient means to conduct it methodically; and it was to this department of our institution more particularly that he devoted the last days of his life.

The great increase in the number of inmates at Mettray had rendered the existing storehouses altogether inadequate to its requirements; it had consequently become necessary to purchase articles of consumption almost from day to day, which caused inevitably some waste in their use, and made it impossible to take advantage of a cheap season to lay in a large stock. To meet this evil M. de Courteilles commenced building extensive magazines which, when finished, not only enabled the managers to purchase largely when prices were low, but to keep a much more exact account of their expenditure in this department than had before been practicable. By these means together with the great saving effected by the improved method of purchase,

We are now able to state the average daily expenditure for food for each boy since the foundation of the Colony at 30 centimes ( $2\frac{3}{4}d.$ ), while for the officers it has not exceeded 70 centimes ( $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ ). For clothing each colon has cost per day 14 centimes ( $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ ), for fuel and light 2 centimes ( $\frac{1}{8}d.$ ). We cannot hope to attain greater economy in the two latter items. Washing has cost us 4 centimes per head, but we expect to reduce this amount considerably by means of a new system we have adopted, and which we will explain; and as regards our outlay for clothing, we trust that that also

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\* See the letter of his Excellency the Minister of the Interior, dated April 18th, 1853.

will be lessened in consequence of a rule we have just made, and which will, we hope, operate as favorably in a moral as in a financial point of view. We intend to award a prize to those of our colonists who, by the care they take of their clothes, make them last longer than the regulation period. We regard it as a duty to do our utmost to teach our lads orderly and economical habits, which, if acquired early, will remain with them, and have the happiest influence upon their after life. By limiting their wants, and accustoming them to live upon a small sum, we take from them the motive to seek riches by dishonest means.

After further minute statistical information, relating chiefly to the health of the lads, among whom the rate of mortality for the fourteen years of the colony's existence amounted to only one and a half per cent, the report continues :—

Perhaps, gentlemen, you will think we have entered at too great length into these dry details, but they are so important to our success that we trust you will pardon us for presenting them to you. It must never be forgotten that to do good on a large scale we must effect it at the cheapest possible rate.

Words which deserve to be written in letters of gold.

In addition to the large store houses that M. de Courteilles had begun, he urged forward the works by which a more abundant supply of water was secured to the colony.

Every day he was occupied in overlooking the workmen, so much so that his health suffered visibly from these excessive demands upon his strength ; but when we besought him to moderate his zeal, he would reply in the beautiful words of Scripture, " So long as the flesh is able, the spirit should be willing."

You know how forgetful youth is by nature, but it is not so with our children. Exposed to sufferings of every sort, and having never received one mark of kindness from their infancy upwards, until Providence through you took pity on their misery, they are amazed to find that any one cares for them, and the smallest reward, the slightest proof of interest, affects them deeply. Judge, then, gentlemen, what they must have felt when deprived of him who had devoted, even sacrificed, his life to them.

I will not attempt to describe to you the state of the Colony during that mournful season, but the grief expressed by youths who have long left us will enable you to understand what theirs must have been who, to the very moment of M. de Courteilles' death, were the objects of his tender care.

The following is a letter from Hermerel, now established at Caen :

*" Caen, September 27th, 1852.*

" Monsieur Demetz—I awaited with the intensest anxiety the confirmation of this news. My master came to my house on the 12th of this month to bring me some work, when seeing the portrait of my revered M. de Courteilles hanging against the wall, together with the

engraving of Mettray, he exclaimed all at once, 'Why that's Mettray there, and here's one of the founders; it is the very one who died yesterday afternoon of apoplexy.' I could not speak a word, and meanwhile he went away. As soon as I came to myself, I ran after him to ask him where he heard the news; he said he saw it in a newspaper, and I ran to every place where newspapers are taken in, but I could not find out if it was true. But I could scarcely avoid believing it, for why should a man who knew nothing of Mettray invent such a thing. I was in the most dreadful suspense till I received your letter, and ever since then I have been in the most dreadful grief. I cannot tell you, Monsieur Demetz, what I feel; I will only say that I seek in spirit the tomb which covers the dear remains of M. de Courteilles, and there my heart pours forth its bitter sorrow.

"What a terrible blow Providence has inflicted on you too; but I know, Monsieur Demetz, you are bearing it with the resignation you always show. God alone is our Master, and we must ever yield to His will. After such fearful proof of His power all we can do is to humble ourselves before Him.

"Children at Mettray, with grief I learn the loss we have all sustained. It is a dreadful loss, and one we can never replace. M. de Courteilles is no more. He was one of the colony's supports, and this support it has lost. He still watches over us from above, but we can see him no longer. He is no more amongst us. He will never again console the sick, nor the prisoner, nor ever praise good conduct more, nor be seen at any of your meetings. Ah! my dear lads, he is gone from us for ever! But every step we took at Mettray he guided, we were the objects of all his thoughts, of all his solicitude; he watched over us while we slept, he worked for us while we rested. What proof of our regret can we give worthy of such care and such sacrifices! No, dear schoolfellows, we can give none—for it was his earthly life he spent to save our souls. But, dear colons of Mettray, let us try to prove our respect for his memory, let every action show how truly we mourn him. Let your games, your laughter, be less boisterous. Break not his rest—he lies beside you, and his spirit is ever with you;\* as for me, I share your sorrow, your grief is mine also, for I owe him more than any one. A servant deprived by death of a good master mourns him for a time at least; a son never ceases to regret the loss of a good father, but we have lost far more than a good master, or even father—we have lost a saviour.

Have we not then greater cause than they, to make our mourning life-long; and that every one who in future visits Mettray may know how great a loss the colons have sustained, I beg M. Demetz to be so good as to allow them to wear black collars to their coats instead of red, and to let the banner of each family be covered with crape for at least a year. But this is nothing in comparison with what the colony

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\* By his own direction M. de Courteilles was buried in the cemetery of the Colony: thus even in death he is not separated from those to whom his life was devoted. His epitaph is in these words, "J'ai voulu vivre mourir et resusciter avec eux;" they are an extract from his will.—ED.

owes him.—I have no need, my dear boys, to ask you to pray for him, for that is your first duty. As for me, I trust, M. Demetz, and the officers under you, you will not think me wrong in putting on mourning for him; my heart will mourn too, and like my school-fellows I shall never forget him who was everything to me. M. Demetz is left alone over you, my dear friends; his charge is greater than ever, and besides he too has lost his friend. Try to lighten the task which this dreadful event has rendered double to him. Let offences be less frequent, let the elder ones guide the little ones aright, let those who have learnt something teach those who know nothing, and let all, animated with one spirit, endeavor to make the grief of your masters less bitter, and their life among you more happy.

"Farewell, my dearly beloved school-fellows. May Heaven receive the prayers we all offer up for the repose of the soul of the deceased, our revered M. de Courteilles, who loved us to the end of his life; and may it be pleased to grant, many, many years more to him, who is yet spared to us. (signed,) HERMEREL."

You will not wrong us, by imagining we have permitted a word of this letter to be altered.

Another letter equally expressive of the love and veneration inspired by M. de Courteilles, is given in the report, but our space will not permit us to transcribe it. M. Demetz received,

Numbers of letters, which, though less well expressed, are equally touching. We have preserved them all, and shall keep them, as affording the most striking testimony to the worth our friend. It is not given to every one to inspire such regret.

If in the hearts of children young, some of them very young, and untrained, our grief found such an echo, judge what we met with in our officers, educated almost entirely under our own eyes, and who had lived on terms of intimacy with him whom it was impossible to behold without being attracted to him by an irresistible power. These excellent young men have felt that the best way to honor the memory of their benefactor is to follow his exhortations, and it is simply an act of justice on my part to assure you that the management of the Colony has never been more easy. Right feeling is apparent throughout, and each performs his duty without my having even to remind him of it.

All give me their best assistance, but I ought especially to mention M. M. Blanchard and Mahoudeau,\* who each in his own department supplies my place, in my absence, so satisfactorily as to leave me no possibility for anxiety. I can give no higher testimony to their merit, nor one which would more convincingly prove to you how worthy they are of that confidence which I accord to them with heartfelt pleasure.

This was a mournful year for the colony, which during its course lost many friends besides M. de Courteilles. One of

\* These gentlemen bear respectively the titles of *Inspecteur de la Colonie*, and *Chef de la Comptabilité*.—ED.

these, M. Blonet, was the architect to whose happy adaptation to the requirements of Mettray of what he in company with M. Demetz had seen in similar institutions abroad, much of its success is owing. Madame Hébert, the foundress, as it will be recollected, of one of the houses inhabited by the colons, died in 1853, and also M. Bezancon, a munificent benefactor to the colony from the time of its foundation.

The report is preceeded by a portrait of M. de Courteilles—it represents a man of distinguished appearance, and most benevolent countenance—but the record of the past year's events no longer bears his signature. May that which yet remains long be spared!

In 1854 we find reference to the assemblage of the colons in the great hall which takes place every Sunday.

On Sunday an account is given before the assembled colony of the conduct of each family and the work it has accomplished during the past week, and particulars respecting its individual members are related. Every boy who has deserved well receives encouragement; every family whose conduct has been satisfactory receives a reward. This emulation among the different families has always had a good effect. It was not however sufficient, and we thought it might be possible to excite this spirit of rivalry in good conduct to still further results, by fostering it not only in individuals but in the various families, so that it should animate the whole colony.

With this view we have established a kind of "prize of honor" (*prix d'honneur*) to be granted to the family which has incurred no punishment during the past week; it consists in the privilege of carrying the national flag upon which this simple legend has been inscribed, "*Honneur à la Famille*—"

During their military exercises, the family which has earned this distinction marches at the head of the colony whose standard-bearer it has become. The important aid we receive from this struggle as to who shall behave best, will be proved better by figures than by the most eloquent words.

Before the introduction of the flag the number of boys inscribed on the tablet of honor amounted to 66 per cent; it is now 74½, and we should add that 37 lads now at the colony have come to us within the last three months, and consequently are not yet privileged to have their names placed upon the tablet. Under the same influence the number of colons consigned to the cell, which was formerly 2 per cent per day, is now reduced to one and a quarter.

Every week, as has been already stated, we give to those families whose conduct has been particularly good, a little reward. This is generally an engraving representing either some courageous action, or else a religious subject; sometimes it is a print of one of

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\* The name of the successful family is written on a small scutcheon, fastened to the staff of the flag.



our great battles, or of a naval encounter. The sublime scene of the death of the Archbishop of Paris\* and the deed of self devotion by the sister of charity who in the midst of a fierce street skirmish saved the life of an officer at the risk of her own, are thus brought under the notice of our lads, and these engravings, conveying as they do an invaluable lesson, decorate the walls of the boys' rooms, and form a little gallery illustrative of moral greatness, piety, and heroism.

The Report gives most encouraging particulars respecting a large number of the youths who had left the Institution, contained partly in letters from patrons, and in one signed "A former colon." The writer, who had settled at Lima, after

\* The event alluded to in the Report occurred, as doubtless our readers will recollect, during the terrible Three Days of June 1848. We were in Paris in the autumn of that year, and of course saw all the places rendered memorable during the preceding few months. It may be supposed we did not fail to visit the spot which the death of the noble-hearted prelate has made hallowed ground, and there the particulars were narrated to us of that fearful scene.

Hoping to stay the dreadful carnage, and to act as mediator between the Government and the rebels, the Archbishop departed from his palace on Sunday evening, the 25th of June, for the Place de la Bastille where the fighting was then hottest. Passing along the Rue St. Antoine the excited populace, aware of his intention, implored him to persevere, overwhelming him with prayers and blessings. Some few warned him of the peril he was incurring, but to these he replied, that duty forbade him to regard his own safety; and he was heard often to repeat to himself the words, "*Bonus autem pastor de vitam suam pro ovibus suis.*" Truly he proved himself no hireling! He stopped from time to time beside the ambulances, blessing and absolving the wounded. On reaching the Place de la Bastille where a barricade had been thrown up across the embouchure of two streets which form an acute angle, he prevailed upon the officer commanding the Government troops to stop firing that he might parley with the insurgents. The latter ceased also, when accompanied by his two *grands vicaires*, and preceded by a man bearing a bough for a flag of truce, he advanced towards the barricade. The rebels descended from it to meet him, and there appeared reason to hope that his mission of peace would prove successful, when the report of a gun, possibly a random shot, was followed by a cry of "Treason!" and instantly the fusillade was resumed more fiercely than ever. The prelate and his no less courageous attendants were thus in the midst of a cross fire. He still advanced, reached the barricade and climbed to the summit where he was visible to the combatants on both sides. The balls whistled round his head as he addressed the multitude, but he remained unharmed, though one of his Vicars had his hat pierced in three places. While descending from the barricade the Archbishop was struck by a bullet in his side. The blow was mortal. A faithful servant who had followed him unperceived, caught him in his arms, and he was carried from the spot. He survived only a few hours during which his sufferings were intense, but borne with the calmness and resignation which belongs to true heroism.—Ed.

expressing the warmest gratitude and affection towards the Director and the officers of the colony, begs that his name may be inscribed on its list of founders, stating that he has transmitted the sum of one hundred francs in aid of its funds, a donation by which he would become entitled to the coveted distinction.

We find also the following passage referring to a visit paid to the colony by Lord Brougham.

It would be impossible to describe the impression produced by the noble Lord's stay at Mettray, where the kindness shown us by this distinguished individual in coming so far out of his way, was fully appreciated. Lord Brougham entered into the colony's minutest details, and even, at his own request, dined at the same table with our officers, conversing with them on the nature of their different employments. We shall not forget his emotion on hearing our band perform "God save the Queen," and on beholding the English flag flying on the mast of our ship, side by side with the French standard.

He did not depart from the institution without leaving there a proof of his generous sympathy, and we look forward to having ere long funds sufficient to build a house on which will be inscribed (as in the case of those constructed at the expense of different departments) the words "Founded by England."

We are informed by the Report for 1855 of a change in the time allotted to the instruction of the younger boys, whose numbers had recently much increased. It was now found best to allow them to spend a larger portion of the day in the school-room than their elder companions, their labor being of comparatively little value, while their aptitude for acquiring elementary knowledge is much greater than at a later period. The progress made by the pupils was on the whole highly satisfactory. Out of the 649 colons in the institution 396 could read, and 268 could write well, while the most un instructed had made some progress in these arts, and the arithmetic class was very promising.

Great praise is due to our schoolmaster for the perseverance which has been rewarded with so large a measure of success, the more remarkable as we have during the present year received a large number of new boys. But we must award a due portion of praise also to the pupils in our Ecole Préparatoire, who have aided greatly to promote the improvement we have indicated.

We rejoice to be able again to bring under your notice the advantages resulting from this school whose usefulness we have never ceased to feel, and regarding which even foreigners who have kindly visited Mettray have taken opportunities of expressing their

high opinion. We have evidence of this on very high authority in a letter recently published by Mr. Hill, Queen's Counsel, addressed to Lord Brougham.\* This able writer in enumerating the conditions essential to the prosperity of an agricultural colony, unhesitatingly declares that the most important of all is the establishment, as a preparatory step, of a school for teachers, similar to our own.

Orfrasière, an off-shoot from Mettray, of which we shall hear more in the next Report, was founded this year.

The inundations of June, 1856, which overwhelmed the valleys of some of the largest rivers in France, caused great damage to the city of Tours. It was indeed threatened almost with submersion, its safety depending on the resisting power of a levee which at one time appeared likely to give way. The Mettray youths had on the occasion of a former flood rendered great assistance, and their help was again thankfully accepted.

During the disasters which ravaged our fertile districts, our lads—whom a journey in England prevented me from myself leading to the scene of action—were in the foremost ranks to oppose the evil. M. Blanchard was at their head, admirably seconded by the rest of our officers, whose names I wish I could here enumerate.

The zeal and devotion with which each one performed his duty on this occasion, called forth the following letter from the Municipal Council of Tours after those terrible days of trial:—

*“ To the Director of Mettray.*

“ SIR,—At the time when our city was exposed to imminent danger, you generously thought of offering us the help of your young *colons*; we gratefully accepted it, and a few hours only elapsed before these brave youths, furnished with tools which were familiar to them, came to assist our terrified inhabitants in opposing the violence of the flood.

“ For two days and a night they worked incessantly, with unheard-of energy and ardor, without letting order and discipline be relaxed for an instant in their ranks.

“ They remained with us to the last, when every means of safety had been tried. After all the fatigue they had undergone for us, the *colons* of Mettray still wished to lighten the misfortune which their courage was not able to avert, and these poor lads devoted their savings to the relief of those who had suffered by the floods.

“ This devotion and generosity have excited the warmest admiration of our citizens, which it is our gratifying duty to express.

“ All honor, then, to those poor boys who have so nobly gained for themselves a place in society whence the misfortunes of their youth, often undeserved, seemed to exclude them! All honor to the institution which has inspired such generous feelings!

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\* “ Practical Suggestions to the Founders of Reformatory Schools;” by the Recorder of Birmingham.

"The Municipal Council of Tours has decided that a commemorative medal shall be offered to the Colony of Mettray, to perpetuate the remembrance of the brotherly help it so freely gave to our city. I shall shortly have the honor of transmitting it to you, sir; but the Council was unwilling to delay any longer expressing to you their deep gratitude, and I rejoice to be their channel of communication on this occasion.

"With sincere respect,

"Allow me to subscribe myself, &c., &c.

"E. MAME, Mayor."

The medal, which I have received from the Mayor (always as ready to reward good deeds as he is the first to perform them) bears the following inscription:—"A la Colonie de Mettray, la Ville de Tours, reconnaissante.—Inondation, 1856."

The Cardinal Archbishop of Tours added his testimony to the heroic conduct alike of officers and colons from Mettray.

Speaking of the increasing development of the manufacture of agricultural implements, and the industry of the young workmen, the Report continues—

To assiduity they often unite considerable skill, and give proof of no mean capacity. One of them has invented a root-cutter, (*coupe-racine*), which accomplishes twice as much work as an ordinary root-cutter. We sent this implement to the *Exposition Universelle*, and it having gained a second prize, we resolved to take out a patent for it. We decided upon this step in order, firstly, to secure our property in a useful invention, but more particularly with the view of encouraging the efforts of our young colons, and sustaining their zeal.

Many specimens of their handiwork have gained prizes at agricultural shows both at Paris and in the provinces.

An additional department, entitled "*Arts et Metiers*," has this year been added to the *Ecole Préparatoire*, which will provide for the education of industrial teachers, serious evils having occasionally arisen from employing as trades-masters individuals who had not been brought up in that institution; it is intended henceforth to employ no officer who has not been trained there.

The vast proportions of Mettray have deterred many individuals from attempting to found an agricultural colony on the same plan. They feared lest the system when limited in its operation to comparatively few individuals, might not work successfully, and they nevertheless were unable for want of funds to attempt one on a large scale. To

prove that their fears were groundless the little colony of Orfrasière was established at about twelve miles distance from Mettray where there are only sixty lads.

By reason of its distance from Mettray, supervision is difficult at Orfrasière, and the more so owing to the small number of officers there; these consist, indeed, of only a *chef de famille* and a *sous chef*. Nevertheless, not an attempt at escape has been made during nearly two years.

There has been but one attempt, which has proved successful, to escape from the parent colony since its foundation. It must, however, be borne in mind that the difficulty of moving about from place to place without incurring the notice of the police, which still exists to a considerable degree in France, renders detection more likely there than in this kingdom. Unsuccessful endeavors to get away are from time to time made, though we believe invariably by lads who have not been long at the colony; even then we imagine they are very few as compared with the attempts to escape from similar institutions in England. We recollect hearing of an instance, though we do not vouch for the truth of it, in which it happened to the masters to find themselves, one day, the sole representatives of their school, *all* the boys having taken their departure. Of course such an event could occur in only a very small establishment, and as knowledge and experience in reformatory treatment increase, we may hope this serious difficulty will be overcome. But to return to Orfrasière.

Not a complaint has been addressed to us by the neighbouring land-owners, and not only have our lads avoided exciting distrust, but their conduct has been so exemplary that the clergyman of the parish, in full congregation, was pleased to express his approbation of the manner in which they perform their religious duties, and his high opinion of their excellent principles.

But whilst thus occupied in extending further and further the influence of Mettray, we should be guilty of negligence did we not provide for the future prosperity of the colony itself—that prosperity which, owing to the precarious circumstances in which Mettray is now placed, may be seriously endangered at every renewal of a lease, we being limited to the disagreeable alternative of accepting onerous conditions which would destroy all hope of obtaining a profit from the land, or of abandoning extensive erections, to go and establish ourselves at a distance.

The *Mortier* estate adjoins our buildings, and we cannot step outside the court without setting foot upon it. Your Council expressed a wish last year to buy it. The period during which we can claim the right to do so expires almost immediately; the estate is worth 109,000 francs (£4,360), and is let for 4,000 francs (£160) a year.

We propose, in order to raise the sum required for this purchase, to have recourse to the method adopted by the Asile Fénélon.... The mode of proceeding is to issue bonds for 500 francs (£20) each, having the security of a first mortgage, at four per cent. interest,\* to be drawn by lot for repayment, as the funds which the Colony may have at its disposal will permit. We are glad to be able to inform you that we are sure of disposing of a large number of these bonds in France, and also in England, where during our last journey in that country we received the kindest offers from friends.

The plan here proposed has been adopted, and we have ourselves seen a prospectus entering into minute details which has been prepared for circulation in England. Doubtless this opportunity will not be lost by those whom circumstances have enabled to appreciate the benefit Mettray has, by its example, conferred upon the reformatory movement in this country, for proving their sense of it at this crisis.

The salubrity of Mettray is one among numerous strong reasons for not removing the colony to another spot.

The rate of mortality since the institution was established has not exceeded two per cent. We cannot but rejoice at these results, especially when we reflect upon the neglected and destitute condition in which most of our pupils passed their early life.

The cholera, during three different visitations, ravaged the surrounding population without attacking us. Unhappily this year the Colony has paid its tribute; typhoid fever raged among us for four months; 152 of our youths were attacked, 14 only died.†

Who can imagine the terror which such a scourge would have excited among our officers, if they had not been men whose devotion was above all proof? At first we thought of having nurses from other places, but our noble assistants claimed as a right the care of our lads. It was truly a touching sight to see these young men, full of life and hope, voluntarily make our infirmary their abode.

The Reports for 1855 and 1856 notice at considerable length that branch of the institution which is devoted to the reception of boys from the upper ranks of society sent there under the law of *correction paternelle*. The results hitherto have been highly successful, but during the visitation

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\* Since the publication of this Report the *Société Paternelle* have determined to raise the interest payable upon the Bonds from four to five per cent.—ED.

† In comparing the number of boys attacked, who were for the most part of weakly constitutions, with those who died, we must express our high opinion of the skill and devotion of our medical attendants, Dr. Allain-Dupré and Dr. Anglada. The latter fell a victim to his excessive zeal. We may truly say that his death was the complement of a life wholly devoted to alleviating the sufferings of humanity, in which he labored with a disinterestedness that knew no bounds. We feel it to be a duty to pay this just tribute of praise to his memory.

of the fever it was deemed best not to receive lads of this description.

The yearly cash account is not published with the Reports. It forms a separate document which M. Gouin prepares and presents annually to the Société Paternelle.

We may gather, however, from incidental references to the colony's expenditure that this is governed by the most rigid economy. The average daily cost of food, clothing, light, fuel and washing for the colons, and of food for the officers, we have already seen. We have now before us a statement setting forth the provisions consumed on one particular day (June 12th 1855) together with their price and the number of consumers. The latter amounted to 698, and their food, including fuel for cooking it, cost on that day 266 francs (£10 : 12 : 9½). Financial statistics are not given in the Reports by which we can ascertain the entire cost of each lad; we were, however, very recently, informed by M. Demetz, that including his quota of expense for officers, rent, instruction, food, clothing, and patronage after leaving the colony, in short dividing the expenditure of the whole institution among the colons, three-quarters of a franc per day, or a trifle less than £11 per year, is the cost of each after deducting the average value of his labor.

It is not our intention to enter further into the statistics of Mettray, which have already been analysed in a masterly manner in several of the valuable notices of this institution which have from time to time appeared—and indeed we must now hasten to take leave of our subject altogether. Important as we feel it to be that information of the kind we have endeavored to supply should be placed within the reach of all who are actively engaged in the reformatory movement, we should heartily rejoice to see the subject pursued further by other penmen than ours. Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and other European countries, as also the United States, have possessed Reformatory schools for many years, and invaluable knowledge might be gained from the careful study of their progress. France too has many schools beside Mettray deserving our attention, while at home, the House of Refuge in Glasgow, and Red Hill, together with some others, have been in existence long enough for their experience to teach a most important lesson. In addition to these a host of smaller institutions have sprung up around us whose course, though as yet short, cannot be uninteresting. The history even of such as have attained but a partial suc-

cess, or have actually succumbed under the difficulties which inevitably beset the early existence of such establishments, will, if attentively perused, not only amply reward the student, but will impose upon him as deep an obligation for the instruction afforded as Mettray itself can do, since, to speak once more in the words of the Founder of that great Exemplar, "we owe no less to him who points out the shoals, than to him who shows us the right course."

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#### ART. IX.—THEATRES AND ACTORS, SINGERS AND MUSICIANS.

1. *Report from the Select Committee, on Dramatic Literature, With Minutes of Evidences.* Ordered by The House of Commons to be Printed, Second of August, 1832.
2. *Some Account of The English Stage, From the Restoration in 1660 to 1830. In Ten Volumes.* Bath : 1832.

So far back as the year 1832, a Select Committee of the House of Commons, composed of men, many of them eminent in the literary world, agreed to a report, which commences with the following passage :—

"In examining the state of the Laws affecting the interest and exhibition of the Drama, your Committee find that a considerable decline both in the Literature of the Stage, and the taste of the Public for Theatrical performances is generally conceded."

In this year of grace, 1856, this decline appears to be equally held as an admitted fact, though if the Drama has indeed been continuing to decline since 1832, it is not easy to explain how it has continued to exist at all at this time. The truth, we are disposed to believe, is, that the taste for Dramatic representation has not so much declined as changed its character. The fashion of late dining ; the introduction of cheap literature ; and the now very general plan of country residences, have no doubt all of them contributed to lessen the number of regular frequenters of the Theatre. Nevertheless, burlesques, extravaganzas, and farces, still attract numerous



audiences, and what is called the opera, with us in Dublin, is a favorite, because supposed to be a fashionable, resort.

It is not easy to give any rational solution of this Opera rage, as it blazes in its full fury in the great world of London. It certainly had not its origin in a pure musical taste, and love of music, for such are by no means characteristics of the English people. We have no hesitation in stating our belief that more than three-fourths of the title, wealthy, and aristocratic audiences, that assemble nightly in the London opera-houses, are wholly destitute of the smallest musical enthusiasm; and take their places in their stalls and boxes solely from a feeling of devotion to the goddess of fashion.

Young England, indeed, seems to regard the opera merely as a fashionable lounge, which he frequents, because "everybody" goes there; and where he passes such portions of the evening as are not occupied in drawling out the vapid nothing which constitute his idea of conversation, in criticizing with the aid of a "lorgnette," the attractions of the female part of the audience, or in staring superciliously at his humbler neighbours, whose object in coming to such a place, forms as large a subject for wonder and meditation as his little brain can conveniently accommodate. But it is when the musical part of the entertainment to his great relief is over, and the glories of the ballet burst on his vision, that we see awakened within him all the animation of which he is capable or thinks it proper to display. Then an exhibition which is destitute alike of grace, delicacy, and intellect, and which would hardly be tolerated in a barbarous country, is applauded to the echo; and the bounding and curvetting of a bespangled nymph, win warm greetings from an audience before whom the finest efforts of a Garrick or a Kemble, would be displayed in vain.

It will not do to urge as it is daily urged, that the Drama is unsupported, because there exist no great exponents of its beauties. True indeed it is that the days of the Kembles, and of Siddons, of Kean and of Young, are passed away, and that with Macready's retirement has gone out the last great and shining light; but still are left many lesser stars, whose rays now struggling through the obscurity of public indifference, need but a vigorous breath of public favor, to assert their full and native brilliancy, and to illuminate once more the page and spirit of the Drama.

Who that beheld the earnest, eager, yet attentive crowds

that thronged night after night, in fair and foul weather, in "summer's heat, and winter's snow," into the Theatres in which Kemble, Kean, and Cooke, were "cleaving the general ear," could have supposed the words of Dr. Johnson's address prophetic when he wrote—

But who the coming changes can presage,  
And mark the future periods of the stage?  
Perhaps if skill should distant times explore,  
New Behns, new D'urseys, yet remain in store;  
Perhaps where Lear has raved, and Hamlet died,  
On flying cars new sorcerers may ride;  
Perhaps, (for who can guess th' effects of chance?)  
Here Hunt \* may box, or Mahomet † may dance.

We have witnessed in these days Drury Lane Theatre converted into an exhibition of wild beasts, and that exhibition graced by the presence of Royalty, and ceiling-walkers, and rope-dancers, have more than once formed the chief attraction within those walls which once echoed to the noblest utterance of the noblest sentiments that ever were expressed by man. It cannot however be denied that, however pure and strong the public appetite for Dramatic representations may at any time have been, it could not long continue keen if there existed no good actors; but it appears to us that any deficiency in this respect at the present time is the result, and not the cause of the or change of the public taste.

As the supply of all natural productions will in a state of nature generally equal the demand, so in the dramatic world, the supply of good actors would always be full in proportion to the public requirements as indicated by the encouragement extended.

We cannot surely be called on to admit that the world is daily deteriorating in genius and ability, and that the old cry of modern inferiority is based on truth; and not being disposed to admit this, we think that the number of good actors will always depend, as we have before stated, on the public voice and favor.

However great the innate taste and turn of mind may be, which makes a man desire to embrace the profession of an actor, he will only pause in his course before committing

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A famous boxer on the stage.

† A celebrated rope dancer.

himself to its uncertain existence, when he becomes reluctantly convinced that he cannot hope to do much more than earn common subsistence in its pursuit, and that that fame which is the wished for goal of genius, will never be reached by him.

It will be seen that in these few remarks we have considered the Drama, so called, as represented wholly by its serious part, and have not taken into consideration in noting its decline, the position or prospects of the sons and daughters of *Thalia*.

In truth we think that in those days the latter possess but little distinctive character; the efforts of the best are almost entirely devoted to farce and extravaganza, and the days of the true comedy appear to have gone by. At any time, however, the higher and nobler aim of the Drama was directed through the medium of serious plays—and through lighter productions might occasionally instruct, they were generally calculated (as intended,) simply to amuse.

The preponderance of good comic, over tragic or serious actors in every theatrical company, must have struck every one who has at all considered the subject. This we find especially the case in the present day, when in the persons of Charles Matthews, Alfred Wigan, Buckstone, and Robson, we can point at least to three first rate, each in his line, comedians, for one good tragedian.

With the comic actor a great element of success consists in good animal spirits, gentlemanly manner and address, and a keen sense of humor; he neither requires nor undergoes the patient study, the severe intellectual training, without which success in the tragic actor, is the exception to the general rule.

Whether "Punch," as some think, is to be held answerable for a certain taste to which we are about to allude, or not, we will not undertake to say, but certain it is that the appearance and successful career of that clever publication, brought out an innumerable host of what are termed comic writers, and created an appetite for productions whose only aim was to excite a laugh or at least a smile, if not by either their wit or humor at least by their absurdity. Could our dear Tom Hood have returned to life and seen some of these brochures, how would the current of his genial humor have been chilled, to find the powerful weapons of ridicule wielded by such puny hands. How mean would be his estimate of that wit, whose

highest achievement would assist in burlesquing some grave and venerable author, or in making the history of nations a vehicle for wretched puns, and how would he have stigmatized as unworthy of true wit the miserable caricatures of our greatest Dramatist, which men of respectable parts have not been ashamed to write, and actors of no inconsiderable powers to appear in.

The result of this ill directed literature has been that audiences will now-a-days barely tolerate any thing that is not "funny," and will hardly listen with patience to the whole of a serious play, and while the Jew that Shakepeare drew, even respectably played, will be listened to if not with impatience, at least with apathy, Shylock "travestied" will be rapturously received.

This is an evil which will eventually cure itself, and we will dismiss it with the hope that the cure may be as speedy as we are convinced it will be effectual.

We have said that at present there is a paucity of good actors, and assuredly if the Dramatic literature of the country were ten thousand times as varied and extensive as it is, it would soon become a sealed volume to the general public if unillustrated by the genius of the actor. Thus we find Mr. Macready in the report which we have placed at the head of this article, and from which we have extracted, replying as follows to the question:—

"Are the tragedies of Racine the most attractive of the Théâtre François?"

"Not now, because Talma is no more."

"Generally speaking, have you not understood that Racine did not attract great audiences in the Théâtre François?"

"It was generally understood that the chef d'œuvres of Talma were attractive."

"Then was it Talma or Racine that drew houses?"

"Both, I should imagine."\*

We are not sanguine enough to expect ever again to see so many actors of the first merit performing at the same time, as did our fathers some fifty years ago, when John Kemble, Mrs. Siddons, Edmund Kean, and George Frederick Cooke, formed a constellation in the dramatic heavens. Macready we look upon as "*ultimus Romanorum*," for though not as an eminent actor contemporary with any of these great names, he was the only actor in late years who approached their excellence.

There is hardly any art in which criticism is so various and

conflicting as in the histrionic, but saving certain minor differences of opinion of his merits in certain parts, the world is pretty well agreed in giving Mr. Macready a high place. His *Macbeth* was indeed the realization of the poet's fancy.

From first to last he was indeed the Royal Thane. In look, in voice, in gesture, he was from time to time the ambitious chief, the treacherous host, the ruthless murderer, the haughty sovereign, the daring soldier. Whatever objections may have been justly urged against his style of acting, that it was stiff and clogged with mannerisms, the marks of a cultivated mind and of earnest study were always apparent; not apparent as detracting from the illusory effect, but apparent to the attentive observer who had himself studied the part and formed his own idea of the true mode of delineation. In *Virginius*, in *Cardinal Richelieu*, in *Lear*, in *Iago*, and in *Werner*, Macready had no rival, and even the merit of his acting was almost eclipsed by his fine, judicious, and tasteful revival of many of Shakespeare's plays and of other dramatic productions which had undeservedly fallen into oblivion. How those revivals contrast with others of a more modern date many of our readers fully feel. The very play bills printed under Mr. Macready's directions were simple announcements of the performances and performers, unadorned, or rather not disfigured, with elaborate descriptions of the scenes to be presented, and glowing promises of gratification to the audience which should assemble. With a determination honorable in the highest degree to his private character and principles Mr. Macready, in spite of all opposition, suppressed both at Covent Garden, and subsequently at Drury-lane, the nuisance of the sa- loons, which had hitherto been looked upon as an essential element in managerial success. Well aware of the fact that one good actor amongst an indifferent company only adds to the sense of disappointment which must be experienced at each representation, Mr. Macready's first step was to bring about him a really good company, and accordingly we find at Covent Garden Theatre, "*Othello*" produced with the following cast, in Nov., 1838.

<i>Othello</i>	...	...	Mr. J. Vandenhoff
<i>Iago</i>	...	...	Mr. Macready
<i>Cassio</i>	...	...	Mr. Anderson
<i>Emilia</i>	...	...	Mrs. Warner
<i>Desdemona</i>	...	...	Miss Helen Faucit

**Mr. Macready's** self-denial, which here places him in the second character, was still more fully exemplified at Drury Lane, where he subsequently appeared as Friar Lawrence, a fourth-rate character.

It was at Drury Lane Theatre that Macready revived with great beauty and exquisite taste, Handel's "*Acis and Galatea*"—

Polyphemus ....	H. Philipps		Acis	... Miss J. Horton
Shepherd ...	R. Allen		Galatea ...	Miss E. Romer

and refuted the common opinion that the "*serenata*" is not suited for theatrical representation.

In the whole course of Mr. Macready's management, at Covent Garden and at Drury Lane there were displayed the same consummate taste, the same judicious skill, and the same self abnegation which proved so plainly his real devotion to the neglected cause of the Drama. Though we, in common with the public, must regret his retirement from the stage, we cannot but rejoice that he has retired while health and years are left him for the enjoyment of his well won fortune, carrying with him the highest reputation as an actor, and an unblemished character as a man.

Irish soil has always been prolific in the production of eminent actors, and not the least it has produced is a native of Dublin, Mr. Gustavus Brooke.

Since Macready's retirement Mr. Brooke must be acknowledged as the first actor on the stage, superior to all others in most parts and transcendently beyond them, in some. His *Othello* is wholly unapproachable by any living actor, and we doubt if there was ever a finer portrait represented of the Moor.

The effect is heightened by the advantages of a sonorous voice, a handsome and expressive countenance, and a good carriage and figure. His exculpatory speech in *Othello* is the embodiment of manly truth and open candour, and the gradual change from confiding trustfulness to dark jealous suspicion, is finely marked in Mr Brooke's representation. In the scene in which by Iago's art, Cassio has become intoxicated and fights with Montano, and the gates suddenly open and *Othello* appears, Mr. Brooke with his scimitar in hand looks as if a cubit had been added to his height, and as if with one blow of his crooked sword he could annihilate Cassio and the rest. The expression of his flaming

eyes gleaming from his dusky skin is terrible, and the broken yet firm tone in which he addresses Cassio, "Cassio, I love thee, but never more be officer of mine," are finely expressive of the struggle of duty with affection.

But it is in the latter scenes that Mr. Brooke's chief excellence is shown. Then the workings of his countenance are painfully true to nature; at one moment with fury in his eyes, and tortured to madness by Iago's insinuations, he seizes him by the throat, and threatens him with frightful vengeance if he fails to establish Desdemona's guilt; at another he implores him in heartbroken tones to shew him the worst at once, to satisfy his suspicions, and end the frightful state of suspense; and when at last convinced, as he thinks, of his wife's infidelity, how forcibly does he realize the outraged feelings of the husband, who having loved with all the ardor of his African origin, now hates with equal intensity. Mr. Brooke's Sir Giles Overreach is also a performance of great power and genius, and his Shylock and Richelieu are full of originality and vigour.

America has not as yet produced as many actors of genius as might have been expected in a country where people possess a good deal of dramatic taste. One only has appeared in these countries whose talents appear above the common. Mr Forrest's *King Lear* is certainly a great success. His making up, to use a theatrical phrase, is excellent, and the palsy of age which agitates his limbs is simulated with wonderful skill. In the scene in which he pronounces the awful curse upon his undutiful daughter, Goneril, Mr. Forrest seemed at first bewildered, and as if doubtful of his hearing, and when at last convinced of the reality of her rebellion, he sank upon his knees and with upraised trembling hands, and streaming hoary locks, but with thrilling voice and accent, invoked the most awful denunciation which ever issued from mortal lips, in a manner which curdled the blood in the veins of the listeners.

In no part of the play, even when his senses having forsaken him, he sits on the ground, discoursing with Mad Tom, did Mr. Forrest allow his audience to forget that he was still a king, nor forfeit one jot of the true kingly dignity; and when asserting that dignity in reply to Gloster, he throws off for an instant the burthen of years which had bent his shoulders and bowed his head, and drawing himself

up to his full majestic height, with what glorious state did he pronounce the words, "Aye, every inch a king!"

If it be true that a good name is in itself a possession, Mr. Charles Kean is rich by the reflection of a great name. We cannot help thinking that if Edmund Kean had never trod the stage, though Charles might have been an actor, he would hardly have been the Charles Kean of the present day. We are told that he but vainly tries the player's province, who wants deportment, voice and eye. In two of these requisites at least Mr. Kean is sadly deficient, and though he certainly possesses a brilliant eye, this hardly suffices to make a great actor, and it certainly has not made a great actor of Mr. Charles Kean.

We do not even think that as an illustrator and reviver he has achieved any great success. Gorgeous scenery, splendid costumes, and classical and correct paraphernalia, may please the eye and even win the qualified praise of the critic; but unenlivened by the breath of genius, the whole is flat, stale and unprofitable, a splendid pageant indeed, but nothing more.

We have heard with surprise and not unmingled with regret, the prevalent rumor that the Queen contemplates conferring the honor of knighthood on Mr. Kean. We say we have heard this rumor with regret, because we believe that Mr. Kean, whatever his merits as an actor, is an estimable and worthy private character, and we would not wish to see him made ridiculous by any such proceeding.

Those, certainly, we cannot consider Mr. Kean's best friends who urge his claims to this distinction. Such a course can but lead to an examination of Mr. Kean's histrionic powers, and a comparison of these powers with those of other actors, such as can hardly prove flattering to Mr. Kean if impartially instituted.

If Mr. Kean can found no claim to be distinguished in this way, upon his professional merits, the excellence of his domestic and private character can furnish none. Were they allowed to do so, every supernumerary in his company whose life and manners are irreproachable would be a candidate for knightly honors, and unless it can be shown that Mr. Kean stands immeasurably above every other actor of the day in ability and genius, or that at least he has rendered some peculiar and extraordinary service to the Drama of the country, it would be an insult and a slight to every man of his pro-



fession whom the world acknowledges as his superior, and those are not a few, so to distinguish him.

So far from being averse to the conferring of distinctions on men of genius and intellect, we think that such distinctions are bestowed far too charily and niggardly in these countries, in which the possession of wealth generally constitutes the strongest claim to honor and respect; but in proportion as they are more scantily bestowed, they will probably be prized, and, on this account, the claim of the recipient should be established beyond the reach of cavil or dispute.

Again we say we have the greatest respect for Mr. Kean as a gentleman and member of society, and wish him the fullest measure of suitable reward, but we must lose every inkling of taste and judgment before we can consent to place him in the highest rank as an actor, or to confer a distinction upon him as such, which would be a tacit slight on men whom we must always consider as infinitely his superiors.

With regard to the actresses who at present grace our boards, we shall not be guilty of the ungallant assertion that we like none of them, but we will go so far as to say that, since the death of Mrs. Warner, we have not seen an actress on the stage who can play Lady Macbeth as we think it should be played. Miss Charlotte Cushman comes nearest to our notion of this character; but we will not pause to state in how many ways she disappoints us. This lady's performance of "Meg Merrilies," in "Guy Mannering," is a wonderful specimen of physical power and force, but her frequent assumption of such characters as Ion and Romeo associates her name in our ideas rather with a masculine than feminine character.

Those who think that consummate art and skill, joined with judgment and taste, form a first rate actress, will always be warm admirers of Miss Helen Faucit; but for ourselves we think that one flash of brilliant genius, one touch of nature, is worth all that art, and study, and careful training can effect. Well studied glances, skilful modulations of voice, "wreathed smiles," and graceful movements, must please the ear and eye; but to touch the heart, to open up and to set flowing the secret springs of thought and feeling, something more is needed, and, for us at least, that something is wanting in Miss Helen Faucit.

Nevertheless, and bating a little, we had almost said, affectation, Miss Faucit's "Rosalind," and her "Julia," in the

“Hunchback,” are performances of great skill, and we cannot wonder that she has enlisted among her admirers many persons of intellect and taste.

Every play-goer has had reason, from time to time, to complain of the great deficiency, at almost every theatre, of even tolerable actors to support the leading performers. This no doubt, may be in part owing to the personal vanity which is said to be a marked characteristic of the Thespian body, and which induces an actor whose talents rise in the least degree beyond those of his companions, to disdain a position at all subordinate, and to prefer leading in the smallest and meanest to following in the largest and most magnificent theatre. This, as we have said, may be partly the cause of this great defect; but may not something also be due to the enormous salaries demanded and paid to leading performers, which drain the treasury of the principal part of its contents, and leaves but a scanty provision for the numerous auxiliaries.

We will not yield to any person in our desire to reward amply, and even generously, the exertions of genius, not alone with praise, but with more sterling payment; but we know that, some fifty years ago, men whose compeers the world has yet to see, were content with salaries from which the “stars” of modern days would turn with contempt. Thus we find

John Philip Kemble, as actor and

manager, in receipt of	...	£56	14s.	0d.	per week.
Geo. Frederick Cooke	...	20	0	0	„
John Johnstone	...	14	0	0	„
Charles Quick	...	14	0	0	„
J. Fawcett	...	14	0	0	„
J. S. Munden	...	14	0	0	„
Charles Bannister	...	18	0	0	„

Contrast these with

Mrs. Nisbett receiving	...	50	0	0	per night.
Mrs. F. A. Butler	...	40	0	0	„
Miss Ellen Tree	...	25	0	0	„
Tyrone Power	...	120	0	0	per week.
W. C. Macready	...	100	0	0	„
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean	...	80	0	0	„

It is plain that demands such as salaries like these, must entail upon the manager's funds the necessity of strict economy in the payment of the less attractive, though more permanently

useful, members of the theatrical corps, and the reduction of their salaries to so low a scale as must inevitably induce them to seek some smaller space, where the diminutive stature of their fellow actors may exalt their own height to that of giants.

Again, we cannot help thinking that some portion of the existence of this abuse has had its origin in the diseased Italian opera mania. The incredible sums paid to foreign singers, naturally excited the hopes and desires of British actors, who fairly enough considered that they had as good a claim upon the gullibility of their countrymen, as people of another nation. But they have been forced after all to follow at a respectful distance, and they have received from the managers, as the managers have received from the public, a very different rate of payment from that which characterizes Italian singers and Italian opera-houses. While the prices of admission to the ordinary theatres have never risen to extravagance, those of the opera-houses have reached an almost fabulous height: many of the double boxes on the grand tier of Her Majesty's theatre have cost £8000; in April, 1847, £4000 was paid for one on the pit tier. From £300 to £500 a year for a box, or £40 for a stall, entitled the tenant to admission on but two nights, Tuesdays, and Saturdays, in each week.

When we reflect that these enormous sums are lavished on foreigners, whose insolence, and contempt of those on whom they grow rich, are only equalled by the folly of their patrons, we can hardly restrain our indignation. Genius and intellect, the fancy of the dramatist and the realization of the actor, the winged thoughts and words that burn, pronounced with all the grace and beauty that can lend another charm to the creations of the poet, are alike unheeded and contemned: and, where our forefathers would have knelt and worshipped, we, in our modern refinement, pass without a reverence.

And oh! wives and daughters of English aristocracy, is all your boasted modesty, all your vaunted purity, but a mask and a pretence? Will you turn with loathing eyes from the wretched victim of vice, when you pass her in the public way, and yet gaze with ardent glance upon her representative, when decked in histrionic garb she glides before you, the "Traviata" of the Italian opera.

Raze, ye guardians of the public morals, with the strong arm of the law, raze to the ground those petty haunts of crime and sin, in which the young outcast learns his nightly lesson of

immorality and theft ; approach even the temple, or that which ought to be the temple of the drama, and watch with lynx-eyed vigilance every movement within its walls ; and if, in spite of licensers and censors, vice shall dare to teach her lessons on its stage, drive out its occupants, and close its doors, and boast, with sweet complacency, how carefully a paternal government guards the purity of England's humbler sons and daughters.

But stay your progress here, and presume not to invade the hallowed precincts of that august dwelling in which fashion holds her court ; dare not to censure that which Royalty stamps with its approval ; retire—ere even your accustomed eyes and ears be shocked to see and hear the prurient things that here are gazed upon without aversion, and heard without a blush. Well has one who soon will rise and push from their stools many a more pretentious bard, well and strongly, but not too strongly, has he sung—

Just now, the flower of England made a crown,  
To garland whoredom's apotheosis ;  
Revelling in unhallowed light of eyes  
Upon the wanton's glance and wicked grace,  
All honeyed with warm witchery of sin ;  
Circe-encharmed with lewd sorceries  
That slide into the whitest sanctuaries ;  
Befoul the palace chambers, precious-lined,  
And canker all the virgin flower of life,  
I' the delicate sweetness of its budding time !\*

In the face of every discouraging fact, we have consolation in the belief that the taste of the middle classes is not yet wholly vitiated. They are fortunately restrained by pecuniary considerations from imitating the follies of the higher orders, and, saving that inordinate love for merely "funny" entertainments, to which we have before alluded, they possess a great deal of sound judgment, and of due appreciation of sterling merit. It needs but little to bring them back to the right course, and we think there is hope that, in time, the little will be accomplished. We have been often struck by the number, respectability, and apparent intelligence and taste of those who frequent such of the public concerts at which good music is afforded at a moderate price.

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\* "Craigcrook Castle," by Gerald Massy, page 19.

The favor with which such entertainments are received is an omen of great promise and hope, that by degrees the taste of the middle classes will assert its own purity, and insist on providing for itself amusements which will combine intellect and "mind" with mere relaxation.

We often, however, see the wholesome influence of entertainments, such as the concerts we have alluded to, greatly lessened by the injudicious selection of the music. We shall, doubtless, be highly pleased, if the time ever arrives when the great body of the public will take unmixed delight in listening to what is commonly called classical music, and will have learned to appreciate all the beauties of more elaborate compositions; but this effect, if ever arrived at, must be reached by degrees, and we are in danger of disgusting many altogether by placing before them at the first, what is above their comprehension.

Our first effort must be to generate a pure taste, and we will effect this most readily and effectually by first touching the heart and engaging the affections; such music, then, as appeals to every heart, and makes every bosom throb with sympathy, sung rather with pathos and feeling than with science, is first to be provided. We have often amused ourselves with sketching in our mind a series of programmes for public concerts to be given in every large city at stated periods of the year, for which the best singers, who could be engaged on terms commensurate with a moderate scale of prices for admission, should be engaged.

Instead of long Italian scenas we would desire to have English ballads, of which the stock is abundantly large to supply, without undue repetition, at least a dozen of these concerts, which, to gain the desired end, and prevent advantage being taken for private gain of the public favor, should be under, to some extent at least, the control and patronage of the city authorities.

If in addition to merely giving in the programmes the titles of the songs and the names of the writers and composers, (a matter very often most erroneously arranged), a short memoir of each of the latter were subjoined, in the way we are about to suggest, a vast amount of information in a simple form would be conveyed to the audiences, many of whom on their return home would be set enquiring and reading about these writers and composers, and anxious again to hear more

of their productions. This scheme may be deemed, and perhaps is, Utopian, but we can hardly convey sufficiently strongly our sense of its advantage; and while schemes for popular education are so rife, it would at least furnish one, by which some knowledge, not altogether useless, would be conveyed in a pleasing form, and, hardly less important, a pure musical taste would become widely diffused. We will then suppose an efficient band, and a set of singers consisting of a soprano, or two, a pair of tenors, and one or two basses, and if easily procurable, a counter tenor and contralto would be found an acquisition for harmonized pieces, and we would suggest a programme something in the following form:—

#### PART THE FIRST.

*Overture*—Masaniello—Auber.

(Short account of the Composer and his principal works).

*Song*—Where the Bee Sucks—Written by Shakespeare, composed by Dr. Arne.

(A short account of Shakespeare's songs as scattered through his plays, and Memoir of Dr. Arne as before).

*Glee*—Sleep, Gentle Lady—Written by J. R. Planché, composed by Sir Henry Bishop

(Memoir as before).

*Song*—Bonnie Dundee—Scotch Ballad.

*Duett*—Love in thine Eyes—Composed by William Jackson (Exeter).

(Memoir).

*Song*—The Last Man—Written by Thomas Campbell, Composed by William H. Cullcott.

(Memoir).

*Trio*—O Lady Fair—Written and Composed by Thomas Moore.

(Memoir).

#### PART THE SECOND.

*Overture*—William Tell—Rossini.

(A short account of the Composer, and of his principal works, and in particular of William Tell.)

*Duett*—Tell me where is Fancy bred—Written by Shakespeare, Composed by Sir John Stevenson.

(Memoir).

*Song*—The Thorn—Ascribed to Robert Burns, Composed by William Shield.

(Memoir).

*Glee*—Sigh no more Ladies—Words by Shakespeare, Composed by Steevens.

(Memoir).

*Song*—The Banks of Allan water—Written by M. G. Lewis, Composed by Mrs. Bland.

(Memoir).

*Duett*—The Convent Bell—Written and Composed by Dibdin; from the farce of The Padlock.

(Memoir).

*Song*—The White Squall—Written by A. Johns, Composed by George Barker.

*Song and Chorus*—Rule Britannia—Written by James Thomson, Composed by Dr. Arne.

(Memoir).


We have here a selection of music, for only two pieces of which, and those instrumental, we are indebted to foreign composers, and which selection we will venture to say will afford unmixed delight to any audience, save to that part which may consist of those affected dilettanti, who would pronounce it vulgar, and who pretend to think nothing worth listening to, except Italian and German music.

Owing to the too frequent culpable omission, in the performance of Shakspeare's plays, of the songs therein introduced, many of those whom we would wish should form a part of our imaginary audience, would be surprised to hear of Shakspeare's songs, and would be still more surprised to hear how exquisitely those songs have been set to music by different hands. In fact, several concerts could be given of music consisting solely of Shakspeare's songs. In addition to those we have inserted in our programme, we need only mention Dr. Arne's music to "Under the Greenwood Tree," "Blow, blow, thou Winter Wind," and "When daisies pied;" Dr. Cooke's "Hark the Lark," Shield's "O Happy Fair," Sir Henry Bishop's exquisite "Come o'er the Brook, Bessie," Purcell's "Come unto those Yellow Sands," and "Full Fathom Five."

We cannot account for the apparent disinclination manifested by many of our singers, to sing English music even at concerts, at which they must be well aware, the audience is comprised of that class which would most appreciate the simple touching ballad, in which English music is so rich. Mr.

Sims Reeves, indeed, is a great and glorious exception to this rule. Possessing one of the finest voices that has been heard in Great Britain these many years, he appears to take a becoming and creditable pride in exerting that voice in the illustration of the music of his native country, and we are satisfied that the attention and delight with which he is heard on those occasions, forms no small part of his reward. No living singer can at all approach the excellence of his "Death of Nelson," "Bay of Biscay," "Come if you Dare," and "Pretty Jane;" this last, one of the sweetest compositions of the sweetest of English composers: he has indeed but just gone from amongst us, and whatever may have been the errors of his life, we have no concern with any thing but his reputation as a composer of truly English character, a reputation that will endure, as long as taste shall guide or beauty charm.

The comfort and convenience of the public, with reference to position and seeing and hearing with ease, appear to have been always too little regarded in our theatres. However attractive the performance, it is not likely that a man who has sat out that performance in painful constriction, with strained and twisted neck and unsupported back, will be in a very favorable mood for returning on another night. He will certainly prefer his book and fireside to the most tempting bill of fare, submitted under such circumstances. As in every thing else, a judicious medium in the size of our theatres ought to be observed, and were this and a due regard to ventilation more studied, we should neither shiver in the vast desert of the large nor broil in the heated atmosphere of the little theatre. The great objection to a very large theatre lies in the necessity which its size entails upon the actor of straining his voice, in order to cause it to be distinctly heard, and it is obvious how much this must interfere with the finest efforts of tone and modulation, the quick whisper, the hurried question the suppressed emotion. Considering, too, the economical style of lighting adopted in general in our theatres, it is manifest that the occupant of the upper or middle galleries, or even of the upper boxes, especially of the back seats in these, must, from sheer distance, be unable to distinguish accurately the faces of the performers: certainly not sufficiently to enable him to catch those workings of the countenance, those nice shades of expression, which often constitute the most eloquent parts of speech. In the small





theatre, on the other hand, the audience is in danger of seeing and hearing too much, and of having the illusion of the scene sometimes rudely dispelled, by Dick's more energetic than polite adjuration to Tom, his brother scene-shifter behind, or by the prompter's suggestive hint. The "making up" of the faces of the different performers is also subjected to too near a scrutiny, and the old man's wrinkles, and the young ladies' roses, betray their artificial origin; the splendor of the decorations and dresses fades into their original foil and tinsel, and the stage is reduced to the level of a fair booth or show. After having visited more than once every theatre in London, it is a source of some gratification and pride to us to be able to say with truth that we did not find one of them superior in any respect (save splendor of decoration) to our own in Hawkins' Street. There are some respects indeed in which the most pretentious of the London theatres cannot, for an instant, be compared with it, and one very important matter, is that of common civility from the attendants.

As most of our readers are aware, the first enquiry made of a visitor to the boxes of the London theatres, by the box opener, is "do you want a bill?" This appears no doubt a civil and indeed attentive enquiry at first sight, and many a "green stranger" replies, with bland courtesy and thanks for the attention, that he is supplied, and appends to his reply, a request to be introduced into a box. Marvellous to relate, the boxes which up to this moment presented a beggarly account of empty rows, suddenly become occupied, if not bodily, at least in the mind's eye of the opener, with an array of visitors, and he really has not a seat disengaged, "except in a fourth or fifth row." Our bucolic friend, amazed and silenced but hardly convinced, sinks into the retired position assigned to him, whence during the evening, he vainly tries to obtain a distinct view of either audience or actors, and returns home breathing many a vow to be earlier in the field the next time he goes to the play.

As a reverse of this picture we will suppose the enquiry as to the Bill, answered in the affirmative, and either through sad experience of the dire necessity, or as aforesaid, in innocent simplicity, a shilling tendered in payment. The coin is speedily consigned to its proper depository, by the now nimble attendant, in whom on this occasion, paradoxically, though changed,

we find "no change," and who springs with alacrity to the door of the best box and ushers the visitor, with many a banging flap of the seats, into the front row, where, if of a bashful disposition, he seats himself hastily, conscious of the observant eyes of the pit, and presently perhaps, in his confusion, applies to his glowing countenance, in lieu of his pocket-handkerchief, the very bill which has been his passport, and streaks his face in every direction with the fresh ink.

Certainly we manage these things better in Dublin, where to secure the possession of a particular seat, it must really and bonâ fide be previously engaged, and a voucher obtained, a corresponding voucher being pinned or fastened to the seat bespoken. No person who is unable to produce the voucher will be permitted to take possession of the seat, but the privilege only lasts till the conclusion of the first act, after which every person is equally entitled to accommodation.

We have seen this pretext of all the good seats being engaged, made the means of extorting many shillings and sixpences in the upper boxes of Drury-lane Theatre, by a liveried ruffian (we feel constrained to use the word) who by his insolence and gross rudeness to even the female part of the visitors, nearly roused our Irish blood into knocking him down. True, the audience in the upper boxes at the time we speak of were not of the "gentlest blood," but they were respectable and well conducted, and were as fully entitled to politeness and attention from the servants of the Theatre as the highest in the land.—How such a state of things is suffered to exist, when its suppression is so easy, amazes us beyond measure.

The size of our Dublin Theatre Royal is we think convenient and suitable, and its construction admirably adapted to give every person in the audience a good view of the stage. Drury lane Theatre measures 61 feet from the curtain to the front of the boxes, and 50 feet across the pit; Covent Garden nearly the same; the Haymarket 47 feet and 35 feet in depth and breadth respectively; and Hawkins'-street 52 feet 6 inches from curtain to boxes, and 45 feet across the pit. In addition to its being well lighted and tolerably well ventilated, it has always been remarkable for the possession of a well trained and skilful band, which at no time was more deserving of commendation than under its present efficient and intelligent leader. Would that we could hope to see again in Dublin,

the good old days of Crow-street, when the doors were besieged by an impatient crowd, half-an-hour before their opening, and when people frequented the Theatre from a pure love of Dramatic performances—but these days have departed hardly to come again, and with them have departed many a genial spirit, many a warm heart, which in the coldness of our modern atmosphere would soon have chilled and waned :—  
Heigh ho !

“ the hands of old gave hearts,  
But our new heraldry is, hands not hearts.”

We have always thought that elaborate defences of the stage have been in a great measure thrown away ; for our own part we have met so very rarely with any objector to whom we could fairly assign conscientious motives, that we long ago resolved never to give the slightest reply to any of “these puritanical knaves,” on whose imperious obstinacy, argument and reason are but wasted. To urge upon them that due relaxation is as necessary to our souls and bodies as study and labor, and that theatrical amusements are as elevating and improving a mode of relaxation, as any that can be adopted, is as nothing ; for according to these wiseacres, as long as a man can find better employment he has no right to visit a theatre, which are hotbeds of vice and profanity. At first they declaim vehemently against the immorality and obscenity of plays, until stopped by an enquiry of how this knowledge can have been acquired by persons who have, according to their own accounts, never either seen a play performed, or read any save in perhaps a Family Shakespeare. Then they shift their ground, and say that the danger of the theatre lies in the temptations to which the visitor is exposed among the audience, forgetful that this objection would be equally applicable to any public amusement. The truth is, this hostility to theatrical performances, which is often most virulent in men of very indifferent character, is a remnant of the old puritanism, which everybody now admits to have been constituted three-fourth part of hypocrisy ; and though we would not deal so severely with these declaimers against an innocent and intellectual amusement as did the authorities of old with Mr. Prynne, we think that they would be but properly punished by being for ever debarred from pleasant social intercourse, and doomed to spend every evening in the year in sole company with those instructive and serious works, which they delight to recommend to the perusal of their neighbours.

Though, however, we can listen with patience, and sometimes even with complacency, to the outpourings of these "vessels," when their attacks are directed against theatrical performances only, we confess we cannot exercise an equal equanimity, when they turn the vials of their wrath upon the heads of the performers.

Of these, they will admit no woman virtuous and no man honest; and with a charity admirably consonant with the principles of their peculiar faith, they consign them all alike to abhorrence and contempt in this world, and perdition in the next.

We who know this profession well, can afford to pity the victims of this rabid intolerance, which hurts no body but those who are possessed with its evil spirit. Well and truly can we tell of virtue to be found among the children of Thespis, which would adorn the character of the best and purest in the land; of filial duty, of noble sacrifice for needy parents and helpless little ones, of heroic virtue struggling with temptation, of charity open as the day, of firm friendship, of liberal generosity, of stainless honor. But we do not write in the attempted fulfilment of the hopeless task of converting fanatics, whom we are content to dismiss with the expression of our hope, that they may never become worse characters than many of those whom they proscribe and censure.

There is no mode of life under the sun so filled with varied vicissitudes of fortune as that of the actor. From the cradle to the grave, the life of the actor, born of actor parents, is a scene for ever shifting. The grave—awful word!—in spite of all that philosophy, and more, of all that religion teaches, it is a word we cannot lightly utter. Awful, when with solemn thoughts and solemn aspect we speak of its approach, but how intensely awful when we breathe it amidst the glare and glitter of the crowded assembly, and with its single but portentous name, hush with a trembling chill the buzz of conversation and the sound of laughter. And yet, not alone its name but its dread reality has more than once broken in upon the midst of an audience "sitting at a play," and frozen the warm blood in the veins of every spectator. And strange, it was beheld not in the person of one of those same spectators, not in that of an actor merely assisting on the stage, but in that of him who at the very moment occupied, in speaking, the general attention, and stranger

yet, who occupied that attention in pronouncing words of all others most suitable to the arrival of the awful visitant.

On the 2th of August, 1798, John Palmer, then an actor of eminence, was performing at Liverpool, and on the morning of this day, on which he was to have played the Stranger, he received the news of the death of his second son, a circumstance which naturally deeply affected him.

He appeared however in the character announced. In the fourth act Baron Steinfort obtains an interview with the Stranger, and having discovered in him an old friend, he prevails upon him to relate the cause of his seclusion from the world. The Stranger in his reply speaks of his wife and children, an allusion that must of course have awakened the most painful feelings in Mr. Palmer's mind, and at the moment when he had uttered the words, "there is another and a better world," he sunk upon the stage a corpse.

In October, 1758, Joseph Peterson, an actor of some position, was performing the part of the Duke in "Measure for Measure," and in the third act he comes disguised as a friar to prepare Claudio for execution. As he pronounced these words—

" ——— Reason thus with life :  
If I do lose thee, I do lose a thing  
That none but fools would keep ; a breath thou art"—

he dropped into the arms of "Claudio" and never spoke again.

On the evening of the 20th of June, 1817, "Jane Shore" was performed at the Leeds' Theatre, a Mr. Cummins enacting the part of Dumont.

Having, in this character, uttered the words

" Be witness for me, ye celestial hosts,  
Such mercy and such pardon as my soul  
Accords to thee, and begs of Heaven to show thee,  
May such befall me at my latest hour,"

he fell down and instantly expired.

We must try to smile now at a comical playbill which would in these days form an excellent satire on the absurdity of those flaming announcements which so often meet the eye, and in which the nightly ecstasy of the audience, and the splendor and interests of the performances, are described in glowing language. Such even are hardly as contemptible as

the more ambitious of the class, in which the characters and general history of some grand revival are described in passages culled from a classical dictionary, interspersed with blunders which serve as a commentary on the text.

For our parts we never thank the management for this elaborate effort, preferring when ignorant or enquiring, to satisfy ourselves by personal research, and considering that a playbill will sufficiently serve its purpose, by giving us the name of the play and its author, and of the characters and performers.

**BILL OF KILKENNY THEATRE ROYAL.**

By his Majesty's Company of Comedians.

*(The last night, because the Company go to-morrow to Waterford.)*

On Saturday, May 14, 1793,

Will be performed, by command of several respectable people in this learned metropolis, for the benefit of Mr. KEARNS,

**THE TRAGEDY OF HAMLET.**

Originally written and composed by the celebrated Dan. Hayes of Limerick, and inserted in Shakspeare's works.

Hamlet by Mr. Kearns, (being his first appearance in that character) who, between the acts, will perform several solos on the patent bag-pipes, which play two tunes at the same time.

Ophelia by Mrs. Prior, who will introduce several favourite airs in character, particularly "The Lass of Richmond Hill," and "We'll all be unhappy together," from the Reverend Mr. Dibdin's Oddities.

The parts of the King and Queen, by direction of the Rev. Father O'Callaghan, will be omitted, as too immoral for any stage.

Polonius, the comical politician, by a young gentleman, being his first appearance in public.

The Ghost, The Grave digger, and Laertes, by Mr. Sampson, the great London comedian.

The characters to be dressed in Roman shapes.

To which will be added, an Interlude, in which will be introduced several slight-of-hand tricks, by the celebrated surveyor Hurt.

The whole to conclude with the Farce of

**MAHOMET THE IMPOSTOR.**

Mahomet by Mr. Kearns.

Tickets to be had of Mr. Kearns, at the sign of the Goat's Beard, in Castle Street.

\*.\* The value of the tickets, as usual, will be taken, (if required) in candles, bacon, soap, butter, cheese, &c., as Mr Kearns wishes, in every particular, to accommodate the public.

N. B.—No person whatsoever will be admitted into the boxes without shoes or stockings.

Every playgoer must have had occasion to remark and deprecate the want of earnestness, displayed by even respectable actors, when addressing or listening to their brother perfor-

mers on the stage. It is astonishing how much this carelessness detracts from the effect of the performance, and still more astonishing that a defect so easily cured should be so general.

In common every-day conversation a man addressing another looks him in the face, and expresses by his countenance that he is more or less in earnest; but we frequently see an actor who is delivering an energetic and impressive speech addressed to another, glancing all the time at boxes or pit, looking anywhere, in fine, except in the proper direction.

Garrick took occasion to reprove this want of earnestness in an actress, who had been highly recommended to him, at a rehearsal of "Venice Preserved," in which she was to make her debut in Belvidera. She repeated the exclamation, "would you kill my father, Jaffier?" with so much sang froid, that Garrick, provoked at her coldness, whispered in her ear, and pretty much in the same tone, "can you chop cabbage, madam?" When we reflect that the great secret of success in every profession and undertaking is to be thoroughly in earnest, we can appreciate Garrick's annoyance on this occasion.

Were we to continue relating anecdotes of actors and of acting, we could fill a larger volume than that in which this paper appears, but our task draws to a close, and we must conclude these crude and ill-arranged remarks. The subject is one on which, however, we love to enlarge, and is one of deeper interest to the community than unthinking persons would be disposed to imagine. One day we trust, however, to see the influence of the drama upon the tastes and manners of the people properly recognised, to see men of genius writing for the stage, men of genius acting in those plays, and men of taste and judgment superintending their production. The drama will be then what it should ever be, the softener of manners, the refiner of taste, and the elevator of morals. The actor will be then esteemed as well as admired, the honored friend as well as the public favorite; living respected, and dying regretted, he shall earn for his grave and deserve to have recorded on his tomb,

Tread lightly on his ashes, ye men of genius, for he was your kinsman;  
Weed his grave clean, ye men of virtue, for he was your brother.

We have written at some length upon the entertainment which should be afforded at our cheap Concerts; it may be interesting here to consider the prices formerly paid for admission to our theatrical establishments. The cost of admis-

sion to the theatres in the days of Elizabeth was very moderate. "Let me never live to look so high as the two-penny room again," says Ben Jonson, in the prologue to "Every Man out of His Humour," acted for the first time at the Globe, on Bankside, in 1599. The price of the "best rooms," or boxes, was a *shilling*; of the lower places *twopence*; and, in some places, only a *penny*. The *twopenny* room, mentioned above, was the gallery. Thus Decker: "Pay your *twopence* to a player, and you may sit in the gallery."—*Belman's Night Walk*. And Middleton: "One of them is a nip; I took him once in the *twopenny gallery*, at the Fortune." The place, however, seems to have been very discreditable, for it is commonly described as the resort of pick-pockets and prostitutes. In "Every Man out of His Humour," we have also mention of "the *lords' room* over the stage." The lords' rooms answered to the present stage boxes. The price of admission to them appears to have been originally a shilling. Thus Decker, in his *Gul's Hornbook*, 1609; "At a new play you take up the *twelve-penny room*, next the stage, because the *lords* and you may seem to be hail, fellow, well met."

Some of the customs which prevailed in the Theatres, in the days of our forefathers, are worthy of being noticed. The audiences, it seems, were less patient than those of the present day; for numerous methods were devised, to wile away the tedious hour, previous to the commencement of the performance. Books and cards, as well as nuts and apples, bottled ale and tobacco, were placed in requisition by the varying tastes of the motley assemblage; and even the women took a share in these unfeminine enjoyments. "In the playhouses at London," says Prynne, "they offer them (the women) the tobacco-pipe, which was then (to the ancient Romans) unknown."

Play-bills were very early in use; on the stationers' books is the following entry:—"Oct. 1587, John Charlewoode, licensed to him by the whole consent of the assistants, the only ymprinting of all manner of bills for players, provided that if any trouble arise hereby, then Charlewoode to bear the charge." These play-bills were then affixed to the numerous posts which formerly encumbered the streets of the metropolis; and hence the phrase, "posting bills," which is still retained. The following "merry jeast," on this subject, is related by Taylor, the Water Poet: "Master Field, the player, riding up Fleet Street, at a great pace, a gentleman called him, and asked him,



what play was played that day? He, being angry to be stayed on so frivolous a demand, answered, that he might see what play was to be played, on every *post*. 'I cry you mercy,' said the gentleman; 'I took you for a *post*, you rode so fast.' "

It appears, that the name of the play to be acted was usually printed without any list of characters, or of the actors who were to personate them. The following poetical description, given by a contemporary writer, of a play-bill of those days, bears a considerable resemblance, in its style, to the whimsical and bombast titles prefixed to the early editions of the Plays of Shakespeare, and the other dramatists of his age:—

"Pr'ythee, what's the Play?  
(The first I visited this twelvemonth day.)  
They say, 'a new invented Play of Purle,  
That jeopard'd his neck to steal a girl  
Of twelve; that lying fast impounded for't,  
Has hither sent his beard to act his part,  
Against all those in open malice bent,  
That would not freely to the theft consent.  
Feigns all to's wish, and, in the epilogue,  
Goes out applauded for a famous rogue.'  
Now, hang me, if I did not look, at first,  
For some such stuff, by the fond people's thrust."

The hour of performance varied at the different theatres, from one to three o'clock in the afternoon. Only one regular drama was exhibited, but this was usually followed by a burlesque entertainment, called a Jig; and relief and variety were given by the feats of dancers, tumblers, and conjurors, and the introduction of music between the acts. This latter practice is noticed in "Gammer Gurton's Needle," the first regular comedy of which we have any account. The duration of the performance was from two to three hours.

The growth of choral music in London during the past quarter of a century, is statistically set forth in the Letter to the Members of the Sacred Harmonic Society on the Handel Festival at Sydenham. Take, for instance, the following statement and table:—

The Sacred Harmonic Society has in the twenty years, from June, 1836, to June, 1856, given in the large hall, Exeter Hall, 344 performances. It will be a moderate calculation to place the audiences attending these Concerts (exclusive of the orchestra, stewards, &c., which may be taken at 700 more for each concert) at 650,000 persons.

Let us now look at the provincial musical meetings,—  
 & the attendances at which are tabulated as under :—

6	Westminster Abbey.....	1784 to 1791.....	60,000
1	ditto.....	1834 .....	20,000
4	York Minster.....	1823 to 1835.....	90,000
4	Edinburgh.....	1813 to 1843.....	32,000
11	Norwich.....	1824 to 1854.....	88,000
25	Birmingham.....	1769 to 1855.....	180,000
4	Chester.....	1806 to 1829	} say 160,000
7	Derby.....	1810 to 1831	
1	Dublin.....	1831	
8	Liverpool.....	1813 to 1849	
2	Manchester.....	1828 & 1836	
2	Bradford.....	1853 & 1856	
Total.....			630,000

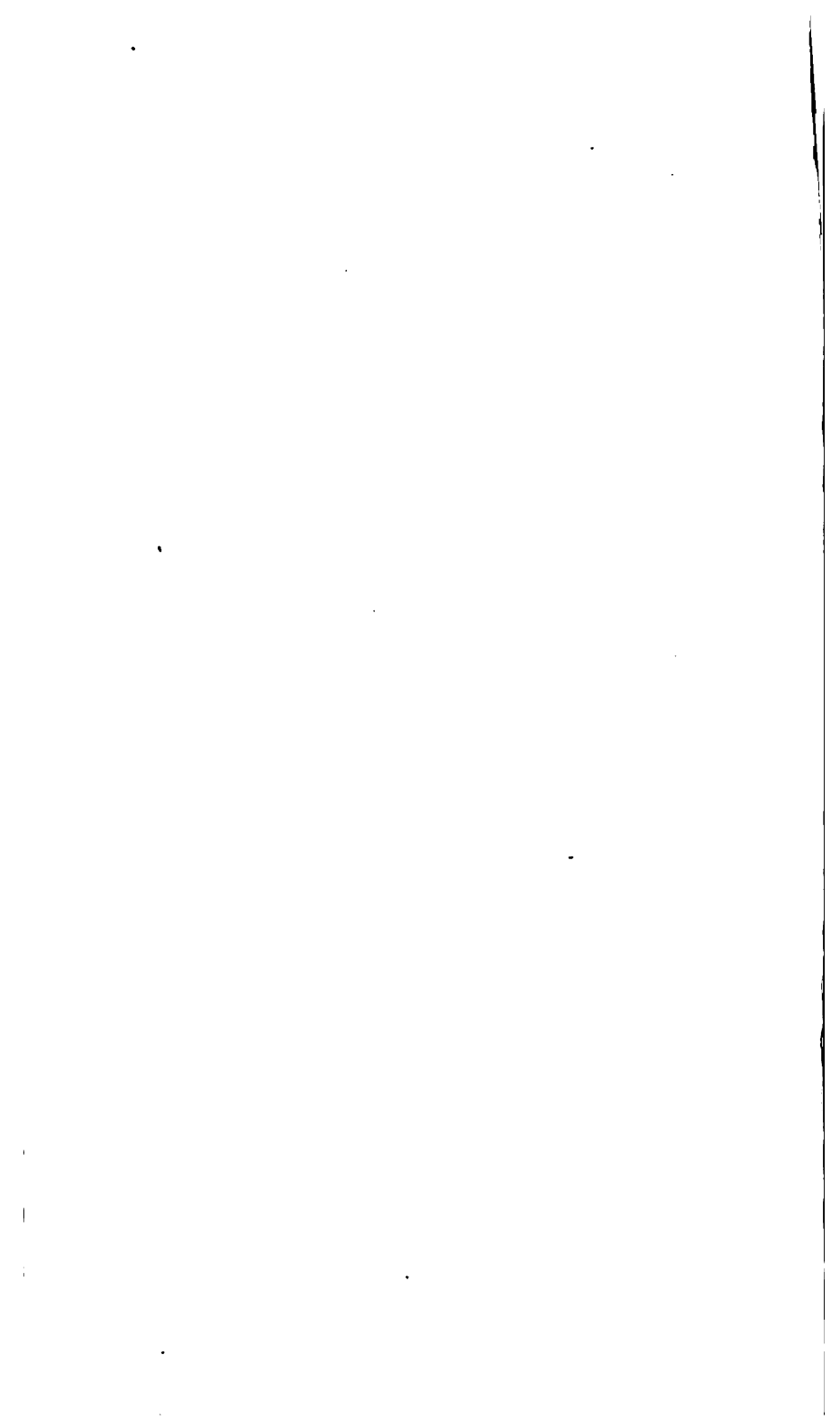
To this may be added (the calculators continue) some 370,000 persons, who have attended the 132 meetings of the three-choir Festivals of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, making in all a million of auditors for mixed performances throughout all England during a century and a quarter past, to be set against upwards of 700,000 hearers of sacred music convened during twenty years, in London, by one Society alone. The difference betwixt the two sums, we imagine, could be readily furnished by the registers of the attendances at other choral concerts in London during the past twenty years.

The form of the Theatres, in Shakspeare's time, was derived from those buildings which experience had proved to be well adapted to the purposes of the drama. Like the Court-yard of an Inn, three sides were occupied by balconies, and these, properly divided, were appropriated to the reception of different classes of company: the fourth side formed the stage; and the central area—the pit, which was entirely destitute of benches. The common people, who resorted thither, stood to witness the exhibition; hence, they are called *groundlings*, by Shakspeare; and, by Ben Jonson, the *understanding gentlemen of the ground*; in fact, our old dramatists are never weary of the play upon words which this circumstance afforded them. Between this class of spectators, and the occupiers of the upper balconies or scaffolds, the gods of modern days, there was no

distinction of rank, both being of the lowest description. The lower balconies, or *rooms*, answering to our boxes, were frequented by company of rank and fashion. "The Lord's rooms," which are often particularly mentioned, appear to have been immediately contiguous to the stage.

Independently of the regular *rooms*, there were also, in some of the theatres, private boxes, but their situation is by no means ascertained with precision. Occasionally, also, the public rooms were appropriated to individuals, under the security of lock and key. An upper balcony over the stage constituted the Orchestra. The stage was separated from the audience part of the house by paling; and, previous to the commencement of the performance, was concealed by a curtain, which, being divided in the middle, could be drawn from the centre to the sides; and the materials of which varied, according to the opulence of the house, from woollen to silk. Like the floors of private houses in the Elizabethan age, the stage was usually strewn with rushes, and to this custom we meet with innumerable references in our old plays. On occasions of extraordinary ceremony it was, however, sometimes covered with matting. At the back of the stage there was a balcony, or upper stage, on which those characters entered, who were required to appear in elevated situations, as *Juliet in the balcony*, and *Romeo and Juliet aloft*. When not in use for the purpose of the scene, the balcony-stage was also concealed by a curtain. When a play was exhibited within a play, the balcony was made use of, either for the scenic audience, or as a stage for the performance of the auxiliary play. Shakspeare furnishes us with an instance of each of these practices. *Sly* would sit in the balcony to witness the performance of the "Taming of the Shrew," and the play in "Hamlet" was undoubtedly acted on the upper stage.

**QUARTERLY RECORD**  
**OF THE**  
**PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY SCHOOLS AND**  
**OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.**



## QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF RE- FORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

During the past quarter, lectures have been delivered, on every imaginable topic, by some of the most distinguished men of these kingdoms: yet admirable, and well designed, as most of their discourses were, we believe that not one lecture of the entire number was more important or more useful than that delivered last month in Bristol by the Rev. Sydney Turner, and of which the following abstract is furnished by one of the local journals:—

### THE REFORMATION OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

A lecture was delivered on the above subject at the Philosophical Institution, Park-street, on Wednesday afternoon, by the Rev. Sydney Turner, M.A., chaplain of the Reformatory School of the Philanthropic Society at Redhill, near Reigate, Surrey, to a numerous and most influential audience.

The chair was occupied by the Right Worshipful the Mayor, who, in introducing the lecturer, referred to the importance of the subject of the address they were about to listen to, and the increasing necessity of some reformatory influence to counteract the swelling tide of juvenile delinquency, especially in great cities. He would instance Liverpool—in 1854, 1,035 boys and girls were committed for various offences, 428 of whom were under 12; the value of the property detected to have been stolen amounted to £3,225; the total value, including that undetected, was estimated at £8,539, of which only £1,367 was recovered; if to this they added the expenses of their commitment, it would furnish a most powerful argument why reformatory schools should meet with support, entirely exclusive of any moral grounds.

The Lecturer believed it was the fashion for all lecturers to plead some excuse, or to make some apology, requesting the indulgence of their audience. He should have to do so too, though not because it was the fashion—first, because he was no professed speaker, having devoted his attention more to working than to talking; and another favour he would beg of them was, that they would excuse his appearing somewhat egotistical, because, when speaking of a work in which he had been so actively engaged, it was unavoidable that he should speak, to some extent, of himself. And if he should say anything involuntarily that might be opposed to their prejudices or opinions, he would crave their pardon, since he should be endeavouring to place his own experience on the subject before their notice. There were three or four important questions suggested themselves at the first starting, demanding answers:

I. Did they want such schools at all; were they necessary? Some 10 or 12 years ago these were formidable questions. They had to go far and wide into society, and appeal much to experience to furnish any satisfactory answer. But this stage had been passed. Most people now allowed the advantages of such institutions: that schools for curing diseased minds were as great a necessity as hospitals for the cure of diseased bodies; that, by the means of reformatory schools, that portion of English society which has become perverted, corrupted, and rotten, might be made sound and wholesome, and useful. Anyone who needed to be assured of the extent of juvenile depravity had only to go to our prisons. He was not so well acquainted with Bristol, as London, Manchester, and Leeds; but at any moment they could find in England 1,000 or 1,500 boys and girls incarcerated for crime. The children of the streets, too, were continually augmenting in numbers. It had lately been made the subject of a joke by *Punch*. Reformatory agencies were the most effectual and least expensive methods of ameliorating this increasing evil.

II. Why were Reformatory schools become so indispensable? The answer to the question was not so clear, nor so satisfactory. There was something revolting to their feeling in the very word Reform. When applied to a child of ten years old, why it was not yet formed! What a story did it tell of neglected duty, forgotten responsibility, and criminal negligence. There should be no need of reformation for children. The young woman who had fallen from virtue, or the young man who had erred from the path of rectitude, might need reformation, but for the child to require to be re-made was an outrage on common sense and religion. But it must be made the subject of earnest study and practical action. If it were asked if he ever expected that society will be wholly reformed, he replied, no. The vicious would no more cease from the land than the poor. But it was a very different thing to commit juvenile offenders by thousands and by hundreds, by companies or squadrons, and by units or tens. They might say, philosophically, there ought not to be delinquents, but there are, and they must deal with things as they were. They might not be able to stop the tide, but they might check it and lessen its force. If the cause were traced out, they might arrest the evil for the present, and diminish it for the future. They needed that the relation of class to class should be more regarded, that they should look less entirely to themselves, and more to the classes designated as the poorer. If they took more pains to implant within these higher feelings, they would secure from them nobler and more honourable actions. He believed that if there were fewer model prisons there would be more success. If parish authorities could be made to do their duty, and to do it from a higher sense of their responsibility, as being guardians of these classes, to have less anxiety to save half-a-crown, and more anxiety to save a soul from ruin, crime would be more scarce. But the one great cause was the general inadequacy of the means of education. For what use was it to build hospitals for the cure of a disease, when the cause of the disease was left untouched, or to fill the pit to empty it again.

A letter in the *Spectator*, in answer to a statement that seven were reprimanded out of ten juvenile delinquents, urged that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir G. Grey, Sir G. Pakington, and others, were responsible for those seven, since the fact of their being capable of reformation, proved that they need not have required it. He did not think the parties referred to, wanted in willingness or earnestness. The responsibility did not rest with them, it was diffused generally. If these gentlemen were to offer any assembly a law for general education, they would have almost as many opponents as the number they addressed. It would be asked, What sort of religious instruction was intended to be imparted? How did it provide for balancing the claims of this and that sect? He was afraid they each would rather let a boy rot in social crime, before they would allow him to be taught a different system of religion to their own. Nothing effectual could be done while this feeling lasted, though thousands were perishing for lack of help. He would that the same feeling, which was manifested by a Jewish mother, was dormant in all. She wished her boy to come to his school; and on his reminding her that as he would hear the Word of God frequently read, &c., there would be every chance of his becoming a Christian, she answered, "Sir, I would rather my boy should become a good Christian, than remain a bad Jew." The lecturer then referred to the educational surveillance adopted in America as a good example for our imitation. Reformation was good, but prevention was better.

III. If they had Reformatory Schools, would they be of any use? This was a practical question, and was continually pressed. He did not say every person could be reformed, but he was of opinion that most people could be; it was in the recognition of this principle that the Gospel of Christ was grounded. Yet theoretical arguments might fail to convert the philosopher, the statesman, or the politician, who had the making of laws, they wanted arguments more practical. A magistrate of his acquaintance once said of Redhill, "It is a nice place, and they are good sort of people who work there, for I know them; but if a boy is a prig he will be one." This gentleman seemed to consider that as some men are born poets, sculptors, &c., so some were born "prigs;" that a Turpin was as much a natural phenomenon as a Newton. He could only meet that objection by giving practical results. He would first mention the school at Kingswood, and his statements could be substantiated by Miss Carpenter. Out of twelve of the pupils who had emigrated or gone to sea, only one had failed to keep his good character; and but one out of thirteen placed out in England. What argument could be more convincing than that? The favourable chances were twelve to one, to prove that the reformatory method was not only right but profitable. At Hardwick, and other institutions, the results were as favourable. But he knew most of Redhill, and the School of Mettray in France, after which Redhill was modelled. When he thought of Mettray he was almost discouraged that so little had been done in England. There, out of 1,320 inmates during the past sixteen years, only 10 per cent. were relapsed. And these statistics could be depended upon, for the most careful oversight was kept upon all who had left



Mettray. Though not so much, they had done something at Redhill, especially considering their many difficulties and obstructions. It was seven years ago, in 1849, that it was determined to remove the Philanthropic institution from London to the country, where it was planted on a farm. Eighteen boys were taken there, in a year these increased to 100. More houses were built. There were now six different departments, and 247 boys. When he considered that they transferred a London school to the country, to agricultural pursuits, and where they were without walls or warders, he only wondered they succeeded at all. Another mistake was to begin without adequate teachers. M. de Metz, of Mettray, spent three months in training the teachers. We also neglected another precaution which he took ; we had as many again scholars to commence with as he had ; they should have formed a nucleus. They had received 847 scholars and placed out, or sent abroad, 636. Of course some of these were deserters. Many only came for a week or two to see what the place was like, for those he would allow eighty. Of the remainder, 377 had emigrated to the colonies, and 163 were placed out in England. What had been the results, for their real influence was determined by the effects. In 1854, of thirty-one who emigrated, only two turned out ill ; those who remained were a very great assistance, especially in America. Of the nineteen placed out in England, thirteen were successful. In 1851, forty-seven emigrated, thirty-nine did well ; thirteen were placed out, and ten did well. In 1852, fifty-three did well out of sixty-one, and eighteen out of twenty-five. In 1853, seventy-five out of eighty-six, and thirty-one out of thirty-six. In 1854, seventy-six out of eighty-six, and thirteen out of twenty. Total emigrated during five years, 308 ; of whom thirty-nine turned out ill, and 296 well ; placed out in England, 119 ; forty-six were unsuccessful, and seventy-three turned out well. This showed a result of four-fifths of successes, and one-fifth failures, or twenty per cent. Allowing that a few whom he had not heard of had turned out ill, it was not many ; for somehow there were plenty to inform him of any relapses. Allowing, say ten per cent., and that was a handsome allowance, it would still remain a fact that seventy out of every hundred did well, or seven in ten. Other difficulties were, the want of teachers, his own inexperience, the ages of the boys, some as old as eighteen years ; while in France a law provided that they should not be older than seven. Considering all this, they need not be ashamed, as Englishmen, of what had been done at Redhill. The lecturer then proved that the school was no nuisance to the neighbourhood ; and showed from a report for the last week, which had been forwarded to him, that out of 246 boys, only thirty-one were guilty of the slightest fault ; those included dirty hands, want of punctuality, &c. The next point he proved was, that it offered no premium to crime. Experience had proved that very few volunteered to the school. It was no more an inducement to crime, than the workhouse was an inducement to idleness. The reformatory schools had been found rather a stimulus to parental responsibilities, by the exertion of which juvenile offenders would be almost eliminated from society. From Capt. Williams, to whose zealous aid and inter-

ference with Government the reformatory movement was greatly indebted, he had received, per letter, the following statement, to show that the number of juvenile offenders was on the decrease:—In 1848, 13,798 boys and girls were committed; in 1849, 12,953; in 1850, 11,276; in 1851, 12,392; in 1852, 11,821; in 1853, 11,453; and in 1854, the compilation of which was not complete, showed a still further diminution. Now, though he was ready to admit that this favourable position was partly due to the operations of our pauper district-schools, of which there were six in London, as well as other agencies, he would still claim a large amount of the result as due to reformatory movements. This diminution was at the rate of 7 per cent., or, allowing for our increase of population. 11 per cent. In referring to Kingswood Reformatory School, Mr. Turner passed a most warm eulogium on Miss Mary Carpenter, to whose personal exertions and warm heart the movement owed so very much. After entering very fully into many eminent points connected with the reformation of juvenile offenders, the eloquent lecturer concluded by urging his audience to personal exertion in so important a matter, especially as they had a school so near as that of Kingswood.

Mr. Commissioner Hill, in moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer, dwelt for some time on the various features of the reformatory movement, and particularly those of the school at Mettray, whose superintendent, M. de Metz, was his personal friend.

This was seconded by R. P. King, Esq., who remarked that, in his capacity of magistrate, he had to deal largely with juvenile offenders, some of whom were brought up, time after time, within a few days of their dismissal from gaol. Carried unanimously.

Sir E. Wilmot, in a few choice words, expressed the thanks of the meeting to the chairman, after whose brief reply the meeting separated.

Whilst Mr. Turner has been thus lecturing in Bristol, Lord Leigh has been printing his notes of his visit to Mettray last autumn, and has published them under the title—*The Reformatory at Mettray. A Letter from a Visitor to that Institution, Addressed to a Member of the Committee of the Warwickshire Reformatory.* This Letter gives, concisely and clearly, the writer's impressions of the colony, and he has introduced two wood-cuts, shewing the elevations of the washing and sleeping places. The following passages appear to us worthy of notice, and they place some new facts before those interested in the Reformatory Movement, particularly as the question of punishment is now engaging the attention of our friends. Lord Leigh's observations on the adaptability of the "honour" prizes of Mettray to English schools are most important. If we borrow the idea of the ORDER OF VALOR from France and its Legion of Honour, why should we not borrow the honor premiums from Mettray. Lord Leigh writes:—

"The strictest discipline is observed, and nothing is overlooked. Dry bread is an occasional punishment, but the cell is a more frequent one. Every fault which has called for reproof is registered, and a most careful and detailed conduct-book is kept, showing the behaviour of every child. Here are seen at a glance his name, previous residence, habits, health, appearance in detail, the crime for which he was convicted, every possible information which can be gleaned with regard to himself and his family, with a most careful and complete report of his behaviour since admission. When a fault calls for punishment, before it is inflicted upon the child, he is made to retire into a cell, which takes for the time being the name of 'salle de réflexion'—he is kept there for an hour or so, and meanwhile the 'Directeur' reviews his conduct-book, takes into careful consideration the previous circumstances and conduct of the boy, his general character, his advantages and disadvantages, and having carefully weighed them and taken time to collect himself, and given the boy leisure to reflect upon his fault, he is in a position to pronounce, as far as human discernment goes, the exact measure of punishment deserved by the child. Those confined to cells have an hour's exercise a day in chopping wood, or in some similar occupation. The cells are bare rooms, with sufficient light and air for health. Punishment is administered for apparently trifling faults. We found four boys in four cells on occasion of our visit. One was there for refusing to sing the day before, two for taking chesnuts, and the other for being found near the cellar where he had no business to be. I think it will be allowed that these are not offences of a very grave nature, and as the discipline is so strict, that it is satisfactory there were so few boys from so large a number. The cells are so placed and arranged that those in them, although unseen, can be admitted to take part in the Church service at the back of the altar of the church on Sundays. Eight Sisters of Charity undertake the housekeeping of the establishment. An account of all that will be required of them on the coming day is handed in to them the evening before by the comptroller of the finances.

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It is scarcely possible, without a personal visit to Mettray, to form a correct idea of the amount of study and attention which is devoted to the consideration of every particular, and of every individual child. The 'family' arrangement makes this easy, by concentrating the attention of the several employés upon their respective little flocks; the same number of employés allotted to the same number of children, if assembled in an undivided mass, could never possibly effect the same amount of good, for the attention of each one would be divided by the whole number, nor could the interest in each other be awakened which now exists between the chef de famille and his young protégés.

As for the employés themselves, who are gentlemen by nature if not always by birth, it is quite impossible to see and converse with these intelligent, well-educated, and benevolent men without feeling how great must be their elevating influence upon the character and

general tone of the boys. The two principal employés are in receipt of 160*l.* per annum each. They are of a standard of intelligence and ability which would ensure their advancement in any profession, and one who feels their devotion to be the more admirable. M. De Metz has been very particular in placing his employés in a respectable and comfortable position, and has built for the two principal ones suitable houses, a little apart from the houses for the boys. The wives of these two gentlemen are perfect gentlewomen, and we had the pleasure of meeting them at dinner at M. De Metz's house.

There are many things at Mettray suggested by the military spirit of the French which would at first sight appear perhaps impossible to carry out in an English Institution, but I see no reason why the feeling of 'honour,' which I believe to be as strong in an English child as in a French one, should not be appealed to with advantage in an English Reformatory. Why should not we have the Table of Honour hung up where every one can see it, upon which is inscribed the name of every child whose conduct during the last three months has not called for punishment?

With regard to the almost military discipline and order with which the children go through their movements before and after work or meals, I consider that by it a great saving of time is made, and five or ten minutes upon every change of movement are gained which would be otherwise lost in collecting and getting into place stragglers both young and old. Let me mention and recommend, too, the *box* placed within general reach, '*pour les objets trouvés*,' which is a delicate way of allowing a boy whose temptations have been stronger than his virtue, to listen to the reproaches of his conscience, and, without being publicly brought to shame, to restore the theft which lies heavy on his soul. I will say no more of Mettray at present, except that the instruction given is firmly based upon religion, and includes reading, writing, and arithmetic, but very little beyond. Lesson-time does not exceed one or two hours a day. I must add that the children are first received as innocent, and as having sinned *without discernment*, and therefore irresponsible for their actions; but when they have been once admitted to the benefits of the instruction given them in the Institution, they are considered to be capable of discernment, and become subject to the strict discipline observed there.

I have been so lengthy upon Mettray, that I have no time to discuss other institutions. Of the three or four others I saw in France, I like Le Petit Quevilly, near Rouen, the best. Petit Bourg, near Paris, seemed to me to be conducted upon very objectionable principles, and not upon the family system. M. De Metz and other French reformers congratulate themselves upon the superiority of the French law over the English, as they are able to receive children direct into their institutions, whereas our law sends them first to prison, bringing upon them the stigma of having been within prison-walls, and disqualifying them for the army and navy."

Whilst an English nobleman has been thus declaring his opinion of Mettray, and endeavouring to place its various

excellencies, in all their phases before his country; and whilst he has been thus, with genuine English open-hearted honesty, shewing how England might with advantage imitate the example of a French Reformatory Institution; a Frenchman has attacked Mettray and M. Demetz virulently, unfairly, and we hope ignorantly; we hope, ignorantly, for a more complete vindication, than that from the pen of M. Demetz, and of which we here insert a translation, it is quite impossible to conceive: for this most admirable translation we are indebted to *The Midland Counties Herald*, and it adds another to the many services conferred upon the Reformatory Movement by that excellent journal:—

“METTRAY.

[*From the Journal des Economistes, January 15th, 1856.*]

Sir,—The *Journal des Economistes* justly enjoys too high a reputation for anything which it publishes to be received with indifference. You will not, therefore, be surprised, that, in the name of the Colony of Mettray, I ask your permission to offer to the public some facts in opposition to the severe criticisms of your colleague, M. du Puynode.

In an article in your December number, entitled ‘*Etudes sur la population et la Charité*,’ this gentleman accuses Mettray of destroying the family feeling, the basis of all good education.

Allow me, in reply, to state, first, that Mettray does not receive children from their homes, but from prisons, in which place the life they pursue is very different from that of a domestic hearth; and further, that almost all these poor children have been led to evil precisely because they have no families, or only such as do them harm.\* What does Mettray do for them? The very first principle called into action at the Colony is the *esprit de famille*. It, therefore, does not destroy, but restores this feeling in our young delinquents. M. du Puynode is perfectly right in asserting the superiority of family training over every other mode of education.

We coincide entirely in this opinion. In an essay we very recently published on Agricultural Colonies on the occasion of the *Réunion*

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\* From its foundation to the 1st of January, 1856, the Colony of Mettray has received 1,984 juvenile offenders. Of this number there are—

346 illegitimate children.

876 children who have lost father or mother, or both.

116 foundlings.

304 children who have a step-father or step-mother.

117 children whose parents live in concubinage.

408 children whose parents have been convicted.

*Internationale de la Charité*,\* we earnestly insisted that it was the duty of every man aspiring to found an institution destined to receive poor and abandoned children to create in it a home feeling, if they desire to supply, as far as possible, to the child the family it has lost, or which has neglected its duty. We said in that essay that the reason why we have made no greater progress in education is because we have too often substituted discipline for moral action. It is easy to manœuvre a regiment by a word, the crew of a vessel by the whistle, but it is another matter to correct in mankind the inclination to evil, and win them over to the love of good. Now, as this theory has not only been professed, but has been reduced to practice by us during sixteen years, (the foundation of Mettray dating from 1840,) we cannot repress our astonishment at finding the system pursued in this institution attacked as destructive of the *esprit de famille*, and as mining in our pupils 'all spontaneity, all power of imitation, almost all free will.'

We venture to hope that it is only necessary to explain the principles on which Mettray was founded to efface the injurious impression which the above-mentioned article may have produced on some minds.

At the time Mettray was first established, children declared not guilty and acquitted under Article 66 of the Code Penal were subjected to the same *regime* as the most hardened offenders. Magistrates possessed only this painful alternative, either to commit them to prison, a step fatal to their well being, or to throw them back upon the streets. It was to remedy a state of things so afflicting that we determined to resign our office, in order that the law might for the future be applied in a just and salutary manner. In conjunction with M. le Vicomte de Courteilles, whose loss we can never cease to deplore, and under the patronage of the *Société Paternelle*, we established Mettray.†

The attention of the public being now fixed upon the purposes of our institution, it will be better able to judge of the views which regulated its organisation, and which we will endeavour to explain as

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\* A translation of this Essay was given in the Quarterly Record of the Progress of Reformatory Schools, &c., *Irish Quarterly Review* for December, 1855; and another has been published by E. B. Wheatley, Esq., M.A.

† Conviction being a necessary preliminary, it must frustrate the calculations some bad parents might be supposed to make, who to rid themselves of a burthen which nature imposes on them might, cause their children to commit an offence to procure their being sent to Mettray. Parents sufficiently depraved to have recourse to an expedient so odious, do not require the incentive of such an institution as ours to urge their children to do wrong. Besides, the child is as likely to be committed to a *Maison Centrale* as to an agricultural colony, so that it would be an erroneous calculation as well as a guilty act. Further, the number of relapses, which, according to M. Béranger, (de la Drôme,) amounted formerly to sixty per cent., is now at Mettray only ten per cent. Such a result goes far to compensate for any evil consequences with which this institution could possibly be reproached.

succinctly as possible. As we have said above, it is principally through the *esprit de famille* that we must hope to operate upon the human heart; but in order that a moral principle should first be thoroughly understood, and then properly applied by those whose duty it is to give it effect, we must embody this sentiment in a form bearing no distant resemblance to a real family. It is for this reason that we erected small detached houses. Our population, which now exceeds 660 lads, is thus divided into small families, each having a chief trained in the normal school, (which we previously established in order to educate officers competent to their duties,) under whose authority forty boys are placed. This chief bears the title of *père de famille*; a title, by the way, which is justified by his kindly watchfulness. Two *colons*, who are called elder brothers, assist him. We desired, by these titles, to awaken in the hearts of our boys, and of the chiefs, a consciousness of those duties which family life imposes. In such cases names have more meaning than might be imagined.

When a family passes a week without having incurred punishment it earns a right to a collective reward. Sometimes it is an engraving illustrating a trait of benevolence or of courage. This engraving is hung up in the house, and remains as a memorial of the good conduct of the family. Sometimes the reward is a game, in which all can take part; the well-disposed, in the hope of this recompense, say to the ill-conducted, 'we will watch over your conduct, for fear you should spoil our week.' In this way we draw tighter the bonds between the different members of these little societies, by establishing among them an identity of interests.

As long as the boy remains in the Colony, he is the object of a lively, we may say a tender solicitude. He is instructed in the truths of religion—the basis of all good education; we endeavour to create in him good resolutions, and to induce him by every possible means to persevere in them. Above all, we neglect nothing by which we can appeal to his sense of honour, through which a Frenchman, no matter what is his station in life, is always accessible. The proof that this feeling has not been without influence over our population is, that though there are no walls, no gates, at Mettray—a circumstance which led to the happy remark of one of our high officers of state, 'What a singular prison,' exclaimed he, on visiting Mettray, 'where there is no other key than the *clef de champs*;' notwithstanding their severe discipline, their toil,\* their hard living, their light

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\* We have drained to a certain depth a considerable portion of our land; a task which employed a great number of our hands. Moreover, the high farming in which our lads are engaged, over an extent of more than 260 hectares now under complete cultivation, calls for a large amount of hand labour: consequently there is no fear that our boys have not enough to do. The greater part of them are very young, and, in general, of weak constitutions. According to the opinion of M. Cordier, in his work on Flanders, the strength of a man and a half is required to cultivate one hectare; assuredly four of our boys would not furnish an equivalent. In fine, M. le Comte de Gasparin has undertaken the management of our agricultural department. With

clothing—cotton being their only wear in winter as well as summer—their bare feet only protected by *sabots*, whatever may be the weather, water their only beverage—we have needed only to tell our lads that they are in some measure prisoners on parole, to ensure that not one out of 1,934 *colours* received at Mettray should be absent at the muster.

No one disputes the good effects of music. The sound of the trumpet, which breaks the monotony of their exercises, and gives them precision, inspires our lads with a strong liking for a military life, which we select for a large number of them.

The hazardous career of a soldier suits their love of enterprise; and thus, too, the burden of the conscription [*l'impôt du sang*] is lightened, which bears so heavily upon youths of irreproachable character, who are the pride and mainstay of their parents. We also train our lads for sailors, with the help of the masts, sails, and rigging of a ship, given to us by the Minister of Marine. Many of them who come from the shores of Bretagne have already made coasting voyages, and long for nothing so much as to go again to sea. Thus we train up soldiers, sailors, and agricultural labourers;—to defend our native soil and to enrich it is our great object.\*

We have established a Fire Brigade, that we may afford assistance should a fire break out in our neighbourhood; but we have made a regulation to the effect, that those members who may be undergoing punishment shall not accompany their comrades, that they may feel privation from rendering a service to their fellow-creatures to be a penalty.

Punishment is never inflicted at the moment an offence is committed. The boy is taken to the *salle de reflexion*, as we call it, where he is left. This is no part of his punishment, but it gives him time to grow calm, and to reflect upon his conduct. We ought to admit that this rule was adopted for the sake of the officers at least as much as for that of the wards. At the very moment of an offence, influenced by the displeasure it excites, we may yield to an angry impulse and not always retain the coolness necessary in apportioning the penalty to the action for which it is inflicted; and it must be borne in mind, that chastisement only corrects when it is felt to be just by him who endures it; otherwise it is a struggle of the strong against the weak; and where there is such a struggle no good moral influence is possible. Restored to freedom, evil passions burst forth

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superintendence so eminent we are exonerated from entering into further details on the subject. There are names which afford so sure a guarantee to the public as to confer a distinction on the institutions with which they are connected. Our manufacture of agricultural implements has been carried to a very considerable extent, and a large number of our boys are employed in it. We have just received for this manufacture a medal of the first class from the Universal Exhibition, which proves the skill of our young artisans.

\* Indeed, it strikes one that there are few of us who would not learn something from a course at Mettray; and that at least, the raw recruits of our army would be better qualified for service by a little of the multifarious instruction there imparted.—*Times*, December, 1855.



afresh, and with all the more violence the longer they have been pent up.

It is to these precautions that we owe the spirit of subordination which prevails among our lads, and of which they give constant proof under every variety of circumstance. Thus during the revolution of February, (1848) when insurrection was, to a certain extent the order of the day, when most of the public schools, and others even for the higher classes, took to arms and to making barricades,—our boys, though completely at liberty, never showed themselves more absolutely submissive, and yet they well knew what was going on round about them.

A box is placed in the middle of the open court, in which is placed every stray article that may have been picked up; its real purpose, however, is to facilitate repentance, by enabling the child who has *cribbed* (to use a school phrase) something from a fellow-pupil, to obey the voice of conscience, without having to endure the disgrace of an avowal, which is always very painful.

Such means may appear puerile to those who do not sufficiently estimate the precautions and excessive care demanded, would we make it efficacious, by education, that noblest of all sciences, which trains mankind to love what is right. It is by this unceasing care that evil inclinations are in time overcome. A regimen observed uninterruptedly is more beneficial to the health than the most potent medicines; and it is the same with the moral as with the physical constitution.

The facts we have quoted, which form a part of the Mettray system, prove that during the whole period of our guardianship we neglect no opportunity of cultivating right feelings in our pupils. We do not disguise from ourselves, however, the fact that our efforts would produce no good result, if we lost sight of our children as soon as they gain their liberty,—that critical moment, when they find themselves beset on all sides by the temptations of the outer world.

They never leave the Colony until we have secured a place with employers upon whom we can entirely depend. A patron\* chosen in the neighbourhood whither the youth is sent, watches over him with unremitting care, and aids him with advice.

*Colons* who have been engaged by farmers in the neighbourhood of Mettray, or who having gone into the army happen to be quartered at Tours, come every Sunday to spend the day at the Colony. The same place is laid for them at the family table which they had used to occupy; they kneel at the same altar with their former schoolfellows; they dine with them, and join them in their sports. Thus we withdraw them from the influence of the tavern, whither they might be led by want of occupation; and we have no fear of overstepping the truth, when we say that the day is to the greater number a *jour de fête*.

We asked one of them if he enjoyed coming back amongst us, and he replied, with a most naïve expression of pleasure, "Monsieur

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\* A member of a Patronage Society, an admirable institution, of which we have scarcely an example in England.—Ta.

Demetz," (for our lads rarely use the title of Director,) "when I catch sight of the bell-tower of the Colony, I can't walk any longer; I am forced to run."

Youths who have been with us have no need to fear want of employment, which too often ruins a workman's hopes for the future. As soon as they are out of work they return to the Colony, and put themselves under the protecting wing, so to speak, of the chief of the family who has brought them up, who knows their character, and has won their affection. Then they resume in every respect the life of a *colon*, and submit unreservedly to the discipline of the household. We provide for their wants, on the understanding that they will work industriously. We seek a new situation for them, and it is not until one has been found that we consent to part with them.

If one of our lads is ill, and is living in the neighbourhood, we send for him to the Colony. We never allow him to go to a hospital; we claim the privilege of alleviating his sufferings and sorrow, as a father does those of his children. We endeavour as earnestly to strengthen in his heart the love of virtue as to cure his bodily ailments. We seek to revive his religious feelings; and should he die, we have the consolation of knowing that he dies like a Christian. Thus the time passed with us is doubly profitable to the youth. His companions are well aware that we receive no remuneration for the cost of his stay among us, for our lads know all; and this is why we make it a rule that nothing shall be done which it would be desirable to conceal from them. These acts of hospitality excite the gratitude not only of those who are its object, but of those also who witness it.

No youth ever leaves us until his health is completely restored. Convalescence is a time of still greater difficulty to the workman than illness itself, and more dangerous to his future well-being by exposing him to struggle with want. Our hospitals, which are always inadequate to the demands made upon them, cannot keep the patient long enough for him to regain his strength, and they dismiss him while the employer considers him yet too weak to work. What can become of him between the hospital which sends him forth and the workshop where he cannot gain admittance? Our lads have not this sad alternative to fear.

We maintain an unflagging correspondence with the youths we have placed out, as well as with their patrons: the number of letters we have written and received amount to at least four thousand. We never regret their multiplicity, although the correspondence is a very onerous one, not only for the time it absorbs, but for other sacrifices which it entails. It is by means of the packets containing these valuable documents, each endorsed with the name of the youth to which it has reference, that those persons who have visited Mettray with the intention of writing an account of it, have been able to verify the facts stated in our annual Reports.\*

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\* The founders of Mettray are aware that transition from the Colony into the world is the period at which the young *colon* most needs counsel and support, and consequently, the institution continues to watch over him during this season of trial. If he loses his employment, is

We cannot labour too earnestly to prevent all misconception as to the nature of the endeavours made by us on behalf of our wards. Those by whom our efforts are understood well know that it is far from our aim to secure for our lads a life of ease, which would be an error on our part, since it is their lot to gain their bread by hard labour, and their hands are their only patrimony. On the contrary, it is our duty, who have in some measure taken upon ourselves the moral responsibility of their future welfare, to neglect no means which will aid their praiseworthy exertions to ward off those chances which, by exposing them to evil influences, might cause them to fall. We have to deal with characters whose morality is yet wavering and who need to be supported.

To sum up, the greater part of our boys had no home. In every case, we took them from prison, where no domestic influence can exist. They first experience it at Mettray, where everything concurs to assist its beneficent operation; it endures the whole time of their stay, and they feel its good effects even after their departure.\*

We have, then, as much as possible, avoided the shoals pointed out by the author of the article; and we have endeavoured, guided by principles the same as those he has laid down, to supply, in the best way we can, the good influences and the pious teachings of the home fireside.

It is on this point alone that we have now thought it our duty to furnish some information. A complete analysis of the Mettray system must not be looked for in this statement—that would require a far more comprehensive treatise—but simply an answer to the objections which have been raised in this institution. It is the duty of him who has devoted his life to the success of a work of beneficence to destroy every unfavourable impression made on the public mind regarding it, which is not founded in truth.

Finally, Mettray is only five hours from Paris, and we are truly glad to receive in the best way we can any persons who kindly favour us with a visit.

If the author of the article which has called forth this explanation had expressed a desire to put himself in communication with us, we should have hastened to comply with his wish. He would thus have spared himself the regret which every honourable mind must feel at having, involuntarily we are convinced, possibly injured a useful institution, and one which needs the assistance of all.

I have the honour, &c., &c.,

DEMETZ,

Conseiller Honoraire à la Cour Imperiale de Paris,  
Directeur de la Colonie de Mettray.

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overwhelmed by difficulties, or falls sick, the Colony is always open to him; it is a home for him. There he finds an asylum, and meets with sympathy, and there he is subjected to the best possible moral influence.

† The observance of religious duties, the love of labour, the *esprit de famille*, the influence of good example, the cultivation of the sense of honour, the habit of discipline, the proper use of liberty—in these grand yet simple elements, consists the whole reformatory system, all the regenerating influence of Mettray.—*Notice sur Mettray, par M. Cochin.*

[It will be remembered that, in addition to M. du Puynode's charge against the discipline of Mettray that it is destructive of the *esprit de famille*, he adds that the boys lose all spontaneity, all power of initiation, and almost all exercise of the will,—objections which have been repeated in an able article in the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, entitled "Reformatory Schools." On these latter charges, M. Demetz has only touched incidentally, probably for want of space, as a multitude of facts well known to all who, like ourselves, have visited the Colony, might be adduced to show, not only that they are without foundation, but that the system is eminently conducive to the freest action which any reformatory school is capable of bearing.—NOTE BY TRANSLATOR.]

Turning now from France to our own Reformatories, two points of the gravest movement claim our attention. It is, as we always contended it would be, plain that the Voluntary System alone will not suffice to keep open a sufficient number of Reformatories. It is true that the Government, in the House of Commons, admits that the system has worked well; it is true that with all the facts and figures patently before it, the Home Office refuses to increase the small sum now allowed for the maintenance of juveniles in Reformatories, notwithstanding all the proof showing the saving of the Reformatory when compared with the Gaol, and declared by the Rev. Mr. Clay, by Mr. Recorder Hill, by Miss Carpenter, by a dozen other witnesses of equal knowledge and experience. A very excellent paper entitled *Reformatory Schools*, printed in the last number of *The Quarterly Review*, places all these topics of expense, and of the right of the Reformatories to an increased amount of remuneration, and to this demanded increase (7s. instead of 5s.) they are fully entitled, if they continue in their present efficient state, and giving free liberty of conscience.

But amongst some of the most zealous friends of the Movement, a strange confusion of terms appears to prevail. They say—we want Government to increase the grant for maintenance, but Government shall not drive us from our position as founders of the schools. This declaration, and those doubtings, arise from the want of a sufficiently clear distinction being drawn in the speakers' minds between Management and Support. The Government are, we contend, bound to support, to a reasonable extent, say 7s. per head, per week, all juveniles sent to certified Reformatories, and by giving that support Government acquires the right of inspection, which all true friends of the Movement will not

alone submit to, but will court; but here the right of Government ends, and Management belongs alone and solely to the founders or Directors of the School. If this management be improper, the Inspector can, and must, if he do his duty, recommend the withdrawal of the maintenance, or even of the certificate, but beyond this they Government cannot proceed. In short, so long as the certified Reformatory is properly conducted, the Government is bound to contribute to its support upon the terms of the *original agreement* between the State and the Managers.

Whilst we are writing of this question of Government support, we shall insert some passages from a letter addressed last January by Mr. E. Denison, to his constituents of the West Riding of Yorkshire; we are happy to perceive that Mr. Denison supports a principle to which we have ourselves directed attention—that of compelling the parish to pay for the support of the juveniles in the Reformatory, giving a remedy over against the parents. Mr. Denison writes:—

“The number of juvenile offenders which must annually arise out of a population of 1,340,000 is so large, that any attempt to provide for them by donations and annual subscriptions would be a complete failure; although one or two reformatories on a small scale, like that of Mr. Wheatley's, near Dewsbury, may be perfectly successful. But as I stated at Wakefield last winter—‘So important a public matter ought not to be left to depend upon the present or future liberality of persons whose contributions would certainly vary from many unavoidable causes; for thus an institution, however well-conducted, would be in danger of being broken up from a want of its former funds.’

The reformation of a juvenile offender is quite as much a matter of public duty and sound policy as is the case of a pauper lunatic; for the unreformed offender will probably grow up a very costly and dangerous subject; but if reformed in good time, he may become a valuable member of society.

The Pauper Lunatic Asylum Act enables the justices of all counties to erect or hire suitable buildings, to maintain the inmates, pay the salaries of all officers, &c., &c., without any limitation (by the act) as to the cost thereof, and to make orders upon the treasurer of the county for the payment out of the county purse of the amount annually expended; but the justices are bound to make an order upon the overseers of the parish, to which it may be proved a pauper lunatic belongs, for the repayment of a reasonable sum towards the maintenance of such pauper: if no settlement can be proved, then the cost of maintenance must be disbursed out of the county purse, and so be a county charge.

I have therefore some intention of bringing a bill into Parliament to enable the justices of the peace for the West Riding to deal with this difficult question. I should propose to limit their power of raising funds annually to *one penny in the pound* upon all property rateable as at present to a county rate; the said funds to be applicable to the erection or hiring of suitable buildings capable of accommodating all such offenders as the judge of assize or the justices in quarter sessions may send to such reformatory; the funds to be also applicable to the maintenance of all the inmates, the payment of salaries of officers, and all other incidental expenses; but I should propose to stipulate, after the requisite buildings have been provided, that the county rate fund should not be charged with any part of the cost of maintenance or salaries until the Government has agreed to pay 5s. per week, which they have already the power to do, towards the cost of each offender; and further, I would render it imperative upon the justices to make an order upon the overseers of the parish to which it may be proved the offender belongs, for the payment of about 3s. per week towards the cost of such offender; but I would also give the overseers of each parish the power of recovering from the relations of the offender the whole of such sum as they may have paid on his or her behalf.\*

I believe that beyond such contributions by the Government, and the overseers of a parish, the annual demand upon the West Riding county purse would not reach one halfpenny in the pound after the necessary buildings are erected, capable of holding 400 offenders, as I assume that the three boroughs of Leeds, Pontefract, and Doncaster would gladly participate in the general scheme.

Nothing, in the whole wide range of human misery and desolation, can be more desolate than the condition of a reformed female convict or prisoner, discharged free, or on Ticket-of-Leave. If her friends be vicious she must avoid them; if they be virtuous she has disgraced them; and how few will apply practically the beautiful moral of that God-like teaching given by the Saviour when the adulteress was dragged before him. These women come forth with the stigma of Convict upon them; the odor of the gaol hangs about them, and thus they are deprived of all chance of honorable support by labor amongst the mass of the population of employers. But the more thoughtful portion of the employers are not the less unwilling to engage these women. They say, "Oh! they are very good prisoners; they got on well in gaol, they might as well be quiet there, and we know what sort of geese Gaol Chaplains are; they were good prisoners, and pleased the

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\* See this point urged at length in IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. V., No. 18, p. 426, Art. "Reformatory Schools for Ireland."—Ed.

Chaplains, but what kind of *women* are they? Put them beyond the hot-house morality of the Prison, and then let us see if they are really reformed."

This is the general tone adopted in speaking of female prisoners by the most thoughtful of the community. Doubtless Gaol Chaplains are not yet, in the majority of cases in England, and in almost *all* cases in Ireland, equal, or at all fitted to their duties; they may be, and are, incapable of distinguishing between the good prisoner and the good man; and they almost invariably consider that if they report a prisoner's conduct as good, he ought forthwith to be considered as *good*. In our minds the Chaplain's Report, so long as the Chaplain discharges his duties as at present, without any INDIVIDUALIZATION of his men, is worth little, perhaps less than that of the Warden. But when Chaplain, Governor, School Master, or Mistress, and Wardens, report favorably, then we consider that *some* hope of reformation may be entertained.

A woman such as this comes forth from prison: she has no home; the chaplain may give her a few pence per week; cold and hunger, and the sting of neglect may oppress her: the roaring life of the old days, with its orgies and its hours of self-forgetfulness, rise up in all their lurid light before her. There is a dead past—she has had no friends, or they have cast her off: she would work, and she may have starved to be good, and poor, and honest, but all this will not avail, and so she falls back into the old course, when her hopes die out,—

"Love, by harsh evidence,  
Thrown from its eminence,  
Even God's providence  
Seeming estranged."

And why should this be the case? why should friends or the world look coldly on the fallen, but really reformed criminal? Every day that farmers and others engage servants, they engage them in utter ignorance of the facts of their former lives. Men and women may have been in gaol, and may have come out, and may have left the prison worse than when they entered it, and yet most employers would prefer this species of chance engagement, by which they may obtain the services of an unknown rogue, to securing the services of one who, though admittedly branded by committal to a gaol, yet has all

the weight and security of "character" which the reports of all the prison authorities could supply.

Whence arises this difficulty? Doubtless from the fact, that between the gaol and the world no fixed and trusted intermediate place of probation is established in these kingdoms: no Patronage Society opens its Place of Refuge to receive the freed woman, before her old companions gather around her, or ere she has time to learn the blighting, blasting, terrible truth, that the world doubts her because she has been within the walls of a gaol—before she stands amidst the thousand lights of the city, houseless, friendless, despised and, therefore, hating.

What, it may be asked, is a Refuge? What is a Patronage Society? A Refuge is, simply and shortly, an institution in which those females discharged from prison, and who, also recommended by the chaplain, or other authorities, are received until employment can be obtained for them; those institutions have been long established in England, the Durham Refuge being the best known.\*

Whilst our present excellent Viceroy served in this country as Chief Secretary, he was instrumental in founding an Institution of this class, for females; and though the plan was earnestly supported it failed, because persons of different religious persuasions were collected within the same walls, with staffs of Officers and with Chaplains for each, and the necessary result was, that the Chaplains and Officers quarrelled, and so the institution, after much care, zeal, and money had been expended, was closed, and the only Institution of this class now open in Dublin, is a Protestant Refuge on Harcourt Road, established in the year 1821, in which "females who, on being discharged from prison, may appear desirous of reforming, and are willing to put up with hard fare, continued labour, and strict discipline," are received. This is a well managed Asylum, but is adapted only for Members of the Established Church, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Methodists being obliged to conform to all the rules if they enter.

So far for things as they exist in Ireland; the well conducted, but needy woman has her refuge; the prostitute who has

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\* See "Two Prize Essays on Juvenile Delinquency," by Micaiah Hill, Esq., and C. F. Cornwallis. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1853.



become repentant has her refuge, but the repentant, discharged prisoner has no Asylum to which she can apply, unless she be willing to set off the security of her virtuous reformation against the loss of her faith, a faith, it is true, which may have been slumbering, but which was always a faith, and which has become with her reformation, a revived faith.

Leaving these considerations applicable to these Kingdoms, let us consider how the Patronage and Protection Societies have worked in France.

The first French Patronage Society was founded in the year 1822, and from that period to the present year these Institutions have increased in number as their utility became manifest : they have been founded at Lyons, at Strasbourg, at Rouen, at Toulouse, but the chief and model Institution is that founded, at the instigation of M. Charles Lucas, at Paris, in the year 1833, and directed by M. Berenger (de la Drôme). These societies are for the protection, or patronage, of young, discharged criminals, but the *principle* of management applies equally to Institutions for adults of either sex.

When the juveniles leave the Reformatory School, they are placed as apprentices to some teacher in an occupation suited to their natural taste or liking. Some of these youths are entirely free, others are liable to be re-committed to the School if their conduct proves them unworthy that their provisional freedom shall be rendered complete. It must be remembered that this Society does not hold itself out as furnishing a means of support for life, and thus afford a premium to abandoned parents ; it simply offers a hard, honest means of support, till reformation can be looked upon as confirmed, and until regular work can be obtained in the ordinary way.

The members composing the Patronage Society are divided into subscribers, patrons, and donors, their number is unlimited, and each is expected to extend the circle as much as possible. A subscriber is simply one who pays the sum promised by him : a donor is one who pledges himself to pay an annual sum of not less than one hundred francs, or in our money, four pounds ; and the patrons are those who undertake, to give during three years to, or procure employment for, the liberated juveniles.

The Society has an Asylum, in which the juveniles, sick, or out of work are received, and in one of the common rooms of which Mass is said every Sunday.

The affairs of the Society are managed by a Board consisting of a President, Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The Administrative Council, composed of twelve members, consider all the points most important to the Society. Three Committees, each presided over by a Vice-President, superintend the proper expenditure of the finances, the distribution of materials, the placing out of the liberated Juveniles, and deliberate upon the conduct of those already so placed. The General Assembly is convoked once in each year to receive the Annual General Report; and twice in each year, this same General Assembly is called to receive the Reports of the Patrons on the conduct and condition of the Juveniles committed to their (the Patrons') care. At these latter meetings officers are nominated, premiums are awarded, and much general business of the Society is transacted.

Very great care is taken that none may become Patrons save those whose moral conduct is good; and no Patron is permitted to take charge of more than six Juveniles at a time. The strictest watch is kept over the Juveniles, particularly over those who are liberated provisionally, or, as we say—"on Ticket-of-leave." If the conduct of any such Juvenile is bad, he is, by decision of the Committee, withdrawn from patronage, and sent back to the colony, or prison whence he came; but the Patron can be released from his position only by virtue of a judicial sentence of recommitment.

The registers are kept with the utmost, and most minute exactitude; containing every fact connected with the life of each Juvenile, and they are indeed a cash and moral account, kept by double entry.

During the twenty years, ending May 1853, the Society took charge of 2,155 Juveniles, of whom 964 turned out well, 112 died, 16 were insane, and the others were more or less unsatisfactory in conduct. During these twenty years the sums received by the Society amounted to 457,265 francs, 55 centimes, and the expenditure amounted to 381,824 francs, 89 centimes; the balance on hand in May 1853, was 75,440 francs, 66 centimes.

It is unnecessary to enter at greater length into these topics: those of our readers who feel an interest in the subject, will find the whole question, in all its bearings of facts and figures, fully discussed in the admirable paper of M. Jules Lamarque, read before the International Reunion of Charity, and which we printed in the Record of our Nineteenth Number, page lxx.

It is, however, most satisfactory to learn that France has found an imitator in England. We have now before us the *Third Report of the Park Row Asylum for Hopeful Discharged Female Prisoners*, an Institute founded at Bristol, by Mrs. Sawyer, of Severn House, who has contributed a sum of £1,150 towards the completion and support of the Institution. The following passages from this *Report* will be read with interest:—

“ Since the first of February last, when the Institution was opened, twelve young women have been admitted.

One from Bristol Gaol.

Five from Bristol Bridewell.

Two from Shepton Mallet Gaol, Somersetshire.

One from Horsley Gaol, Gloucestershire.

One from Taunton Gaol, Somersetshire.

Two who have never been in any prison.

Two others from the Gaol and the Bridewell, Bristol, who were cases more particularly suited to the Penitentiary, have through Mrs. Sawyer's interest been admitted into that Institution, and are going on well. Thus fourteen destitute young women have been provided for, and most of them rescued, in all probability, from falling again into the hands of the police. If worldly benefit is alone considered, is not this a great saving to the country? and if so, has not this Institution a high claim to public support? Does it not also speak very favourably of prisons being visited by ladies? All the London prisons are visited by members of the British Ladies' Association, and so highly is their opinion esteemed by the Magistrates, that it is well known that prisoners have been remanded, and judgment deferred, in order to consult with the ladies, and enable them to investigate the cases, and provide for the prisoners a refuge in some of the London Institutions.

But to return again to our Asylum. Of the young women admitted, three were orphans; three had no mother; three had no father; two had both parents, but they did not live in harmony—nor together; and the mother of one is in prison for a serious offence.

Our first inmate, after being eight months in the Asylum, has been placed in a respectable situation. She has been there now four months, and is giving much satisfaction. Two have absconded; one has been dismissed for gross misconduct; eight remain in the Asylum, and are going on satisfactorily. Two or three are quite ready to enter any suitable situation that may be procured. The history of most of these poor young women is deeply affecting: one had only been one week in prison, and another only three days. Without friends, or a place of refuge, what must have been the lot of these poor outcasts if our Asylum had not been open to them? Their mental instruction and education is entirely entrusted to the care of the Lady Superintendent, whose efforts are directed towards

raising the whole tone of their minds. Some have made great proficiency in reading, writing, and even in the composition of letters sent to friends. As a proof how much the best feelings of the human heart may be worked upon and drawn out, it is a pleasure to relate that at a time when a considerable rise in the price of sugar took place, Mrs. Sawyer being accidentally in the Asylum at tea-time, tasted the beverage. Finding it was not sweetened, she inquired the reason, and the Matron replied that the inmates, of their own accord, had decided that, as long as the price of sugar remained so high, they did not think it right they should take it. This was assented to by all, and though the sugar-bason was on the table, it remained untouched. When one reflects how fond young people are of sweet things, and how often even respectable servants do not scruple to take a little sugar out of a tea-caddy, this proof of self-denial in the inmates of the Park Row Asylum speaks well of the moral feeling inculcated in so short a time in the mind of poor outcasts; who, having once undergone the penalty of the law for the breach of the eighth commandment, are now, by proper training, recalled from a life of sin, misery, and temptation, to one of usefulness and respectability. This is most encouraging. Still it is requisite that much judgment should be exercised in the admission of candidates, in order to ensure the benefit of the Institution to those alone who are likely to do it credit. It is therefore again stated that no violent, refractory, or unwilling candidates can be admitted, neither Penitentiary cases; but only those who are *hopeful*, wishing to retrieve their character, desirous of coming to the Asylum, which is not a *Reformatory School*, but a *temporary shelter* for hopeful discharged Female Prisoners.

Gratuitous board, clothing, and instruction are given to the inmates. Household work, washing, and needle-work, are also done by them, but it is not expected that much remunerative work can be accomplished, as the candidates are generally very ignorant when they first come in, and therefore much time must be devoted to religious, moral, and mental training, by which alone real reformation of character can be hoped for, and obtained. Besides, it is not intended that the inmates should remain very long in the Institution, as it is desirable that its benefits should be extended to as many as possible.

A Visiting Lady, taken from the General Committee, is appointed every month. The Sub-Committee has the management of the general affairs of the Institution, of the admission of candidates, and investigation of cases.

Miss Pearson, who at first came forward and offered her valuable services as Lady Superintendent, still continues successfully to fill this arduous and responsible post. Her example may perhaps induce other ladies to undertake a similar work; but let none attempt it unless in a spirit of devotedness to Christian duty. The praise of man is a most dangerous lure, which should at all times be guarded against, but especially in such an undertaking. A single eye is required in the work; absolute devotedness to those whom we hope, through the power of the Spirit, to reclaim, is necessary. 'Ye

cannot serve God and the world,' said the Lord to those who thought they could compromise with Him. This is strikingly illustrated by a visit Mrs. Sawyer paid four years ago to the Female Prison of Santa Maria Agnone, at Naples. One hundred and eighty women were there together, some under sentence of death for murder, and some for other serious crimes and offences. Only two Sisters of Charity of the Order of St. Vincent-de-Paul had the care of these poor women, and during the two years they have undertaken the charge, they have succeeded in enforcing order and cleanliness. The women expressed their thankfulness for the kindness shown them; and when Mrs. Sawyer, knowing well the filthy, low, and insubordinate character of the poorest class at Naples, inquired of one of the Sisters how such influence could have been obtained, 'Madame,' was her reply, 'ce sont mes enfans, je les porte dans mon cœur, je vis pour elles, je me dévoue à elles, c'est ma vocation, et elles le savent.' Sixty ladies, most of them of the first nobility, visit this prison, one in turn, twice a week, and their influence is also very great. This, Mrs. Sawyer witnessed when going over the Institution a second time with the aged Countess of Ludloff, visiting lady.

Let all then who undertake such responsible work, and hope for a blessing in it, be moved by a similar spirit of devotedness and Christian love to their poor fellow-creatures.

#### RULES FOR ADMISSION.

- 1.—No Penitentiary case is admissible.
- 2.—No Candidate can be admitted who has been in Prison more than once.
- 3.—Candidates must be furnished with certificates of good health and of good conduct during the time of imprisonment, signed by the authorities of the Gaols.
- 4.—No payment is obligatory; but Donations and Subscriptions are expected when a Candidate is admitted from the Gaols of other counties.
- 5.—A printed paper of queries will be sent to any Visiting Justices, Chaplains, or Governors of Gaols, on application for the admission of a Candidate, which should be made at least a fortnight before the discharge of the prisoner desired to be admitted.

All letters concerning Candidates must be directed to the **LADY SECRETARY**, Park Row Asylum, and will be laid before the Committee.

The Asylum is open to the public every **THURSDAY**, from Two to Four o'Clock."

Having thus shewn what *has been, and is being*, done in France and England, we now proceed to shew what Ireland is about to do, in this important and truly charitable plan of a Refuge for Females Discharged from Prison. During the past quarter some gentlemen of station and fortune have been induced, through the pressing and patent necessity of the case, to consider the best method of securing, so far as human

agency can accomplish it, the work of Reformation commenced in the Irish Gaols, particularly in those excellently and wisely managed institutions, the Convict-Prisons; and after considerable thought and discussion, the following prospectus was issued by the Provisional Committee :—

“ Although the charities of Dublin are numerous and liberally maintained, it has long been felt that an Institution is necessary, in which women who have been imprisoned, and are disposed to abandon their evil courses, may find a refuge on their liberation, until their good resolutions can be tested, and provision made for their continuance in a life of virtue.

The difficulties which oppose the reformation of male criminals are great and lamentable; but they can, in general, when they receive their freedom, procure employment in out-door labour, and in the army or navy, whilst a woman, however penitent, on leaving her prison, finds every means of honest occupation denied to her. She is tainted with the plague spot of the prison; she cannot obtain work, or food, or lodging; even the workhouse will frequently object to her, as she belongs to no union; her good intentions are blasted in the bud; she is driven back amongst her old associates; and ‘ her last state becomes worse than the first.’

The utter destitution and hopelessness of a female (especially a convict) discharged from prison was so apparent, that after transportation had ceased as a punishment for male convicts, females were still sent by Government to Australia, where they might, in a new country, find an honest means of livelihood, and where, at any rate, if reformation was impossible, and the individual was lost, she did not fall back into the stream of society in the mother country, and contaminate it by the contagion of her example.

Transportation has now ceased as a punishment, and a number of convict women will soon be turned loose on the community. It becomes, therefore, evident, that our social well-being requires the establishment of a refuge to receive them, so as to give these unhappy creatures a chance of reformation, and arrest the evils which must affect us all, should they pass from their prison door as abandoned outcasts, without hope in the world, or encouragement to amend, or the possibility of existence, except by crime; but when we consider that ‘ there shall be joy in heaven upon one sinner that doth penance more than upon ninety-nine just,’ we have a stronger reason than mere social duty to adopt this course, it becomes a Divine command to smoothe the way of the returned prodigal, and enable her, in labour and penance, to follow the right path.

The Sisters of Mercy, of Baggot-street, feel strongly the urgency of this want, and have now determined to undertake the care of a Moral Hospital, where the recovered, but weak and uncertain penitent, will be received and attended during her convalescence, and where the influence of religion will be brought to bear on her crushed and humbled spirit, until she can endure the rough contact of the world without fear of relapse. For this purpose they have esta-

blished a branch of their institution on the north side of the city for the reception of Catholic females discharged from prison, whose conduct has been such as to justify a hope that they will become good members of society. This establishment will be managed on the plan of the Solitude of Nazareth at Montpellier, and other similar institutions on the Continent. The women will partly support themselves by their labour, and there is reason to believe that funds will not be wanting to carry out the good work on a scale commensurate with the necessities of the country, when once it is firmly established; but in the first instance money is required to purchase beds and other furniture, to make some alterations, and fit up extensive work rooms and a laundry. After a little time the Sisters propose to form an auxiliary establishment in the country, where dairy and other farm work proper for their sex will be carried on by the inmates, to prepare such as are suited to them for the duties required in a female farm servant. A committee of benevolent ladies will labour to improve the permanent condition of the women, by procuring situations for such as it is desirable should be placed in this country, and by enabling others to emigrate with recommendations to persons of influence who will consider it a duty to further the opportunity of virtuous labour in other countries.

A Board of Governors, as in other large institutions, will manage the financial affairs of the establishment."

Our friend, Miss Mary Carpenter, sends us the First Report, with the *Principles, Rules and Regulations, of The Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory School*, of which she is the Superintendent. It would be at any time to us, and to all who are interested in the Reformatory Movement, a valuable and interesting document, but to us at this present period it is doubly valuable, as it enables us to shew to those who are active in organizing the Refuge to which we have just referred, the principles on which one of the most self-sacrificing, enlightened, and noble-minded philanthropists of England, conducts her admirable institution. Of the assistance given to the Red Lodge School, by Lady Noel Byron, all readers of THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW are long since aware. The *Report* is as follows:—

#### OBJECT OF THE SCHOOL.

This School is established for the reformation and restoration to society of girls who have cut themselves off from it by dishonest practices.

As a long period is usually necessary for the effectual reformation of such children, which can seldom be obtained without the power of legal detention, the School is particularly intended for children sentenced to a Reformatory School under the Act passed in Aug. 1854, 17 and 18 Vict. cap. 86; but it will be open to other cases of moral destitution.

# CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION.

No girl is to be admitted if above 14, and it is preferred to receive children under 12; no child will be declined on account of extreme youth, as it is better at once to withdraw from her home a child, however young, who shows a propensity to dishonesty which cannot be checked in the circumstances in which she is placed.

No girl will be retained above the age of 16.

No girl will be admitted with any infectious disorder.

No girl will be admitted who is a fit subject for a Penitentiary.

The parties sending girls to this School must be responsible for a provision being made for them on leaving, as it will be generally undesirable that they should return to the unfavourable circumstances in which they fell into crime.

Two suits of strong under clothing and shoes are to be sent with each girl.

It will be in the power of the Superintendent to deviate from these rules under peculiar circumstances; but this will not be done readily.

When girls are sent to this School *not* under the Act, a payment of 5s. per week will be expected, *Quarterly in advance*.

# GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF MANAGEMENT.

The girls admitted to this School will be usually found to be entirely devoid of any good principles of action; particularly addicted to deceit both in word and actions; of fine, but misdirected powers; of violent passions; extremely sensitive to imagined injury, and equally sensible to kindness.

The first step towards their reformation will be to awaken a feeling of confidence in their instructors, and to prove to them the anxiety for their welfare that is felt for them; they should be made at the same time to feel that they must yield to a controul which will be kindly but firmly exercised; their passions must be as little excited as possible, and when they are so, "overcome evil with good" must be the teacher's watchword. The misdirected energies must be called into healthy exercise, and wisely guided; the intellectual faculties must be judiciously cultivated; and above all, religious and moral principles must be directly enforced, and indirectly, but still more powerfully, taught by the daily life of the teachers, and their evident obedience to truth and duty.

# MEANS EMPLOYED FOR THE CARRYING OUT OF THESE PRINCIPLES.

Daily reading and inculcation of the Scriptures with prayer, and other direct religious and moral instruction.

Intellectual training calculated to excite a taste for useful information and to awaken the higher faculties. Regular industrial occupation, especially such as will call forth the energies, or exercise patient application; choice being especially made of such kinds as will fit the girls for domestic service and prepare them for any situation in life in which they may probably be placed.

Innocent amusements, such as may serve to occupy the girls' minds, and distract their attention from injurious objects of thought.

The society of persons of virtuous character and loving spirit,



who may insensibly win them over to love virtue, first for their sakes, then for itself.

The availing oneself of every suitable opportunity to act on the child's inner nature, and to rekindle the divine life within her.

#### RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

The great object of the religious instruction of these children will be to give them accurate and rational acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures ; a firm conviction of the truths they contain ; a loving faith in their warnings and promises ; and a deep and actuating love of God our Heavenly Father, and of his Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. They will be taught to seek in all things the aid of God's Holy Spirit, and by prayer and supplication to make known their wants unto Him. It will be attempted to make religion a daily influencing motive ; whether they eat or drink, or whatever they do, to do all to the glory of God.

All sectarian teaching will be strictly forbidden.

The girls will attend divine service twice on Sunday with the Teacher, at the nearest place of worship which appears eligible.

Regular religious instruction will be given on Sunday afternoon by the Superintendent or by some one authorised by her.

#### SECULAR INSTRUCTION, AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING.

Reading, Writing, and the simple rules of Arithmetic are to be carefully and thoroughly taught ; also such knowledge of Geography as will enable the girls to read with intelligence ordinary books of an interesting and instructive character ; and such general information will be given, as will make them more able to discharge well the duties likely to devolve on them in life.

A small Library of instructive and entertaining books will be provided.

Singing will be made a part of the moral training, and regular instruction in it will be given.

The girls are to be employed from one to two hours a day at least in household work, three hours every afternoon at useful needle work, and a portion of the day at knitting.

The older girls are to be taught washing and ironing, with cooking, and other special kinds of house work which may help to prepare them for domestic service.

At least an hour every day should be devoted to active exercise, and, if possible, a walk should be taken beyond the premises three times a week.

#### REGULATIONS RESPECTING THE GIRLS.

The clothing of the girls will be uniform, but simple and neat, such as would be suitable for any girl in the labouring classes of society. Great attention is to be paid to personal neatness and cleanliness.

The food will be wholesome and sufficient, but perfectly simple.

The girls must be led to feel that the allowance made for them by the Government or by friends by no means supports them, and that they must do all that lies in their power to aid in the expence of their maintenance. As an encouragement and stimulus however to

exertion, a third of the profits arising from each girl's sewing and knitting will be credited to her, and will remain in the hands of the Matron, to be withdrawn by the girl at the discretion of the Matron; or remain in her hands until the girl leaves School, to aid in providing an outfit for her.

When any girl is newly admitted, she must for a time sleep apart from the others, and be under the especial care of a teacher; nor must she be allowed to mix freely with other girls, until it appears that she can do so without injury.

**RULES TO BE READ TO EVERY GIRL ON ADMISSION, AND ALWAYS ENFORCED.**

The girls who come to this School must remember that they do so in order to enable them to be honest and industrious members of society in this world, and to prepare them for another and a better.

To effect this, the labour and care of their instructors will be of little avail, unless they also use their own earnest efforts to improve themselves, and endeavour at all times to obey God's commandments, "not with eye service, as men pleasers, but as fearing the Lord."

In addition to the laws of God which are contained in His Holy Word, every girl is required to attend strictly to the following rules.

I. Every girl on entering the School is to begin with a new character; she must as much as possible forget the evil of her past life, and on no account ever converse with any of her companions, respecting any of the circumstances attending it.

II. No girl must on any consideration go out of the premises without a pass, unless with a teacher.

III. Strict obedience must be paid to the Superintendent, Matron, and Teachers; respectful attention to superiors, and kind consideration to companions.

IV. All irreverent use of God's name, low and vulgar language, slang words and nick-names, are absolutely forbidden.

V. Order, neatness, and cleanliness are especially to be attended to; "a place for every thing and every thing in its place," being the rule of the house.

VI. Diligence and activity in the work appointed are expected from all: "Diligent in business, serving the Lord."

VII. Great care must be taken of the property of others, and of every thing used in the School. Wilful or careless waste or injury of the school property must be paid for from the girl's earnings.

VIII. No girl must possess any money without the knowledge of the matron.

IX. No books, pictures, are papers of any kind are to be introduced into the School, nor are any letters to be sent or received without the permission of the Superintendent.

X. Whoever knows that these or any other rules laid down are broken, without informing the Matron of the same, becomes herself an accomplice, and is besides doing injury to her companion, by encouraging her in evil.

## THE TEACHERS.

Those employed in this work must do it from their hearts, as a sacred duty, to which they will devote themselves with their whole power.

Entire confidence and good understanding must exist among themselves and with the Superintendent, who will endeavour as far as in her lies, to support their authority and influence, with her own.

The girls must always be under watchful care, though treated with confidence.

The teachers must rely more on their own personal influence to secure obedience, and on awakening a sense of duty in the girls, than on any enactments or rules. They must never converse with the girls respecting their past history, which is to be confided to the Superintendent *only*; and they must carefully avoid any expressions or mode of treatment calculated to awaken resentful feelings in the girls, or make them feel themselves members of a degraded class.

Punishments should never be inflicted arbitrarily, nor with any vindictive feeling; but made as much as possible the natural consequences of actions.

The best teachers will secure obedience and good conduct with the least punishment.

No intoxicating liquors except for medicinal purposes are to be admitted into the house.

## REPORT.

The first year of a Reformatory School must not be expected to exhibit any very striking results. It is the work not only of unceasing care and effort, but of time, to establish in the School a satisfactory tone; and of still longer time to be able to place any well-founded confidence in the real reformation of the children.

A Girls' Reformatory School likewise presents in several respects greater difficulties than one for boys. The more susceptible nature of girls renders them, if once drawn into a vicious course, more deeply contaminated than boys; from being more confined within the home and exposed to its impure influences, their intellectual powers have been less developed, and their affections more corrupted; and in their reformatory training no equivalent has yet been discovered for the agricultural labour which is found so important and valuable in that of boys.

The foregoing principles, rules and regulations, which were founded on long experience, have been the basis of the system pursued in the establishment; and in proportion as they have been efficiently and faithfully carried out, they have proved sound, and successful in effecting the proposed end.

The moral and physical state of most of the girls on entering the school has been, as was to be expected, very low, their degraded condition being usually evident in their countenances. The educational acquirements of the larger number at once indicate how completely they have been neglected; 7 only of the whole number, 27, having received such amount of school instruction, otherwise than at the Gaol, as would enable them to read at all fluently and to write

even imperfectly ; all of these 7 were sent to the School, not under sentence, but by persons interested in their welfare, and with one exception came from families not belonging to the criminal class, and generally in a respectable condition of life ; yet four of these have shown themselves among the most unprincipled and depraved in the School. Only three of the remaining 20 had received any available amount of instruction, beyond what they had obtained in the Gaol ! While these facts painfully indicate the very neglected condition of most of these unfortunate children, they also prove that mere instruction of the intellect is of little avail to influence the heart and life. Many of the girls exhibit for some time considerable tendency to pilfering, and are not in general those who may be supposed to have been incited to theft by want ; with these the greatest difficulty is experienced : yet a large proportion seem to feel on entering the School, that they desire to gain a character for honesty ; and though exhibiting other bad habits and tendencies, appear to have fallen into crime rather from the circumstances in which they have been placed, than from decidedly vicious inclinations.

Such being the condition of the inmates of the Red Lodge School, a rapid progress will not be expected ; yet a very decided improvement has taken place in all the girls, who have been for some time in the establishment ; and in many cases a remarkable change both in appearance and conduct has been perceptible even in a few months. The change has been frequently remarked by experienced visitors who have seen the School at intervals, as well as by official inspectors.

The serious illness of the Superintendent, which withdrew her from the School during a large part of the year, and the illness and resignation of the Matron under whose care the School had been ably conducted from its commencement, and which involved a complete change of staff, have of course retarded the intellectual and other improvement of the girls ; it may however be safely stated, that they exhibit at present a fair progress and increased capability of receiving instruction, both secular and religious. Considerable attention has been paid to the industrial training. The size and nature of the house afford ample scope for every kind of household work, which, with the cooking, is done entirely by the girls, under the superintendence of the Matron ; the neatness and cleanliness of the premises afford proof of the attention which is habitually paid to this department. The older girls have been taught to wash and iron under an experienced laundress, and now not only do the work of the establishment, but the washing of families, which is taken in both for the improvement of the girls, and to aid the funds of the School. Plain sewing and knitting have been carefully taught, and many girls, who on their first admittance hardly knew the use of a needle, can now sew well, and with interest in their occupation. The girls have done not only their own sewing and that of the establishment, but plain work has also been taken in, and orders for shirts and socks have been executed for two Boys' Reformatory Schools. Such orders will be gladly received.

There are in the School at present 21 girls ; of these, 12 are under legal detention, 2 were sent by Magistrates from private funds ; 7

are sent by friends or relatives. Of all of these hopes may be entertained, though of course there is more prospect of permanent reformation in the younger children. All but 4 have been in prison, some many times. One girl who was sent to Kingswood on conditional pardon had been in prison six times in four different towns. So little was she deterred or reformed by even a year's imprisonment, that when she had been at Kingswood a few months, she absconded with two other girls, and although captured the same evening had already picked six or eight pockets. She has now for some time shewn a complete change of character; she is quite trustworthy, and is continually sent out alone on short errands. She is happily conscious of the dangers she would incur if again in the world, and has no wish to leave the School. The youngest scholar, about 10 years old, was sentenced above a year ago with her brother to 4 years penal servitude for horse stealing! She was a deserted and neglected child, but very clever, and has already made great improvement. These facts painfully indicate what is unhappily generally the case with these unfortunate children, that gross parental misconduct, rather than natural depravity, is the cause of juvenile delinquency. In two cases only out of the 27 can the cause of crime be attributed to complete orphanage; in two others to parental desertion; in almost all the remaining cases it can be directly referred either to the mismanagement so often connected with the fact of there being a step parent, or to flagrant parental vice. It is greatly to be hoped that the provisions now made by government for recovering from the parents part of the cost of the child's maintenance will prove a wholesome check on their culpable neglect.

The following is an account of the 6 girls who have left the School.

- A. In service and giving much satisfaction.
- B. Sent to her uncle in New York, U.S.
- C. Sent back to her Father and doing well.
- D. Absconded and not heard of since.
- E. Sent to service, committed theft, and now under conditional pardon at Dalston Refuge.
- F. Absconded twice, and finally sent back to gaol to finish her original sentence, after extreme misconduct.

The two girls, D. and F. are the only ones who have absconded; shortly after their arrival in the School it was evident that they were not fit subjects for it, having been already familiarised with the vices of the street, and most reluctantly they were given up, for the sake of the other girls. E. had been six times in prison, and was of a peculiarly thievish nature; she was a volunteer, and unwisely permitted to go to service during the illness of the superintendent, after having been only a few months at Red Lodge, and a year and a half at Kingswood. It is to be hoped that these failures will not discourage friends who may be willing to do the christian service of aiding these poor children, by receiving them, when longer tried, as servants in their families.

The funds necessary for the commencement of this school have been kindly supplied by friends, who will, it is hoped, perceive that

they have been economically administered. Though so large a demand on private benevolence will not be needed when the school is in full operation, yet it will still be necessary to appeal for aid to those who desire to rescue these poor children, as there must always be greater expenses attendant on such a school than an ordinary one.

In conclusion, while offering grateful thanks to all who have given help and sympathy in the work, the Divine blessing is implored on it, which alone, after we have sowed and watered, can bestow an increase.

MARY CARPENTER,  
*Superintendent.*

*Bristol : Dec. 26th, 1855*

#### NOTE.

As the Red Lodge is calculated to receive from 40 to 50 girls, there are at present vacancies for more inmates. Magistrates wishing to send girls there under sentence, (17 and 18 Vict, c. 86); or private individuals desiring admission for children, according to the Rules p. 2, are requested to apply to the Superintendent, "Miss Carpenter, Great George's-street, Bristol."

The following is the *Report* for 1855, of the Ragged School of St. James's Back, Bristol: we beg the attention of our Dublin Ragged School Managers to it, as it contains a few hints on matters little regarded here, though of great importance:—

#### REPORT.

The Day School has, through the past year, maintained its numbers, and gone on improving in discipline, and in a manifest good effect produced upon the children. This was particularly noticed, as to their appearance and behaviour on Christmas Day last, when about 220 children of the Juvenile and Infant Schools had dinner in the School-room, after having been shortly examined by Mr. Andrews. The Evening School has fluctuated a good deal, and latterly the numbers have much decreased, partly owing to some changes which Mr. and Mrs. Andrews found it necessary to introduce, and partly to the want of being looked after. In April, the Secretary reported that he had received a communication from the Secretary of the Committee of Council, announcing that "My Lords have given the necessary instructions for placing Mr. Andrews' name on the list of Teachers registered as competent to instruct apprentices." This is important, as giving Mr. Andrews a little step in advance of his former position, but the Committee have very reluctantly come to the conclusion, that from the nature of the School, and its numerous demands upon Mr. Andrews' time, it will be necessary to decline taking any more pupil-teachers at present. Mrs. Andrews, Miss Belford and Miss Oxburgh, have also zealously pursued their labours during the past year, giving the Committee great satisfaction. Miss Fox, the assistant teacher, left the School in August, having the offer of an appointment in a School at Kingswood, and on her

recommendation, Miss Griffin came on trial, to fill her place, and has since been regularly appointed to it. Mark Appleby, one of the Pupil Teachers, has given Mr. Andrews and the Committee much trouble and anxiety during the past year. The Secretary has twice been requested to admonish him, and warn him of the consequences of misbehaviour, and neglect of duty. Eliza Parker, the other Pupil Teacher, has gone on steadily and well, fulfilling her duties to the satisfaction of the Teachers. The Girls' Industrial Class has continually improved both in the amount and in the manner of the work done under the diligent teaching of Miss Oxburgh, and the general superintendence of one of the managers, who has continued her exertions in its favour; and also in promoting the instruction of some of the elder girls in cleaning the premises, which at the last report a new experiment, is now a settled and successful part of the operations of the School. Its usefulness will be shewn by the following statements by the lady referred to above. "The Class for learning household duties in cleaning the School premises, consists of six; one of these has continued during the whole of last year; about eleven others have been in the Class for different periods." "They are placed under the Superintendent, who teaches them how to sweep and scrub by both precept and example, shewing them how properly to use their brooms and brushes, by doing work before them. Some of these girls have gone to service. I have called on some of their mistresses, and have learned that they find them more fit for their duties than girls of the same class taken from their homes, without such instruction as they receive at the School."

"Though it is a great advantage to the girls to be taught household duties, and that might seem a sufficient remuneration, yet, in order to secure their regular attendance, and to satisfy their mothers, who do not sufficiently appreciate the advantage, and can find some kind of employment for them at home, they are paid for their services. This payment was first made in money; but that did not answer well. I used to advise the girls to save their earnings and buy clothes. They always said they were going to save in a short time, generally "next week;" but I never found that the period for saving arrived. It struck me that it would be of great service to the sewing class if these girls' wages could be paid into that class, the value being returned to them in clothes. Determining to make the experiment, I told the cleaners at the beginning of 1855, that I should no longer pay them in money but in clothes. I did it in some fear that I had been too absolute; but the result has proved the step to be a good one. The Sewing Class has been greatly benefited by the opening thus made for the sale of its productions, and the cleaners have attended much more regularly. The clothes, which they have been able to purchase with their own earnings have given them a feeling of honourable independence, and no doubt have been convincing arguments to their mothers that it is good for them to be taught to scrub and clean. The Tailoring and Shoemaking classes, from different causes, have not given so much satisfaction. Their future and it is hoped better management is now under the consideration of the Committee.

In the course of the year several applications have been made to Mrs. Andrews for apprentices. In this they have both taken great interest, and have, through the kindness of friends, been very successful in obtaining the necessary funds for that purpose, when they have had with them boys eligible for apprenticeship. Through the bounty of a lady at a distance from Bristol, Mrs. Andrews has also had the means of providing temporary food and lodging for several destitute boys, and thus saving them from crime, and putting them in the way of honestly providing for themselves. The Committee feel that they cannot so well detail this part of the proceedings of the past year as by quoting from the interesting statement given to the Secretary by Mrs. Andrews. "We have six boys from our School learning trades; not all bound apprentice, as some of the masters preferred having them without paying them wages, and teaching them trades while they behave well. W. T. is with a tinman, gets 2s. 6d. a week. J. G. with a carpenter, gets 3s. a week. They will remain until they are 21 if they behave well. M. apprenticed to a shoemaker was in the shoemaking class, and learnt a good deal there; he was a most improving boy. S. is with a carpenter, with the prospect of being apprenticed. M. Y. a boy of 13, has been in the School 18 months, has most of that time been supplied with bread daily—he was in the shoemaking class. Before he came to us he had been in prison for stealing. I think he was half starved. He was a most difficult boy to manage, of a violent temper and using bad language: but for the last six months he has been completely changed for the better. He has also the prospect of being apprenticed to a shoemaker, where he is to be fed and lodged for seven years. T. C. is a boy of 12. He has got his living since he was two years old by going about the streets of Bristol, Bath, Cardiff, and other towns, singing songs, &c. He often slept in a barrel on the Quay. He also used to go to beer houses to sing, with clappers, that is two bones which he struck one against another, as an accompaniment. He came to the School last December in a most starved and wretched condition, with a cough that promised speedy consumption. Every care was taken of him, medicine was got from the Infirmary and he was fed, clothed and lodged: once, shortly after he got better, he left the School for a day and sold his clothes. But he was found before late at night and brought back; so he was not allowed to sleep out: after six months he went off again, to Cardiff, but there he was soon found by H. Mansfield, most kindly taken care of by her, sent back again to Bristol, and has now for some time been improving wonderfully. He is apprenticed to a Tailor and Undertaker, where he is to be fed, lodged and clothed till he is 21. £5 has been paid with him, subscribed by friends to the School."

"Many other boys have got places of work from the School—Three other destitute boys were also fed and lodged for three months last winter, who had never before been used to work. Places were got up for them, and an honest character has since been given of them to the Master of the School. Ten other boys, and one girl, were fed with bread during the year, as was found needful; great



care was taken not to let them feel they could be fed at any time without working, till the influence that could be used was used to induce them to work for themselves, and feel independent; and it was not without effect—if they earned a penny, it was brought to be saved towards clothes; and their desire to get places of work was quite striking after a time. We have at present, an orphan boy under our care. He is in place earning 4s. a week. He was brought to us from Prison, he is very promising. During the past year, about £8 has been brought to me, as savings from boys and girls in the Day and Evening Schools. The following parts of a note, accompanying the above statements, will farther explain how anxiously Mr. and Mrs. Andrews have performed this portion of their labour. The facts are truthful, and much more might be said, but I think these particular cases will shew that the labour has not been in vain. \* \* \* There is much to be done in our School yet—The children want individual treatment; to be taken and carried in the arms as lambs not able to walk. P——, who was apprenticed last year, is now able to walk alone. C——, and M——, are now under good guardianship—So I shall try two or three others; but I should not be able to accomplish the work without food, which Mrs. —— has hitherto so kindly supplied." In addition to the above, it is very gratifying to the Committee to state that a boy, P——, who went out to Australia from the School, with Mrs. Chisholm, sent home £5 to his mother for her use. She has applied it to the apprenticing of a younger son to a carver and gilder, his father paying the cost of the indenture. It will be interesting to the Subscribers to learn that the following Teachers have been wholly or partially trained in our School. Miss Williams, who for three or four years conducted a large School with much approbation, and is now School Mistress at the Red Lodge Reformatory. H. Mansfield, conducting a Reformatory School at Cardiff, with great success. Mr. Grant, master of the Counterslip Reformatory School. Mr. Morris, Master of a School at Thame. Sarah Paddock, Assistant Teacher under Mr. and Mrs. Morris, at Thame. Miss Fox, Assistant Teacher at a School at Kingswood. The memorial to the Committee of Council on Education, mentioned in the last Report, after waiting a considerable time for some favourable opportunity of presenting to my Lords by Deputation, it was sent to the Secretary of the Committee of Council in September last, together with a similar memorial from Gloucester, which had been forwarded by Miss Carpenter for such purpose. To these memorials no answer has been received. The Committee of the School look forward however to the establishment of an Educational Department in the Government, with an assurance that when it has got into full operation, the peculiar wants of Ragged and other Schools for the most neglected portion of the Juvenile population, will meet due attention. In October, M. Demets, the distinguished and philanthropic principal of the Agricultural colony of Mettray for the Reformation of Young Criminals, visited the School, he expressed himself much satisfied with what he saw. His reception was quite enthusiastic from the children, who had been previously made

acquainted with his noble and self-denying labour. The Manager of the Lending Library reports, that it has gone on successfully during the past year, fully answering the expectations of those who have contributed the books, and affording encouragement for its further extension. The Committee gratefully receive the kindness of those friends to the School, who have from time to time, sent out of the Funds of the School. The Committee now commend their Report to the Subscribers and Friends of the School, in the hope that what they have done will meet with approval, and the School in all its branches, to the blessing of Him, without whom all labour is in vain.

NUMBERS OF ATTENDANCE.

AVERAGE ATTENDANCE

<i>On the Books.</i>				<i>Morning.</i>	<i>Afternoon.</i>		
					Tailoring,	20	
<b>Boys and Girls, 180</b>	...	145	...	76	do. from Infant School	10—30	
					Shoemaking,	8	
					Sewing, &c.	40	
		do. from Infant School		10—50			
<b>Infants,</b>	...	145	...	78	...	...	Total 73
<b>Total</b>	...	325	...	154	...	...	161

EVENING CLASSES.

<i>On the Books.</i>		<i>Average Attendance</i>	
Boys,	60	...	28
Girls,	40	...	24
Total	100	...	52

If one of our readers were to walk through the Dublin Market known as Smithfield, and if, observing the large building at the head of the Market, he were to enquire, from any of the numerous hangers-on of the locality, the title of the building, he would be told that it is "The Daypo." Well, so it *was* the depot, but within the walls of that depot there is now being tried one of the best-designed and most philosophically planned experiments for the complete reformation of Convicts, ever read of or witnessed by us.

When, in the year 1854, the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland inspected the establishments placed under their direction, they found, as their first *Report* declares, 3,427 prisoners confined, although there was accommodation for only 3,210.

With prisons thus situated, and without hope of being

enabled to draft away the convicts to a penal settlement, the Directors first endeavoured to enlarge the accommodation, and thus, and by classification, resolved to attempt reformation. By an official communication, from the Superintendent's Office in West Australia, they found that, owing to the want of system in our Irish Prisons, the 600 convicts sent out in the ships "Robert Small" and "Phoebe Dunbar," seemed incapable of comprehending the nature of moral agencies; they knew nothing of the necessity of prudence, and self-reliance, as means to extricate themselves from the consequences of their former errors, and the Superintendent declared—"coercion appears to be the only force they are capable of appreciating." In a word, they were unfit for the world, by reason of their crimes; they were unfit for the penal colony by reason of prison mismanagement at home. Under these circumstances, and knowing that from want of good arrangement, the chief mischief springs, and knowing too, that by sending such Convicts from our Gaols to our Colonies they but retarded the advancement of our dependencies, the Directors, being of that class of officials so dear to the Administrative Reform Association, and whose qualities are pithily expressed in the motto—Right Men in the Right Place, set vigorously about their work of reform, and we shall permit them to relate, in their own words, some particulars of the course adopted:—

"The same feeling which prevents our inflicting on a colony convicts who have not been subjected to a proper course of prison discipline, also precludes our bringing forward prisoners for discharge in this country on *Tickets of Licence* as in England. We consider such Tickets of Licence to be a sort of guarantee to the community, that in consequence of a prisoner having been subjected to a proper course of prison discipline and reformatory treatment, he is considered a fit subject to be received and employed by those outside the prison.

Such reformatory course not having hitherto been pursued in this country, we have not felt ourselves justified in recommending the issue of Tickets of Licence.

On commencing our duties, we found the most pressing evil to be remedied was, the indiscriminate association of the young with those more advanced in years and crime; instead, therefore, of awaiting the completion of the Juvenile Penal Reformatory Prison, (a period, probably, of eighteen months or two years), we immediately selected all the male convicts under seventeen years of age, and placed them at Mountjoy and Philipstown Prisons. In the former there are separate sleeping cells, and convenient accommodation for working in association during the day. We have every reason to be fully satisfied with the results as evinced by the conduct and industry of the

Prisoners located here. In the latter there were facilities for separating the juveniles from the adults; but similar advantages to those possessed by Mountjoy were not here presented, and the effects have not been so favourable; however we hope that great improvement will result from arrangements which we are now enabled to make in consequence of the barrack (situated within the walls of the prison), having been recently transferred to the convict department, and by which the prisoners will be placed under more effective supervision.

Taking into consideration the inefficient state of the educational departments of the Convict Depots, and the importance which should be attached to them in this country, where the causes of crime are principally ignorance and destitution, we have felt it our duty to recommend that all the Government Prison Schools should be placed under the inspection of the National Board of Education. We are much indebted to the Right Hon. Alexander Macdonnell, the Resident Commissioner, and P. J. Keenan, Esq., for having been the means of securing the services of two gentlemen, as Head Schoolmasters, for Mountjoy and Philipstown Prisons. For the former we have selected Mr. McGauran, late master of the Andean Free Day School, in Cumberland-street, who has had great experience in *training* as well as *teaching*, amongst a class of persons from which the criminals may be expected to emanate.\*

For the latter we have chosen Mr. Donaghy, (late master of Cork Union School), who has a well earned reputation, and possesses qualifications we have thought it all-important to require. Our intention is to train our different masters from time to time, under these gentlemen, and thus ensure a uniformity of system throughout the Government Prison Schools. We trust, therefore, the experience they have had will exercise a beneficial influence through the different convict establishments.

In order further to increase the influence which we trust these teachers will exercise over the convicts under their care, we thought fit to recommend the Government to allow them to visit the different penal and reformatory establishments in England, and practically acquaint themselves with the systems adopted therein, thus giving them an opportunity of forming opinions on a broad basis, which would render them more efficient for the reformation and training of the prisoners. Permission to carry out this recommendation was readily accorded by Lord St. Germans, and we have reason to believe the result will be most advantageous to the service.

We have found it necessary to call for special reports on the character and capabilities of the different officers of the prisons, with a view to remove those who are not qualified for so important a position; and regret to add that we have been compelled to recommend the dismissal of several warders for drunkenness, a crime that cannot be tolerated for an instant in a prison, where a good moral example should operate at one of the principal elements of reformation."

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\* See two admirable reports, by this gentleman, on the Andean School, and printed in *THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Vol. IV., No. 14, p. 1237.—Ed.

Having thus arranged the prisons under their management, the Directors were in a condition to observe, closely and accurately, the result of their labors; and having carefully watched the whole working of the system adopted, and after consultation with his colleagues, Captain Crofton, the Chairman of the Board of Directors, resolved to test the following plan of the gradual restoration to liberty of the Ticket-of-Leave men.

Finding the Smithfield Prison was no longer needed as a *Prison*, he stated to all employed within its walls, that he was about to use it in a peculiar manner, and that turnkeys, so called, would be no longer needed. That he was about to collect, from all the Convict establishments in Ireland, the men of the very best characters as prisoners, and who were entitled, at an early day, to Tickets-of-Leave. That these men were to receive the suit of clothes given to Ticket-of-Leave-Men on quitting prison, that he would bring these men to Smithfield, that he would not make them free men, nor yet would he by any means let them consider themselves prisoners. That each one of these men, ignorant of a trade, should be taught one. That no man should leave the Establishment until, if possible, some means of honest livelihood had been obtained for him. That every man should perform his part in the Establishment, some cooking, some sweeping, all useful. That each of the turnkeys should know some trade, and that he should act as foreman of his craft, and sit and work with his pupils—in fact, that all within the Establishment should be usefully employed; and that the following rules should be observed:—

### SMITHFIELD PRISON.

#### DAILY ROUTINE OF DUTY FOR EXEMPLARY CONVICTS.

##### A.M.

- |    |    |  |
|----|----|--|
| H. | M. |  |
| 5  | 0  | Ring Bell—Fold Bedding—Clean Cells.          |
| —  | 30 | Officers' Parade—Unlock Cells.               |
| —  | 35 | Empty Night Buckets—Prisoners Wash.          |
| —  | 45 | Assemble to Prayer.                          |
| 6  | —  | Ring Bell—Commence Labor.                    |
| 8  | 0  | „ „ Breakfast—Exercise afterwards.           |
| —  | 40 | „ „ Officers' Parade—Examine Mem. Books, &c. |
| —  | 45 | Prisoners' resume labor.                     |

##### P.M.

- |   |    |                                  |
|---|----|----------------------------------|
| 2 | 0  | Ring Bell—Dinner—Exercise after. |
| — | 55 | „ „ Officers' Parade.            |

H.	M.		H.	M.
3	0	Prisoners resume labor.		
5	0	Ring Bell—Commence Lecture.		
7	0	" " Supper.		
—	30	Commence Reading—Prayer, &c.		
8	45	Ring Bell—Prisoners to cells and lock up.		
9	0	Out Lights.		
Time—	Fold Bedding—Cleaning Cells—Wash, &c.	...	—	45
Meals—	Breakfast and Exercise forty-five minutes, Dinner			
	and Exercise one hour, Supper thirty minutes	...	2	15
Lecture, Reading, Prayer, and preparing for Bed	...		3	45
Labor	...	...	9	15

From 5 A.M. to 9 P.M. ... 16 —

Shave on Wednesdays and Saturdays, Saturday morning naked feet examined.

Saturday Evening, Clean Shirts, Stockings and Neckkerchiefs issued.  
Sundays and Holydays, Prayer, Reading and Exercise, (walking.)  
To Pump Water, Clean Wards and Yards, Whitewash and assist  
Cook, taken as required in rotation daily from Net-makers and Mat Pickers.

These rules came into operation on the first day of February, in the present year. At that date the inmates of Smithfield numbered 54, inspected by 8 officers. Of these 54 inmates two proved themselves unsuited for the Institution, as they required *watching*, and for this there is no time to spare.

On the 21st of February, there were 8 officers, and 48 inmates of whom we have the following return of employments for that day—the other 4 men being, we believe, in hospital :—

Shoemakers,	...	...	...	13
Tailors,	...	...	...	5
Netmakers,	...	...	...	13
Carpenters,	...	...	...	2
Brushmakers,	...	...	...	6
Nailor,	...	...	...	1
Weaver,	...	...	...	1
Picking and Teazing Mats,	...	...	...	5
Store Assistant,	...	...	...	1
Cook,	...	...	...	1
				—
				48
				—

The Net-makers, Mat-workers, and Brush-makers, are not employed at very well paying occupations, but many of these men are old, and incapable of learning the other trades ; and these men being of good conduct could not be excluded from the benefits of the institution.

Net-making is a trade which may be learned in a week, or less ; and any body with fingers capable of ordinary work can earn at it four or five shillings a week ; and the knowledge of the fact that an old, reformed man is able to earn this, or some such sum, may induce his friends to receive him kindly on his discharge from Smithfield. To this topic, however, we shall presently have occasion to return.

Captain Crofton, however, was not content with these excellent aids to Reformation ; he knew that where the life of the Good Prisoner ends, the life of the Reformed Man begins, and he resolved that he would not permit the inmates of Smithfield to go forth without some species of knowledge of Common Things. All their hours, to five o'clock in the afternoon were fully employed, but from that hour till seven o'clock, the time of supper, was open.

Being always anxious to secure the services of teachers trained by the Board of National Education in Ireland, Captain Crofton applied to Mr. Kavanagh, the Head Inspector of National Schools for the Dublin District, and that most able and efficient officer, with a readiness which shows his discernment and judgment, named Mr. Organ, who had been for many years engaged as manager and teacher of adult evening schools. It was not Captain Crofton's intention that Mr. Organ should teach, as ordinary pupils are taught, from books. Men who work from five o'clock in the morning are not prepared to sit down to study lessons from school books at five o'clock in the evening. But, in Smithfield, through the admirable system of lectures, the school hour is looked forward to as the pleasantest duty of the day.

Mr. Organ does not treat his audience as prisoners or as children, he treats them as men, as he was accustomed to treat his pupils in his night-school. He does not make speeches, he *tells* them of Common Things, of the air, the earth, the planets, the tides ; of the animate and inanimate world ; of physical geography ; of the British Empire and its Colonies ; of the rates of wages, and of the opening for honest industry in each of these dependencies. He tells them and explains to them, the rules of grammar and of arithmetic ; and as ignorance, through early neglect, is not shameful in his eyes, he has so far ingratiated himself with his class, that any man who does not clearly comprehend any portion of the discourse, at once holds up his hand, and at this signal the

teacher leaving his desk, goes to the place where the man sits, and explains the difficulty to him, and does not leave him till perfectly satisfied that all is understood.

Thus the time, from five o'clock till half-past six, is passed, and from that hour till seven, Mr. Organ is engaged in conversation with the men, and in inspecting their copies. And each Saturday is devoted to an examination of the men on the lectures of the preceding week.

When he entered upon his duties Mr. Organ discovered that some of the men were unable to read, and finding that amongst those in the Institution were a school-master and two young men of very good education and aptitude for teaching, he employed the three in instructing the less advanced men in writing and reading.

A selection of books on useful subjects is open to the men after Lecture, and those who are able to write may employ themselves in correspondence with their friends, the letters of course passing through the hands of the Governor.\*

When an inmate of Smithfield desires to obtain a situation or employment, amongst those whom he formerly knew, he names some person whom he thinks will accept his services, and, forthwith, if he be unable to write himself, a letter is written for him addressed to the person named by him. Let us, for example, take a case in point, the man being unable to write.

The clerk addresses a letter to John Murphy, Esq., of ———, and begs to inform him that James Mahony, now in Smithfield, and who was formerly in his employment, is desirous of again entering his service, and that any information which Mr. Murphy can give relating to Mahony's family will be acceptable.

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\* The Directors of Convict Prisons have been particularly fortunate in their selection of Head Masters. At the Mountjoy Prison they have one of the best men for his office it was possible to select in Ireland. It should be always borne in mind that a Prison Teacher cannot show results such as an ordinary teacher ought to produce. The best result of a Prison Teacher's instruction is just that of which he cannot produce results in tabulated returns. We can trace his work only in the general character of the prisoner. Plainly, and in fact, the Prison Teacher is as the Prison Chaplain—with the schoolmaster's duties added to those of the clergyman.



This letter is useful in more ways than one ; it may gain a place for Mahony, and if it fail in this, it may gain information as to the circumstances and reputation of his family, and thus, if he go back to his native place, the Directors know pretty accurately his chances of living honestly, and are able to judge if it be necessary to give the Police authorities a hint of the man's character. As a general rule, however, the men are advised not to return amongst their friends, unless the friends be honest reputable people, or unless the man can obtain *immediate* employment.

No employer need engage one of these men without the fullest information being afforded. The Special books show the sentence, offence, previous character, and prison character of the man. The books, showing his conduct in Smithfield, are open to all, and are kept carefully, exactly, and plainly.

The men themselves keep books showing their earnings, as every good artizan or workman should do, and thus a spirit of self knowledge and self dependence is acquired, for each man knows that if in his own book he enters his earnings, so, as accurately and as closely is his good or bad conduct registered by the officers. If he gain the best marks for one branch of conduct, he must strike a balance if he be but good or moderate in others : he is taught that he must strive to be the best of the best, and that in thus obtaining a position none is so deeply interested as himself ; that on himself alone must he depend, and of himself must he work out his progress to excellence.

When he leaves Smithfield his earnings are not given to him ; he must return at the end of six months and claim them in person, unless he can show good reason for his absence, and thus the Directors hope to gain some knowledge of each man's conduct during the most trying period of his life, the first six months after he quits the Institution ; and thus too, they hope to avoid the just strictures passed by Mr. Recorder Hill, the late Mr. Sergeant Adams, the Rev. Mr. Clay, the Rev. Mr. Field, M. Demetz, and others,\* upon the hasty and indiscriminate manner in which Tickets-of-Leave have been granted in England, to those convicts who were considered to be **GOOD MEN** when they were merely **GOOD PRISONERS**.

We do not mean to contend that all the inmates of Smith-

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\* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. V., No. 20, Record.

field will turn out satisfactorily, if even the number should never exceed fifty, which we hope it never may, during the next twelve months; but complete success in this plan of Reformation can only be secured by the active agency of a Prisoners' Aid Institute and by a Patronage Society. Their help would make all things safe: but, "even without them," said one of the Directors to us a few days ago, "we shall effect this much,—we shall be tolerably sure of those to whom we are warranted in giving Tickets-of-Leave, through offers of employment; and the remainder, who are less fortunate, will have the benefit of their good conduct, in being better treated than in the ordinary prisons, and kept well conducted by the hope, from day to day, of some visitor to Smithfield offering employment; and, as their work can be seen, I anticipate this will come to pass: if it fail, they have only a few months longer to wait before their release."

But, it may be asked, do we think this Institution can be made self-supporting? We think it can, that is, we believe it will pay all expenses, extra ordinary prison cost; but if it exceeded these expenses we should still look upon the Smithfield Institution as more than repaying all charges, in its saving of the "waste of human suffering," which is committed by keeping men in prison one hour after they are found fit to leave it.

These objections as to cost are but the old arguments urged against Mr. Pearson's scheme of Prison Management, and which occupied so much attention a few years since; objections and arguments fully answered in the following letter of the Recorder of Birmingham, and which we here insert, as it is almost unknown, save to those who are deeply interested in this, the most important of all the questions connected with Prison Discipline and Management:—

*Chalcotts, Hampstead, January 27, 1849.*

Sir,—As unavoidable absence from London will deprive me of the honour of presiding at the meeting to-morrow, I have put into writing the observations which I should have made at the close of the debate from the chair, in the hope that you will permit them to be read. One object I apprehend is to form and to declare by vote an opinion upon a plan for the treatment of prisoners laid before us by Mr. Pearson, by which, as he alleges, the maximum of benefit to society may be obtained at the minimum of cost, and which, while it does not disregard the deterrent principle of punishment, is yet consistent with humanity to the sufferers.

In preparing the way for the reception of his own plans, Mr. Pearson has been led to criticise, with some severity, those of others, which has induced a discussion not at all times free from topics of a painful nature. The indulgence felt to be due to those who are excited by the ardour of debate, or smarting under attack, will be claimed for himself, and consequently granted to his opponents, by each of the disputants; but the meeting, which has had no temptation to resist, would, I respectfully submit, be without excuse if it should suffer personal questions to withdraw its attention from the object for which it is assembled, or permit the value of its opinion to be lessened by taking a side in any controversy where neutrality is not inconsistent with its design in assembling.

Now the advocates of the systems attacked will admit that they are expensive, and it consequently follows that if the good effects which they insist are attained by them, can be had by cheaper means, those means ought to be adopted. Again, Mr. Pearson, as I understand, does not wish to pledge the meeting, beyond a vote that enough has been shown in favour of his plan to justify a Parliamentary investigation, with a view to a trial on such a scale as will subject its merits to a conclusive test. If so, it may well happen that many who are not prepared to condemn existing plans, are yet desirous to institute experiments, as thinking it probable that in a science so encumbered with difficulties, and on which the public mind is so divided, the course of improvement has not yet arrived at its termination.

I would, therefore, observe, for the consideration of the meeting, that the duty which they have to perform in declaring their opinion may be summed up under two heads:—

1.—Do the principles on which Mr. Pearson's plan is framed so approve themselves to our reason as to make the plan desirable if it can be reduced to practice, in the event of Mr. Pearson's estimates passing the ordeal of a Parliamentary investigation?

2.—Is there a sufficient prospect of practical success to render it prudent to incur the cost, and to await the issue of an experiment?

To the extent of answering these questions in the affirmative, I am myself not only willing but anxious to go. Further than this I am loth to pledge myself. I proceed to give my reasons for concurrence in the plan; compressing them into the shortest space, and omitting everything not absolutely necessary to my purpose.

The first object in view is the diminution of crime; the second, the diminution of expense.

As to the first, considering that after a longer or a shorter period, criminals must be suffered to return to society, either here or abroad, the diminution of crime will greatly depend on the reformation of the guilty, it being notorious that punished offenders furnish a very large proportion of the criminal population; and that, moreover, by their corrupting influence, they replenish its ranks with new recruits to an enormous extent. The plan, therefore is, as it ought to be, reformatory. But one object of punishment is to deter by the example of pain, as consequent on crime. Now, for the attainment of this end, it is obviously sufficient that the pain should be inflicted. Whether it be inflicted solely for punishment, or as in-

cidental to the means adopted for reformation must be immaterial. As far as deterrents are efficient, the deterring effect will be governed by the amount of the pain, and not by the purpose which induces its infliction. That reformation will always be a painful process, until some chloroform for the mind shall be discovered; cannot be doubted, when the causes of crime are kept in view. These are the ignorance or perversion of moral and religious truths, impatience of steady labour, intemperance, and lastly, that absence of the power of self-government which leaves the individual at the mercy of evil companions, and a prey to the slightest temptations. Consider, then, what a conflict between old vices and new duties instantly begins—what a revolution in all the criminals' thoughts and actions; from habitual indolence he passes to severe and long continued labour—from sensuality to rigid abstinence—from riotous mirth, drowning reflection by day and by night, to hours of solitude, to the absence of all gaiety, and to a sustained sobriety of demeanour when associated with others. This picture would, however, be much more vivid if we could see it with the eyes of the criminal. If we, ourselves, were called on to choose between two such miserable alternatives as the mode of life of criminals in an ancient gaol, and in Mr. Pearson's prison, we should not hesitate to adopt the latter, hard and even dreadful as I am sure we should find our lot; because no suffering would be so terrible to us, as that which would flow from association with inveterate offenders, whose minds were unindued, and who were triumphing in their resistance to the penalties of the law. But let the veteran criminal have his choice, and I am persuaded that the chains, the filth, and the pestilence of our former prisons, left as he was in the days of those abominations to the indulgence of many of his worst habits and even his most odious vices, would not possess one-half the deterrent power over his mind as would be exercised by any reformatory system deserving the name—certainly as would be exercised by that of Mr. Pearson.

Being, for these and many other reasons, of opinion, that to reach the ultimate object of punishment, namely, the diminution of crime, the only course to be pursued with criminals is to effect their reformation, I now proceed to deal exclusively with that subject. And here I greatly spare your time and my own labour, by avowing myself a disciple of Captain Macconochie, who has himself laid his system before you. I agree with him, that the release of a prisoner should not be governed by the almanack, but should depend on his own conduct; that separate confinement ought to be the first stage (but only a stage) of the prison treatment; that while prisoners, congregated in a mob, are in the worst possible position for improvement, yet that a prisoner prepared by separate confinement for the change, will be all the better for such regulated association as Captain Macconochie's system provides. And, moreover, that the society of his equals is necessary to the prisoner's training; and that it is not reasonably to be expected that a prisoner can acquire in solitude habits of self-government which will enable him to resist temptation and undue influence in the world at large. I agree, too, that the prisoner, having credit for the product of his labour, ought

to be charged with the cost of his maintenance and training, to which I would add the cost of indemnifying the party injured by his offence.

Mr. Pearson's plan of agricultural labour within the prison walls appears to me well adapted to carry Captain Macconochie's system into effect. But I would suggest an extension.

Before the complete release of the prisoner, I would employ him outside of the walls, as at Mettray, and at the Warwickshire Asylum. If he be really reformed, he will not abuse his power of escape. He will know that his certificate of character will depend on his standing this test of his capacity for self-control, and that a certificate given after such a trial will be an invaluable testimonial, and enable him to re-enter society without those fearful odds against him which too often reduce him to despair, and finally urge him relapse into crime.

On the other hand, such an escape might be created a legal offence, and as experience abundantly shows, prisoners escaping are generally re-taken after a very short interval. In cases of escape the task of reformation, with all its sufferings, would be recommenced. Thus the evils attendant upon escape would, at the stage in which the prisoner is exposed to the temptation, strongly operate upon his mind, which, if he should yield, society would not be long subjected to the mischief of his being at large.

One feature, and one feature only, of Mr. Pearson's plan remains to be touched upon. Mr. Pearson aims at establishing a self-supporting prison. Of his perfect success I cannot be confident; but I am far from being without hope. The example of the United States is full of encouragement; and my brother, Mr. Frederick Hill, whose time has now for thirteen years been exclusively engaged in the inspection of prisons, and in devising plans for their improvement, and for the improvement of prison discipline, has long entertained the opinion that the object is not impracticable at home. Of its desirability no doubt will be entertained. Nor is it desirable merely in economical point of view. No prison can be self-supporting, which is not conducted on the soundest principles. The prisoners must produce much, and waste nothing. A wise parsimony must prevail over the cost of buildings, and the number of officers and in the internal arrangements, but only a wise parsimony.

The prisoners must be kept in health of body, or they cannot be good producers. They must be kept in health of mind, or they will not. In short, a self-supporting prison would prove by a clear tangible test, that it must be a good prison in every sense of the term.

My remarks have extended to an unsuspected length; but they are, I am happy to say, now brought to a close, and the pleasing duty only remains of thanking the numerous and most respectable audiences over which I have presided for the kind support I have received from them in the discharge of my duties.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

M. D. HILL.

To the Chairman of the Meeting of Mr. Pearson's  
Plan for Prisons and Prison Discipline.

Most of our readers will, we presume, recollect a prospectus which we inserted in the Record of the twentieth number of this REVIEW, page lvii, in the following terms:—

**At a Preliminary Meeting of Friends and Promoters of the Reformation of Youthful Offenders, held at Hardwicke Court, Gloucester, on Tuesday, October 30th, 1855—present,**

\* T. Barwick Baker, Esq., in the Chair.

- Rt. Hon. Sir J. Pakington, Bart. M.P., Westwood Park.
- 1. Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart. M.P. Pyne, Exeter.
- Sir Thomas Winnington, Bart. M.P. Stanford Court, Worcester.
- Sir Harry Verney, Bart. Clayton, Bucks.
- G. H. Bengough, Esq. The Ridge, Wotton-under-edge.
- T. B. Monck, Esq. Coley Park, Reading.
- 2. Rev. H. J. Barton, Wicken Rectory, Stony Stratford
- J. G. Blencowe, Esq. The Hooke, Lewes.
- Rev. Prebendary Fane, Warminster.
- Rev. S. Turner, Philanthropic Farm School, Reigate.
- Townshend Mainwaring, Esq. Galtvaenan, Denbigh.
- Miss Carpenter, George-st., Bristol
- 3. G. W. Latham, Esq. Bradwall Hall, Sandbach.
- G. A. Lowndes, Esq. Barrington Hall, Harlow.
- T. G. Curtler, Esq. Bevere, near Worcester.
- J. Fish, Esq. Malton, near York.
- C. H. Bracebridge, Esq. Atherstone Hall, Atherstone.
- 4. E. B. Wheatley, Esq. Cote Wall, Mirfield.
- 5. C. Castleman, Esq. St. Ives, Ringwood.
- Charles Ratcliff, Esq. Edgbaston, Birmingham.
- J. C. Mansel, Esq. Spetisbury, Blandford.
- Rev. H. Hatch.\*

**RESOLVED**,—1st, That it is expedient that an Association of the friends of Reformatory Agency be now formed, to be designated "**THE REFORMATORY UNION**," of which the following shall be the principal objects:—To collect and diffuse information bearing on the Reformation of Criminals—to promote the formation of Reformatory Institutions where needed, and generally to advance the further practical development of the Reformatory Movement—to consider and promote such legislative measures as are still required for the better care and reformation of youthful offenders—to assist in the placing out and subsequent guardianship and protection of young persons leaving Reformatory Institutions—to consider and promote means for the employment and restoration to society of discharged prisoners—to promote the practical training and preparation of efficient Masters and Teachers for Reformatory Institutions.

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\* 1. See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 17, RECORD, p. xxii.  
 2. Ib. No. 19, xxxvi. 3. Ib. No. 19, li. 4. Ib. lii, lv. 5. Ib. lvii, also RECORD of No. 18, and Mr. Recorder Hall's Lecture at end of same.  
 The names thus \* marked are so frequently, and justly, and necessarily referred to in the REVIEW and in the RECORD, that particular references would only encumber this note.—ED.

- 2.—That those here present be constituted a Provisional Committee to forward the objects of the Association—and to promote and obtain Subscriptions—with power to add to their number.
- 3.—That an annual Subscription of not less than 10s. 6d., or a Donation of not less than £5. 5s. constitute a Membership.
- 4.—That G. H. Bengough, Esq. be elected Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, with power to employ such assistance as he may find necessary; and that he be requested to summon a meeting of the Committee as soon as the course of the Society's proceedings shall be sufficiently organised—not later than January next.
- 5.—That the offer of the use of the Office of the Philanthropic Society, in Crown Court, Threadneedle-street, for the purposes of the Association until Christmas next, be accepted with thanks.
- 6.—That all communications be addressed to the Secretary, at Gloucester.
- 7.—That a General Meeting of the Members of the Association be held in London, in May next.

(Signed)

T. B. LI. BAKER,

CHAIRMAN.

One could scarcely suppose that out of this prospectus that awful fiend—THE RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTY—could arise; but it did arise, and spring up a regular full-blown, rampant demon. The chief creator of this offensive and mischievous imp is the editor of *The Ragged School Union Magazine*,—like that John Styles, dissected more than forty years ago by Sydney Smith, who called every body, unfriendly to Methodism, an Infidel and an Atheist, and who expected “that we should speak of Brother Carey as we would speak of St. Paul; and treat with equal respect the miracles of the Magazine and the Gospel.”

This representative of Brother Carey, with the above inserted prospectus before him, printed in the January number of his *Magazine*, the following editorial article, lecturing Mr. Barwick Baker, and many others, with a pragmatic unction, quite worthy of John Styles or *Andrew Fairservice* :—

## REFORMATORY UNION.

In our last number we furnished a few particulars precisely in the same form in which they reached us of the formation of a central Society for promoting the establishment and increasing the efficiency of Reformatory institutions throughout the country, and designated the Reformatory Union. On carefully looking at those particulars, it will be apparent to our readers, that, for some unexplained reason or other, there is a *studied omission* of all references to the word of God as the basis of religious teaching. In fact, the religious element of the training to be imparted in the Reformatories, so far as this new Union is concerned, is altogether ignored. This omission is

ominous and serious, and, if premeditated and persisted in, will, we augur, prove fatal to the usefulness, if not to the very existence of the new-born effort. We, however, hope the omission has been caused from inadvertency, arising from the undue haste with which the friends at Hardwick Court resolved themselves into a central Society. We say *undue* haste, and had almost written unseemly haste, for on further inquiry we are informed by Mr. Hardwick\* Baker, at whose house the Union was formed, that its promoters had held no preliminary meeting, with a view to ascertain the necessity for such a central body, nor had they put forth any effort to bring into a focus the views of the Reformatory friends in general upon the subject. The meeting at Hardwick, therefore, was unknown to the great body of friends aiding the Reformatory movement; the consequence was, that at that meeting only six institutions were represented, which is not more than an eleventh of the whole.

Somewhat differently were the friends in London converging to the same central point. Early in 1855, the London friends of Ragged School Refuges, feeling the great need of more extended and systematic efforts for the reformation of juvenile criminals, desired to ascertain the feelings, views, and desires of their co-workers throughout the kingdom, for which purpose they addressed a circular to the officers of every Reformatory institution whose address could in any way be obtained, inviting them to a meeting for the consideration of important questions in relation to the work they had undertaken. This meeting was held last March at 3, Sussex-square. The Earl of Shaftesbury presided, and representatives from thirty institutions were present. The subject mostly discussed on this occasion was the necessity for amending the Youthful Offenders' Act of the previous session. This having received full consideration, arrangements were made for bringing the subject before Parliament, and the result was the amendment of the Act as given in our volume for last year, pages 195 and 196. Other subjects came under consideration in the morning and evening conferences, and with a view to give effect and permanency to this effort a Committee was formed. Among other duties, this Committee was to gather information upon the subject of Reformatories from all parts of the three kingdoms, to mature plans based upon that information that would tend to render the movement both extensive and effective, and was empowered to call a general meeting or aggregate conference, early in 1856, of friends interested in the question. This Committee has met from time to time, and having arranged its plans, is now prepared to lay its report before its constituency, as may be gathered from the circular now lying before us and of which the following is a copy:—

[*Proposed Form.*]

3, SUSSEX SQUARE, HYDE PARK, LONDON.

SIR,

December, , 1855.

The Committee appointed at the Conference on Reformatories held here in March last have resolved to summon another and larger Conference on the same subject, and they beg to invite your

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\* Barwick.—ED. I. Q. R.



attendance on the occasion. The Earl of Shaftesbury has kindly consented to preside. The Conference will assemble at 2 o'clock, p.m., on January , 1856, at the Hanover Square Rooms, and the following are the objects of the Meeting :—

1. To receive a Report of the Sub Committee as to the increase in the number of Reformatories since the last Conference, the advances made in legislation, and the general progress of the question.
2. To consider the propriety of establishing in London a permanent Organization or Society, as a centre of information and a means of united action on the subject of Juvenile Reformation.

Resolutions will be proposed and seconded on these subjects, as arranged by the Committee, after which they will be open to discussion—on the understanding that those who speak will address themselves briefly to the question under consideration, and abide by the decision of the Chairman on points of order.

An early answer will oblige, as to your intention to comply with this invitation.

I have the honour to be,

For the Committee,

Your obedient servant,

ROBT. HANBURY, Junr.

CONVENER.

These movements in London could not be unknown to the gentlemen who met in Gloucestershire, as two of the number, the Rev. S. Turner, and also Mr. Hardwicke Baker, the chairman, were members of, and present at, the London Conference; the former, being also a member of the London Committee, had been summoned to each of its sittings. We hold, therefore, that the Reformatory Union, as framed at Hardwick, is, to say the least, premature; and, consequently, is very imperfect in its formation, and defective in its constitution. To remedy which, the London Committee invited a deputation from the Union to confer upon the subject, and if possible to agree upon an improved basis upon which the two bodies might amalgamate, and for the future form an effective and useful body. This conference was held on December 21st last, in Mr. Macgregor's Chambers, Temple, when, after a lengthened discussion it was agreed to hold another conference in February next, and in the meantime for each body to ascertain the views of the parties they represent on the question at issue.

For the present, it must suffice for us to say that the Reformatory Union as now framed, cannot be recommended to our friends. It must, to be effective, be remodelled. This body is not the only one, unfortunately for themselves, that have made the effort to amalgamate the ever repellent elements of Trinitarianism with Unitarianism; Protestantism with Romanism; these are the rocks towards which we see the Reformatory Union drifting so soon after its launch towards the public for support, and on which, unless proper means

be adopted, it must, like all its predecessors, be dashed to pieces. We earnestly recommend to its friends, while they have the opportunity, to revise their constitution, and for which purpose we cannot do better than advise the adoption of a rule to the following effect—“That this Union shall exclude no denomination of Evangelical Christians, and that those Reformatories only be received into Union where the authorised version of the Word of God is the sole basis of religious teaching.”

To this production, Mr. Baker replied as follows:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE RAGGED SCHOOL UNION MAGAZINE.

*Hardwicke Court, Gloucester.*

*January, 1856.*

SIR,

I have just seen an article in your Magazine on the Reformatory Union, the writer of which appears so far to misunderstand; probably the facts and certainly the intention of the said Union, that you must allow me a reply.

The facts are these—I attended Mr. Hanbury's Conference last year, and thought the design good, but that even more good might be done if the members of it or as many as possible could be brought together, not merely to sit for some hours round a room in debate, but to mix freely for three or four days in converse man with man, and form an intimacy which might lead to future communication.

I therefore asked my friends, as the writer of your article truly supposes—without any previous deliberation on the subject of forming a Union—or for any other purpose than that which I think has been happily achieved, namely, the bringing into a state of friendly and frequent communication all those who met on that occasion.

But the manner in which I wished my friends to meet, had certainly this disadvantage—that it limited our numbers. My fortune is not large—my house is in proportion—I filled every garret and nursery in my house—but I could only find room for twenty.—Those twenty, I asked from all the Counties who had either opened schools or were preparing to open them. There were many who unfortunately were prevented from coming, but I think that as it happened there was hardly a County which was not asked, and I just filled my twenty beds.

I had intended to have had little of regular discussion, believing that the more useful object would be gained simply by promoting intimacy among the managers. But some of them wished for it, and the very wet weather of the first two days favoured their views, and we had much general as well as tete-a-tete talk, which I believe has not been without its use.

Inter alia—it was proposed, that as some men from most of the Counties, who were moving in the good work, were assembled, we should form ourselves into a Union for the purpose of circulating information amongst each other—pointedly excluding all interference in the management of each particular school.—I objected to this, as I said, because I believed the Committee appointed by Mr.

Hanbury to be still in existence, but I was told that it had ceased to exist.

The writer of your article seems to think that two of the gentlemen, "who met at the London Conference," must have known of its termination. But I can assure him that I saw equally a Committee appointed by the Birmingham Conference, and never heard of their termination, nor have I ever heard since, that that Committee died from any other cause than being superseded by that appointed at Mr. Hanbury's.

However, had we not believed that Mr. Hanbury's Committee had ceased, we should have been prevented by our wish to avoid giving offence from forming our Union—although I am really not aware of any reason why any two men, or any twenty men, or any two hundred men who chose to do it, may not unite to assist each other. If they unite for the purpose of *ruling* others, the matter is different and they require the consent of those who are to be ruled.

We had no such object, and therefore no farther objection was made, and the Union was formed.

Some time afterwards, the receipt of a summons to attend Mr. Hanbury's Committee, first shewed that that body was still in force. I went to the Meeting—explained that our Union had been formed under a wrong impression, but that no harm could be done, as we were working, as I believed, exactly the same object, and that we should, I had no doubt, be perfectly ready to join them, either as one body, or as what might perhaps be better, two portions (Town and Country) of the same body—anything rather than have anything like a dissension. As, however, I would not of course bind the other members—it was proposed to meet again and ask some of our Union to meet us.

At our second meeting, it was agreed to join, if we had common grounds; and then I first heard that as our printed rules of Union said nothing about the free use of the Bible or regular Prayer, it was supposed that we objected to Religion—I confess I was at first somewhat hurt at this imputation, but on consideration, I was thankful that we had not been still farther misunderstood.

We had said nothing about teaching reading and writing—or about habits of industry. Therefore, we might have been supposed hostile to both. We had said nothing about feeding or clothing the boys—We might have been as well accused of starving the boys physically, as well as spiritually—I can only assure you, Sir, that so far as I know the intention of my friends—neither the one nor the other was contemplated.

On being asked whether we objected to the introduction of our religious opinions into the printed rules—I said we could not object to it, though as a matter of taste, I thought it not well to introduce the subject into that place. I was told, however, that it was necessary, for the purpose of excluding Roman Catholics and Unitarians.

On this, Sir, I confess I changed my opinion as to the importance of the introduction. Had we been framing a body to *govern* the internal economy of the schools, I certainly should have strongly objected to Roman Catholics and Unitarians forming the governing

body. I should have objected *less* to a body composed of members of the Church of England, but I confess, I should have objected to *any governing body whatever*, because I have always believed that though I have for a quarter of a century, acted as a visiting Magistrate under the strict, but generally wholesome rules of the Secretary of State, yet that in a matter where one had to deal with *the heart*, the most perfect liberty of action was necessary to the manager. I should therefore strongly object, in limine, to *any* interference with the discipline of schools by any Union or any body of men. I have even always maintained, that though I am thankful for the visits of Her Majesty's Inspectors under the Home Office, or the Privy Council—though I am thankful for their advice, and often profit greatly by it, yet were they to claim a right to *order* me to take some step which I believed would be prejudicial, I should claim my right to shut up my school, turn the buildings into cottages, or the land into farm, and as soon as might be, dissolve a connection, which could not be carried on satisfactorily.

Now the dictation which I should refuse to the representatives of the highest authority in the country I cannot concede to any Union, however highly I may respect the individuals.

But if the Union do not presume to dictate to the schools—if it be, as ours was, and as I had imagined that that appointed at Mr. Hanbury's had been—simply one for the purpose of circulating information, I really cannot see why we should exclude Roman Catholics and Unitarians, or any other class of men, from any benefits which we can give them. I would wish, so far as I had opportunity, to do good to all men, especially to those of that body whom I believe to be the household of Faith—but still where I have opportunity—to all men.

Were it required to agitate—to work—to obtain fresh help from Government, and fresh laws, I should be disposed to watch carefully those with whom I embarked in an agitation. But at present, we have no such need. For the Counties with whom we have to do, I believe we want no new laws, no additional help. The act of the last Session appears likely to work well, and if so, any fresh legislation is more likely to do us harm than good. You state by the way that this act was gained by the Committee appointed at Mr. Hanbury's. I had thought that the bill brought in by Mr. Adderley, had elicited it from Mr. Waddington. However that be, we are deeply indebted to those who procured for us the last legislation which was needed to enable us to carry out our long hoped for ends.

But now that we require no more legislation, why should we exclude from the circulation of any information we can afford—any body of men who are to profit by it. I confess I am most anxious to see Reformatory Schools of all denominations springing up in due proportion to the boys to be sent to them. I wish heartily that all Roman Catholics, Unitarians, and all other Creeds, were united in the Church of England. I would do my best fairly and openly to persuade them that that which I believed was, as I believe it, worthy of universal belief, but I certainly would not wish to take advantage of a boy's being placed by law for two years under my

power to persuade him to change the Religion in which he had been brought up. It would be extremely inconvenient to have separate Religious teaching for different boys in one school, and therefore, I can imagine no more desirable plan than the having different schools to which boys may be easily transferred, where they may receive instruction in the creed (where there be any such) in which they have been brought up.

I have with this view, offered to give any information or assistance I may possess to any Roman Catholics who may open a school for the purpose of reforming those boys of their own creed: and therefore, I cannot consistently join in a pointed exclusion of those bodies who have (however strongly I may disagree with them in doctrinal points) given perhaps the most important assistance and information which our movement has received—through M. Demetz, and Miss Carpenter.

I regret therefore that I individually cannot join Mr. Hanbury's Committee, unless they rescind their present rule. My secession will signify nothing; any members of the Union formed at Hardwicke, who approve of their rules, will of course join them. But should any feel that they cannot consistently adopt their views—but must like myself secede from their more strict and rigid law, I trust that Mr. Hanbury's Committee will not be offended if we continue to meet quietly now and then—and endeavour to give any information or assistance to each other, to any of those whose good intentions we admire while we certainly differ from their doctrine—or last—but not least, to any of Mr. Hanbury's friends, to whom we wish heartily well, though we cannot entirely agree with them,

I am, &c.,

T. B. LI. BAKER.

Not content with thus standing by his principles, Mr. Baker finding that many persons opposed, as impracticable, any Union with "the Unitarians and Romanists," (which means, writes a friend to us, "that Mary Carpenter, Demetz, a number of people in England, and all Ireland must be excluded,") addressed the following letter to Mr. Hanbury:—

ROBERT HANBURY, ESQ., HARDWICKE COURT.

January, 1856.

My Dear Sir,—I had observed that the 6th of February was Ash Wednesday, and I had thought that you would probably therefore have named the next day; but I am perfectly ready to wait your own time.

I am sorry that our views disagree so much. The difference in reality between us is slight—yet I fear impassible by either.

It is not a difference in religious views, for I believe we equally feel that religion must be the sole basis of reformation, and that the more pure and true the form of religion which is taken as that basis, the better hope we may have that the reformation will be real.

So strongly do I feel this, were it proposed to form a Central

Board for the *Government* of all the schools in connection with it. I should strongly urge that there should be one Board to govern Church of England Schools, another or others to govern Dissenting, and another Romanist Schools.

Each Board might readily help each other with such information and assistance as either could give or receive; but neither two could work quite harmoniously as a *Governing Board*.

But in this Union (and I at first understood in yours) no *Government* was in any degree contemplated. In ours it was particularly, and I think universally decided, that the management of every school should be entirely at the discretion of the manager or managing body. I confess this is a point which I have always felt to be absolutely necessary in this peculiar work, and I believe that even if my system of teaching were far inferior to yours, yet that I should teach better on my own system than I should if compelled to adopt yours.

But if no Government of the schools is contemplated, you will ask, what is the use of Union?

Simply this.—We unite for the purpose of circulating amongst ourselves such information as each may profit by. Any of this information which can be of service to Romanists or to Unitarians, we should be most glad to give them.

Should they suggest any of the details of teaching, plans of building, or the like, which may be of service to us, I would most gladly accept any plans or suggestions they can give us. Nor could I join in any Reformatory Union which should *exclude* such earnest and zealous workers (though of course there are some points in which I differ from them *toto colo*) as Demetz and Miss Carpenter, unless indeed it were a Sub-union as I may term it—a section of the Union not in antagonism to the rest, but as having a more close and perfect Union amongst ourselves, as being composed of members of the Church of England.

Were our object to gain a power of interference, a right of direction over the individual schools; were our wish to make a strong political party, or to gain power for some other purpose into our own hands, I should then hesitate strongly to join with the Romanists.

Did we ever propose to ask them for information and assistance, I might be illiberal enough—(I don't pique myself on liberality) to hesitate to lay myself under an obligation to them. But where, as is at present the case, our side has all the start. I cannot refuse to give them any information which the members of our Union can afford.

But though I fear that you will not agree in this, and that I cannot agree in your view of the subject, yet it is a happy thing that we can each take our own line without jostling. I see no evil, but rather the contrary, in having two Unions, not opposing each other, but working amicably together. You cannot exactly *unite* with us nor we with you, but I doubt not that any information you may possess will be gladly accorded to us, and I know little indeed of my friends who met at Hardwicke, if they are not at all times ready to give any information we possess to all of your friends.

More than this, so far as I know, our friends neither hope nor wish for, nor, I confess, can I see that "a very strong party," such as Mr. MacGregor spoke of, can signify materially to us one way or other. We have no *public* point to carry. We have laws nearly perfect as we can expect human laws to be (if the Act of last Session for making parents contribute works as well as ere the close of this month I hope to see it work.) We have money enough, for in almost every county, more than enough is subscribed. We have admirable men, rising up wherever they are wanted. All is far in the counties, and only wanting that, which neither you nor we can hasten—*Time* for the fruit to ripen. May God grant that no blight or storm may intervene between the ready and willing band of reapers, and the long hoped for and prayed for crop.

In the towns the *time* must be still longer. The reapers are as yet fewer in proportion to the need. But after seeing the rapid strides, which the movement has made through the country, I cannot fear that a *sufficient number* will ere long appear *round* the towns.

On again recurring to your letter, I see you mention that "you were informed almost last of all of the existence of our body, &c." I had hoped that I had fully explained to you that I being ill and overworked at the time, never informed any one of the Union, except Mr. Wright of Burton (whose absence I so sincerely regretted,) and that I am not aware that any one was formally written to, through many joined from seeing the advertisement in the *Times*, or in county papers to whom it was sent by the different members. Had we not understood that your committee had ceased, as the Birmingham Committee had done before, ours would not have been formed. As it was, we should simply and gladly have *entirely* joined with you, had we not found that there were points on which we could not exactly agree. This being so, we must go on side by side, helping each other where we can, and not interfering where we cannot.

You have a right to your opinions.—We to ours. Possibly some who at first joined our Union may prefer yours on consideration. Possibly some of your original members may prefer others. We do not seek to "frame rules" for any who do not approve of them, nor I am sure would you wish us to abide by rules (how much soever we may respect the framers) which we do not agree with. We will find no fault with you for confining yourselves to certain bodies as you may think meet, and you will not object to our wish, "as we have opportunity to do good unto *all men*, especially those who are of the household of faith," i.e. as I should construe it—to do *any good we could* do even to Pagans, *far more* to all Christians, even though we believe theirs to be a far less sound form of doctrine than our own, and *most of all* to that pure and apostolic branch to which we belong; but still, where we can, so far as we have opportunity, to all men.

Forgive the outrageous length of my letter, and believe me,

Truly yours,

T. B. L. BLAIR.

The Editor of *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, had

Mr. Baker's letter before him for three weeks or a fortnight, before the issuing of the February number of that periodical, and his reply is the following ; and anything more amusing, in its cool impertinence, and in its *shirking* the real question at issue, we have never read :—

#### REFORMATORY MOVEMENT.

Our article last month on the "Reformatory Union," has caused several letters to be addressed to us upon the subject, but for which we have not space for their insertion. Suffice it, however, to say, that, *with one exception*, they all concur in our conclusion, that if there be a Central Association for aiding the formation of Reformatories, and rendering those in existence increasingly efficient, but in no way controlling them or interfering in their management, that Central Society must, to be effective, take for its basis the Word of God. It must be soundly Protestant, and truly evangelical. It is not enough for particular institutions to include in their constitution the religious training of the inmates ; in this respect, the Central or Parent Society *must be a sound model*. Failure here, upon so vital a question, would endanger the success of the whole movement. We learn from a circular sent us that a Conference will be held this month in London for the establishment of a General Association, as a centre of information upon the important subject of the prevention of juvenile crime, and the reformation of young criminals. The rapid extension of interest in this question is manifested by the progress made lately in many institutions of a reformatory character ; and the number which have been originated during the last year is a cheering indication of the practical efforts put forth in all quarters to supply Reformatories where, as yet, they have been unknown.

We have had occasion to express a hope that the conduct of these institutions would not be left to the formality of merely official superintendence, and thus a healthy tone of Christian philanthropy might be called into action, by a judicious co-operation between the Government and private individuals in this work. Endeavours have been made, it is true, to ignore the earnest labours of those who seek the real reformation of criminals by founding their instruction on the blessed truths of the Gospel ; but the Conference to which we now refer will, no doubt, effectually prevent an evil of this sort, by uniting and encouraging those who found their efforts in this field on the firm basis of Scriptural truth, and stimulating others to help by the diffusion of accurate information on the question.

Roman Catholics have lately begun to establish Reformatories, but, as yet, they have nothing of this sort to point to as examples of their zeal. It is vain to think of a hearty co-operation in a work requiring definite principles of action, if men who love the Bible are to unite with those whose church authorities are opposed to its free use, and whose principles are maintained in direct opposition to its plainest teaching.

We must leave to the Romanists that liberty in this matter which of right belongs to their sect ; but, as Protestants, we claim the



liberty of teaching God's Word to the people, and we must use this high privilege alone if by joining with others our use of it would be interfered with in any degree.

The Conference will probably be interesting to all who are engaged in one or other of the hundred Reformatories, Refuges, Industrial Schools, and other similar institutions in Great Britain and Ireland, and we are informed that they will be invited to deliberate on this occasion by men who have had the largest experience on the subject.

Among these will be found the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose name is inseparably connected with the most successful efforts of this kind; Mr. R. Hanbury, junior, representing "The Boys' Refuge" (for 100 boys); Dr. Guthrie and Dr. Bell, from Edinburgh; Mr. Playfair, from the House of Refuge in Glasgow (for 240 inmates, soon to be increased to 400); Sheriff Watson and Mr. Thomson, from the Aberdeen Refuge; Mr. Bowker, from that of Brixton; Lord H. Cholmondeley, from the Hampshire Reformatory; Mr. Bowyer, from the New Road Reformatory (for 100 inmates); Mr. Wright, from the Institution at Brixton; and Mr. Dunscombe, from the Cork Refuge; Mr. Gent, from the Ragged School Union (numbering 136 schools in London); Mr. MacGregor, from the Shoe-black Societies (employing 130 boys); Mr. Maxwell, from the Girls' Refuge, Lisson Street (for 36 girls); Mr. Oliphant, from the Carlisle Reformatory; and Mr. Mountstephen, from the Field Lane Refuge, where accommodation is provided for 150 inmates.

Around these institutions there may be grouped, it is hoped, a large number of metropolitan and provincial reformatories, and the collection and diffusion of information on the whole subject will, no doubt, urge into activity many whose efforts are at present desultory or ineffectual, chiefly from the want of some available centre of action.

Whilst this article was being prepared, Mr. Bengough, the Honorary Secretary to the Reformatory Union founded at Hardwicke Court, was issuing the following circular:—

*January, 1856.*

SIR,—The Provisional Committee of the Reformatory Union feel it necessary to call your especial attention to one of its principles, as laid down in the prospectus, with a view to elicit your opinion upon it. They refer to that in the sixth paragraph, which asserts that the design of the Union "does not imply the introduction of *any* general system for the management of Schools," and that "it is not expected or desired that the information which it hopes to supply, should in the slightest degree interfere with the free action of the Managers in each case," recognising, as it does, the probability of its being formed by "the Managers of Schools conducted on principles *materially* different."

The reason which induces the Committee to call your attention to this principle, particularly at the present time is, that an attempt is being made to establish an Association, similar in general design, but upon principles, in this respect, essentially different; that is, upon

principles of exclusiveness, instead of those of general comprehension. An endeavour was made, when the original promoters of the two designs were first brought into communication with each other, to effect an amalgamation of them into one. The attempt, however, failed. It becomes necessary, therefore, that your Committee should make a clear representation of the position they have taken up in this matter.

It is objected to the Reformatory Union that the teaching of the authorised version of the Scriptures is not made a qualification indispensable to the admission of any School to its benefits. Your Committee wish most distinctly to state, that they consider Scripture teaching an essential element of the training to be adopted in Reformatories; but they hold that the principle of non-interference with the particular mode of conducting Schools is *fundamental* in a Union which was intended to be a Union of Individuals more than an Association of Schools, and was designed mainly for the purpose of collecting and diffusing all available information, and enlisting the efforts of *all* who are practically working in their own way in the cause.

Your Committee therefore request the favour of your attendance at a General Meeting of the Members of the Union, at Three, P.M. on Thursday, the 7th of February instant, at 289, Strand, London; or, if unable to attend, that you will have the kindness to communicate, through their Secretary, your opinion upon the point in question.

For the Committee,

G. H. BENGOUGH, *Hon. Sec.*

Downend, Bristol.

The meeting was accordingly held on the day appointed, the members assembling at the office of *The Philanthropist*. Mr. Baker was Chairman, and the chief speakers were Mr. Adderley and Mr. Monckton Milnes. There was little business transacted this day; but on Friday, the 8th of February, the Reformatory Union met Mr. Hanbury and his friends at Mr. M'Gregor's chambers in the Temple, Lord Shaftesbury in the Chair. Here a set of resolutions, apparently unexceptionable, were proposed. First, that those who met at Mr. Baker's, and those meeting at Mr. Hanbury's should unite; all were willing, provided the grounds of unity of action could be agreed on. Second, that they should train School-Masters and provide books—agreed to. Third, that they should assist all Schools established for the purpose of reforming boys, &c., and training them in the fear of God and a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. It was, doubtless, a good resolution in appearance, but Mr. Baker asked if it was the intention of the Committee to exclude Roman Catholics, and was, we presume,

induced to put this question, distinctly and pointedly, because he knew that one of the most distinguished of the Reformatory Managers in England had been excluded from the meeting because the Manager was a member of the Unitarian Church. In reply to Mr. Baker's query, it was stated by some of those present, that Roman Catholics would not be offended in the least by the resolution; but others, including Mr. Baker and, if we remember correctly, Mr. Adderley and Mr. M. Milnes said, that most assuredly the effect of the resolution would be to exclude them; and, therefore, Mr. M'Gregor very honestly stated that, as one of the Committee who drew up the rule, he was bound to say it was so drawn and introduced for the purpose of excluding Roman Catholics.

Lord Shaftesbury, acting with his usual good sense, proposed that the meeting should adjourn, but Mr. Hanbury pressed the resolution, and on a division it was carried by, we think, 44 to 29, all the county managers present, Mr. Adderley, Mr. Castleman, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir E. Kerrison, and Mr. Baker voting in the minority.

Thus ended Friday's meeting; all parting good friends, but evidently quite incapable of agreeing on the Religious Difficulty.

On the following Monday, February 11th, a meeting of the minority was held, Mr. Baker in the chair, when it was resolved that a Reformatory Association, to be called The NATIONAL Reformatory Union, should be established on the following principles, as declared by the circular:—

*London, February 11, 1856.*

#### NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION.

This Association has been formed for the following purposes:—

To collect and diffuse information bearing on the Reformation of Youthful Offenders.

To promote the formation of Reformatory Institutions where needed, and generally to advance the further practical development of the Reformatory System.

To consider and promote such Legislative measures as are still required for the better care and Reformation of Youthful Offenders.

To assist in the placing out and subsequent guardianship and protection of young persons leaving Reformatory Institutions.

There has been constituted a Provisional Committee, to forward the objects of the Association, and to obtain Subscriptions.

An Annual Subscription of 10s. 6d. or Donation of £5s 5s. constitutes Membership.

The Association is not confined to this Country, but may include

persons in all Countries who can contribute to the furtherance of its objects.

The Committee hope that you may be induced to co-operate with this Association.

Names will be received by C. B. Adderley, Esq. M.P., 68, Lowndes Square; G. H. Bengough, Esq., Hon. Sec. Downend, Bristol; C. Rateliff, Esq., Birmingham; or at the Association's Rooms, 3, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall.

Donations and Subscriptions may be paid to the account of the Association, at Messrs. Drummond's, Charing Cross.

The following Report on Mettray, for 1855, is translated by us from the original French Report, as drawn up by M. Demetz :—

### REPORT OF M. DEMETZ.

DIRECTOR OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLONY OF METTRAY.

GENTLEMEN,

To day, the institution, for whose establishment your country owes you a debt of gratitude, completes its sixteenth year. This fact alone bears sufficient testimony to the wisdom of your administration; and its mention is enough to shew on what a solid foundation you have established Mettray from the very commencement.

The system which has been inaugurated by your colony, and sanctioned by the proof of time, has no need of defence. We shall therefore confine ourselves to recording whatever new facts have occurred at Mettray during the year which has elapsed since our last report. With respect to those persons who have not closely watched the progress of the establishment, and who still entertain doubts of the daily increasing advantages which it offers, we beg to refer them to the more circumstantial work confided to our care, on occasion of the International Reunion of Charity which was held at Paris under the presidency of M. le Vicomte de Melun. They will find in that report, interesting information, not only on Mettray, but on all the establishments of its kind, which we are happy to say, now cover the entire surface of France; for there are few departments which are not endowed with them: some count even as many as six within their own territory.

Let us now enter on the present condition of the Colony. Our population consists at this day, of 649 children. This number, the highest we have yet attained, may perhaps excite some apprehensions: these apprehensions it will be our duty to remove.

It may be asked if Mettray, by training its pupils on a scale of such vast proportions, may not imprudently compromise that discipline which to this present day has been so rigorously observed, and incur the risk of weakening its moral action.

In any establishment where the inmates live in common, such fears are legitimate, but they are groundless in respect to those institutions, where the children, as with us, are divided into small groups or families, over each of which is appointed a head, responsible for the individuals entrusted to him. The organic element at Mettray is 'The Family,' and the number of these families may be increased without danger. We may say with confidence that the testimonies which come to us from without, are conclusive on this point. They demonstrate that wherever the division into families has been adopted it has produced the best results. The worthy M. Sauringer founder of the Netherland Mettray, and of so many other establishments of beneficence in Holland, furnishes new proofs of its influence in his last report. M. Ducpetiaux, Inspector-general of the prisons of Belgium, having witnessed the excellent results produced at Mettray, has followed our example with a certain class of individuals at the Colony of Ruysselede nigh Bruges, which may be regarded as a model establishment.

Finally, M. the director of 'Public Assistance' in France, who has expressed himself very kindly towards us for transferring to him one of our best officers, M. Leteur, now sub-director of the Colony of Montagny founded by M. Fournet, has declared that to the system of division into families, must be attributed the improvement effected in that establishment, with respect to the orphans and foundlings which are there received.

But we may dispense with searching for proofs at a distance. What takes place at Mettray is sufficient to point out the advantages we have reckoned.

Considerable as has been in effect, the increase in our population, during the five years just gone by, the good conduct of our Colonists has made a corresponding progress.

Here is the abstract of our 'Moral Dividend,' if you allow the expression, exhibited by our 'List of Honor.'† On this have appeared—

In 1850—	43	per 100 of the	entire population ;
1851—	47	"	"
1852—	58	"	"
1853—	65	"	"
1854—	69	"	"

We have obtained a still more satisfactory result in the first six months of 1855.

Out of a mean population of 605 children, 475, or 75 per 100, have been promoted to the 'List of Honor.'

The inscription of a large number of colonists on this list has for

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\* Mr. Leteur has mentioned to us in writing that since the adoption of the family division, desertions have diminished to a great extent. We can count at Mettray only one run-away, and the occurrence took place as far back as six years.

† To be inscribed on the 'List of Honor,' one must have been exempt from punishment for 3 months.

result, as may be readily supposed, a notable diminution in the number of punishments. These rose in 1850 to 1579.—From 1850 to 1855, they fell in succession to the number of 808, or less than two punishments to each: during the first half of the present year, we have counted only 207.

An improvement so satisfactory requires that you should attach some importance to the discovery of the causes which have contributed thereto: they are of different kinds.

We must put in the chief place, the redoubled zeal of our officers, who coming out of our preparatory schools at an early age, gain experience from day to day, and thoroughly imbue themselves with a sense of their duties. We can scarcely add too much to the praises which are due to them for the happy results already detailed.

We do not hesitate to regard our 'Flag of Honor,' as one of the most efficacious means to ameliorate the discipline of our colonists, and excite a laudable emulation among them. We spoke in our last report of the advantages to our internal government which have accrued from the adoption of this flag. It has as yet lost nothing of its prestige, nor has the extreme difficulty of securing it, discouraged our colonists. In order to claim this recompense, a family must have continued for an entire week without reproach: a single correction, a single instance of restraint imposed on one only of its members, removes it from the list of candidates; and notwithstanding this, the number of families qualified to obtain the distinction has never fallen below the third of the whole amount. Sometimes even, the twelve families have fulfilled the necessary conditions, and then we have been obliged to select that one which owned the greatest number of names inscribed on the 'List of Honor.'

It may be remarked that it is a laudable thing to lead people to good, by the motive of honor; but will this sort of conversion be durable? While fully recognising the influence which such sentiment may have on Frenchmen, we are far from asserting that it is sufficient to win man over to the love of Good; so we look for our chief help in religion. By its aid we seek to act, and it penetrates deeper into the hearts of our colonists, because it is infused in ways the most accordant to their natural sympathies.

"This year," says M. the Almoner in his very interesting report, "187 of our children have received the Sacrament of Confirmation, 78 of them having made their first Communion the previous Sunday. During this August Ceremony, their modest and attentive demeanor, their simple and affecting piety made a deep impression on all those who were eye witnesses. Monseigneur the Cardinal, profoundly affected, expressed to them his entire satisfaction, in a truly paternal allocution. These happy results are the fruits of the religious instruction which is given them, and which, we may truly say, they receive with a pious eagerness. It is indeed an affecting spectacle to see with what attention and ever-increasing interest, these children, whose early disorders were owing to ignorance of sacred truths, listen to the exposition of the mysteries of religion, and the explanation of Christian morality. We feel that according as the evangelical light shone on their intelligences, their faith brightened, their consciences stirred, and devout feelings took root in those

hearts, where formerly ruled depraved instincts, and a frightful craving for gross indulgences.

"Two striking events in the lives of our colonists prove the sincerity of their return to good: these are the departure from the colony and the approach of death."

"In the moment of separation from us, it might be expected that the joy of recovering their liberty, and of again visiting their family and native place, would banish all serious thoughts. On the contrary, you would say that they were casting a troubled look on that world they were re-entering; feeling that they were being deprived of the conduct of the paternal hand. The recollection of former scandals, of bad examples, and of pernicious counsels of which they had been victims, made them dread the future. Hence the greater number, with a desire to strengthen themselves against the trials which awaited them, came the evening previous to their departure, to purify their consciences, and to be united to their Lord who said: *"Fear not, I have conquered the world."* This religious act was the more praiseworthy, as no selfish motive could have prompted it. Now on the point of being independant of our charge, they could not have thought of it as a means of gaining our good opinion or giving us any pleasure.

"These children have also learned to find in their religious sentiments, that courage, submission, and energy, of which they have real need in their maladies and protracted sufferings, the results of bad treatment and numerous privations which they had endured in their infancy,

"How often have we been rejoiced and consoled by the holy resignation with which they offered up the sacrifice of their life, in the sweet and strong hope of a better one! At that last hour, the boon of christian education which they had received in the establishment, has often inspired them with feelings of sincere gratitude.

"One of them a few hours before his death, seeing the chief of his family who had come in to visit him, exclaimed, *"Ah! is that you my good M. Warren? I hope to be this day in heaven: Oh! how earnestly I will beseech the Good God to reward you for all the good you have done me."*

This is what M. the Almoner has communicated to us on the influence of religious sentiments on our colonists, and on the affection they entertain towards their chiefs. But what his modesty prevents him from imparting, and what we ought not to be silent on, is his own incessant soliciitude by which he has gained the hearts of all committed to his care. We have aided him as far as possible; and in order to lighten his task, we have introduced into the organization of primary instruction, an improvement which has produced the most satisfactory results, not only in the matter of the secular teaching of the children, but also in that of religious instruction.

Impressed by the serious difficulties which the absence of regularity in the exercises presents, when a large number is in question, we have established a uniform length of lesson-time for every class of our colonists: this arrangement has been prejudicial to the younger children that we have received in great numbers this present year.

We have not hesitated to allow to such of these last mentioned as have not made their first communion, all the time necessary to quicken their progress, particularly in reading; so that at this moment, all can read in their catechisms; and this measure has a double advantage; in augmenting the time devoted to instruction, it diminishes the duration of labour to the younger children.

Now Gentlemen, we beg leave to dwell for a while on the state of primary instruction in our colony.

The methods hitherto adopted at Mettray to teach reading, have not produced such results as we have reason to be satisfied with: we have now introduced the system of M. Lefevre chief of the Paris Institution. It consists in the use of a large black board ruled, on which they write with chalk the lesson to be learned by the children. From twenty to thirty pupils can be placed before this tablet, and can follow with ease the instruction of the teacher.

The introduction of this method which has the advantage of requiring fewer monitors, has been the signal of sensible progress. M. the school superintendent, has said in his report with respect to this: 'the day will come, and as I hope, it is not distant, when we will have none but the newly admitted, completely illiterate.'

Some new methods introduced among the writing classes, have made the superintendence easier, the application of the colonists more profitable, and have also effected many instances of rapid progress.

The teaching of Orthography has been well developed. We have established in the inferior classes, oral orthographical lessons according to the method adopted with success by M. Guerrier of Haupt, director of a superior school at Tours.

This method is simple, and enables us to teach orthography to children who are not sufficiently advanced to write from dictation.

We submit some statistical details in support of what has been stated.

#### READING.

649 Colonists present.

396.—Read well.

95.—Read tolerably well.

35.—Read on the tablets.

83.—Spelled well.

12.—Were spelling words of one syllable.

28.—Were employed at the alphabet.

649

#### WRITING.

268.—Were at small hand.

91.— ... large hand.

27.—Were commencing.

386

#### ARITHMETIC.

The progress of the Arithmetic Class, has been satisfactory, owing



to the earnestness of every pupil. Our children shew a particular taste for this branch of instruction, of the advantages of which they are fully sensible.

Our praises are due to the Teacher, whose persevering efforts have produced these favorable results. They are the more satisfactory, as we have received a great number of recruits in the present year. It is also our duty to confer a portion of our eulogiums on the pupils of our preparatory school, who have so powerfully contributed to the ameliorations which we have pointed out.

We are happy, Gentlemen, to have it in our power to mention here, the benefits of this preparatory school, of whose utility there has never been a doubt for an instant. Even strangers who have visited Mettray, have rendered justice to it, and proclaimed its importance. We have on this head, a testimony of high authority in a letter to Lord Brougham, recently published by Mr. Hill, Queen's Counsel.

This learned gentleman, after mentioning all the conditions necessary for the prosperity of an agricultural colony, does not hesitate to point out as most indispensable, the preparatory institution of a School constituted on the plan of ours.

In addition, there is a circumstance so conclusive, and so much to the honour of this institution, that we hasten to bring it under your notice.

The Colony of Ostwald which contains no less than 350 young detenues, was far from producing the results which were expected from it; and it was about to be closed, when the Municipal Council of Strasburg on which it depends, decided, on our recommendation, to accept as director, M. Guimas, one of the earliest of our pupils, and latterly occupying an important post with us. I had the pleasure myself of conducting him to Ostwald, and he was installed in his new functions the first day of February last. It is scarcely in our power to thank as we ought, the Authorities of the City of Strasburg, for the cordiality with which they received us.

Since this man, whose zeal is boundless, has been at the head of the house, a complete change has been effected in the dispositions of the children. The desertions have diminished in a wonderful proportion, although the discipline has increased in rigor; and now the same authorities who had refused any sacrifice at all, are the first, in presence of the good realised, to require additional buildings in order to accommodate a greater number of children.

Thus, gentlemen, you have the satisfaction not only of having founded Mettray, but of having contributed to save Ostwald into the bargain.

Results like these are to us, the most powerful encouragements; and at the sight of the good which the agricultural colonies are daily accomplishing, we feel our zeal redouble in order to prepare for our country, men worthy to direct such institutions, and to fulfil so noble and holy a mission.

For some time past we have recruited for pupils among the young men quitting agricultural schools. We naturally addressed ourselves in preference, to the institution which M. Daveluy has founded in our department, and which he so well directs.

We feel it our duty on this occasion to communicate to you, a letter received from M. the sub-prefect of Loches.

“ *Monsieur le Directeur,*

“ I cannot thank you sufficiently for the admission of my young protégé into your preparatory school. I scarcely hoped for a favourable answer after your obligingness in admitting two of our pupils since the commencement of this year. You will allow me to see in this, a new proof of the kind interest you manifest to our agricultural farm school, for which, as you know, I have a particular predilection.

“ Thanks to you, this institution presents an assured future to the candidates to be received. Aided by your profound experience, and the counsels of the skilful director of your agriculture, they will be enabled some day to place themselves at the head of establishments like yours, and which it is of importance to see propagated through France, as much for the improvement of agriculture, as for the good education of youth.

“ M. Daveluy, the worthy director of the Hubeaudières is as much gratified as myself, by what you have been pleased to do for his pupils: he certainly deserves to have his generous efforts well seconded.

While awaiting the honour of seeing you, and thanking you *vivâ voce*, please to receive. &c.

“ *DELAPORTE,*

“ *Sub-Prefect of Loches.*”

This letter now cited, proves with what zeal the first magistrate of this arrondissement occupies himself with the interests of his charge: it also exhibits one of the obstacles which prevent the development of farm schools. The pupils whom they produce are, for the most part, uneasy about their future condition, for they are seldom prepared for the expenses necessary for admission into the district farms: Mettray, as may be said, smooths down these difficulties to a certain extent; and the farm-school pupils whom it receives, may hope to be, some day, at the head of agricultural colonies now in course of formation, and for whose direction, applications are continually made to us.

We doubt not but that M., the Minister of Agriculture will give us credit for this service, as it must shew him that we neglect nothing to render ourselves daily more deserving of his good will.

We have established at Mettray, a manufactory of agricultural implements which by extending the application of profitable operations in agriculture, will be at the same time, a means of enlarging the knowledge, and of exciting the zeal of the pupils.\*

The ‘Universal Exposition’ in which are at present exhibited the most ingenious implements, offers a vast choice, in the selection of which our worthy president, M. le Comte de Gasparin, so competent in

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\* A double, weeding hoe, has been invented by one of our colonists; and the instrument has appeared so useful that very competent persons have advised us to take out a patent. This fact so much to the credit of the pupil does equal honor to the superintendent of the atelier, who neglects no opportunity of developing the intelligence of his apprentices.

a matter of this kind, offers his services. Thus we will be in a condition to furnish to our neighbourhood the most useful and carefully executed instruments.

We have opened at Mettray, an exhibition hall destined for the reception of the agricultural implements made in our own ateliers.

To each of these instruments is fastened a ticket marked with the price at which it may be sold, and the kind of soil to which it is adapted. Our possessions contain soils of the most different natures, which thus serve for conclusive trials, and which, at need, secure purchasers against deceptions too frequent in such cases. We are considering about giving a wider extension to this branch of business, of which Mettray will become one of the most important centres. We are at this moment in treaty with many foreign manufacturers, who have signified their wishes to choose our colony as a depository for their products. This will, in a certain degree, constitute a permanent 'exposition.' No locality in fact is better adapted to such a destination, for Mettray being at the junction of the lines of the Bordeaux and Nantes railways (and in a short time, of that of Mans), may always reckon on a large concourse of visitors.

Such, gentlemen are the innovations introduced by us, in order to possess at Mettray those resources calculated to assure a prosperous future.

We have made some experiments in another direction, which it is our duty to lay before you.

When you founded Mettray, you were as intent on proposing an example of good will to all, as to open a reformatory asylum for some individuals. You wished to shew how aid might be given to agriculture which was short of hands, and at the same time to orphans and foundlings who needed employment. With this object in view, we have not ceased to urge large proprietors to follow our example, to collect about them a certain number of orphans and deserted children, and to employ them in weeding, the most profitable occupation they could give them, so that they might do a good, and a profitable action at the same time.\*

Our appeal was vain: the vast proportions of Mettray terrified them. They mistook our good taste for luxury; the rustic and at the same time the economic elegance of our little dwelling-houses, which we owe to Mr. Blouet of regretted memory, discouraged those who were tempted to follow our example; they imagined that they could not imitate us except at heavy expense.

We then conceived the idea of founding at some distance from Mettray, little detached colonies with forty children in each. We abstained from changing anything in the disposition of the localities, leaving the buildings such as our predecessors, the farmers, had quitted them.

This new measure did not obtain the favour of public opinion. They objected that though our farms were separated from the colony, they were still near enough to be affected by its moral influence, and that our discipline exercised an equally salutary check on these scattered communities.

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\* 'The Mettray System in application to orphans and foundlings.'

We have as we believe, given an effective answer to these objections by the establishment of a colony, more than twenty Kilometers from Mettray. This little colony has been located on the land of the Orphrasière on the friendly proposal of M. Manuel, proprietor of that vast demesne. No praises in our power to bestow would be worthy of his generous disinterestedness.

Our farmers with the example of the specimen we have just founded, will henceforward as we hope, enter with more confidence on the way we have been so long endeavouring to open for them. The orphans and the foundlings who press so heavily on the funds of the departments, will be also employed in a manner profitable both to themselves and the country.

Prudence imposes on us a duty, not to neglect any precautions necessary to success in this new experiment. We have taken care to send to the colony of the Orphrasière those children who are approaching the term of their liberation.

The great mistake of all those penitentiary systems which have been tried up to our own time, is, allowing the individual to pass at once from a state of the strictest seclusion to a state of boundless liberty.

The Orphrasière lying far away from Mettray, offers to our children a state of transition by which they can make their first essay of liberty, being still liable to a certain restraint. It is by having recourse to all these precautions, by observing these gradations, that we can hope to render the once vicious man an upright member of society.

But the proof of the utility of your foundation is particularly to be found in the conduct which the children observe after their liberation. You will thereby comprehend the importance, we attach to 'Patronage,' the sole means of inducing them to persevere in the good path on which they have entered.

This Patronage has now attained large proportions, as we never abandon our young charge, and as the 'latest dismissed,' still add to the number of their predecessors, and considerably swell our expenses for which we receive no compensation from Government.

Hearts less confident than yours in the resources of charity, would have been dismayed by the consequences of such engagements, but you have felt that 'Patronage' was the indispensable complement to your work, and that in order to organize it, you should not recoil from any sacrifice: and besides, we are bound to believe that the exercise of Patronage on the children who have quitted the colony, has a healthy action on those now present: by its means our influence on this youthful population increases from day to day. Our children cannot be ignorant of the solicitude with which we shall watch over their destiny when they will have become free: they know the sacrifices which we impose on ourselves in order to be useful to them; and they shew their gratitude by the only means in their power, viz. that of conducting themselves with propriety.

1,040 young colonists have quitted Mettray from the establishment to the first of January 1855.

421 have devoted themselves to agriculture.

301 have betaken themselves to trades.

249 have entered the army: we are happy to mention one of them, a soldier in the 3rd Zouaves now at Sebastopol, already decorated with the cross of the 'Legion of Honor.' He has made himself one of the subscribers to the foundation of Mettray.\*

69 have entered the Marine.

1,040

The number of 301 children who have embraced industrial professions may appear large, but it is more strange that it should be so restricted, as out of 1817 children who have been admitted at Mettray 908 belonged to our large towns. This large proportion of children brought up among crowded populations, accounts for the number of the 'relapsed' which however has not been on the increase. It remains as at past periods, 10 per cent, as appears from the official return of 'Criminal Justice,' recently published by M. the Minister of Justice. This stationary result may be considered as a progressive one, if we take into account the length of time elapsed since the liberation of our first colonists.

We cannot conclude these observations on 'Patronage' without addressing our thanks to those who have seconded us in this work, and whose zeal, instead of diminishing, seems to increase in proportion as their task becomes more difficult. We would wish, Gentlemen, if the number were not too great, to pay to each individual, the tribute of gratitude due for his efficacious help; to recount with what persevering efforts the greater number have endeavoured to act (for good) on the children as well as their parents, well knowing that the best counsels have little influence in presence of evil examples on the part of the family.

We will content ourselves by naming M. Verdier, Agent-General of your Society, who, with a disinterestedness beyond all praise, has charged himself with the 'Patronage' of all our children in Paris. We can hardly form a correct estimate of the difficulties which this office entails, or the incessant goings and comings of every kind which it exacts. M. Verdier is dismayed by no obstacles of this kind.

After having given an account of the conduct of our children during their residence in the colony, and particularly of their behaviour since their dismissal, we have now merely to make you acquainted with the sanitary condition of our house. We cannot do better than analyze the reports of the physicians who are incessantly and zealously occupied with our poor little invalids.

The number of children admitted to the infirmary is about 383. This high number is accounted for by the frequent variations of the temperature, and its sudden depression in the course of the present

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\* This is not the sole instance of the kind which we have to record. What can be more interesting than to see Mettray supported by those to whom it once gave refuge!

year. This atmospheric influence has had a serious effect on our mortality, which this year stands at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; affections of the lungs and typhus fevers have particularly contributed to augment the number of deaths.

At all events, Gentlemen, mortality may present very considerable variations with us, without proving for or against the medical regime of the house; it depends on the more or less vitiated constitutions of the individuals received; and you are well aware that we must take them as they are sent.

At the worst, we hope that no one doubts the care of which our children are the objects, particularly in case of illness; this very year we have introduced ameliorations into our medical service.

The visits of the physician take place every day.

Formerly, the service of the infirmary was confided to one of the colonists; frequent changes were the result which could not be otherwise than prejudicial to the management of the sick. To remedy this inconvenience, we have not hesitated notwithstanding our limited finances, to appoint an infirmarian who is charged specially with this service, and who acquits himself, as we are happy to say, with laudable punctuality. He is placed under the control of two Sisters of Charity who are entrusted with the care of our infirmary and dispensary.

Vaccination has been tried on 141 children, to wit.

51 vaccinations.

90 revaccinations.

The latter experiments have been successful in 27 instances, and, gentlemen, it is a source of much pleasure to us to announce to you, that there has not occurred amongst us since the founding of the establishment a single case of small pox, though this very year, both the ordinary and confluent small pox have attacked a certain number of children in the neighbouring communes.

The physicians of the establishment encourage us in the notion "that this immunity is the result of the care taken, according as the colonists are admitted, to vaccinate those who have not yet undergone this operation, and to revaccinate those who have."

Further on, they add this information which we are very happy to communicate to you:—"As to the cholera which visited Tours in the month of July, and did not disappear till the end of October, we have not had a single case."

We cannot announce such a circumstance, Gentlemen, without feeling it our duty once more to thank that Providence which to this day, has preserved Mettray from that scourge, though it has raged even at our gates.

We cannot conclude this report, Gentlemen, without introducing to your notice, a new institution which has been added to the one you have never ceased to invest with your solicitude, and which appears to us equally worthy of your sympathies.

This addition enables us to fill up in our correctional regime, a truly deplorable void, and to obtain results of the highest importance in the interest of families.

The legislator while adopting the principle of agricultural colonies for young convicts, ought to have equally taken into account those children whose vicious inclinations, or obstinate characters, stubbornly resist all instruction, all efforts of domestic discipline; and who, without having been guilty of an infraction of the penal laws, do not the less deserve severe punishment. We speak of children detained at the request of the father, on the ground of 'Paternal Correction.'

If we wish to achieve a reform as complete as it possibly can be, we should come to the aid of youth whatever be its social position, and combat its evil propensities wherever they manifest themselves.

In France, detention under the head of *correction paternelle* is the only means of repressing the transgressions of youth. But Paris alone offers, and there but in an insufficient manner, a house for the reception of such children, which holds out some guarantee to the heads of families.

In the provinces there exists no establishment of this kind. Children under age, whom their parents might wish to correct by withdrawing them from the evil counsels and evil examples which are perverting them, would there be mixed pell-mell with the suspected and even the convicted: thus they would be exposed to greater dangers than those from which it is wished to guard them. What father of a family would venture to give to his son, for companions, malefactors and others, the refuse of prisons.

The inexpediency of resorting to this mode of correction is so fully recognised, that there is no family in easy circumstances, who would not reject such a means; and there is scarcely even a poor but honest family, who would not hesitate to use it. Is it not indeed to be feared that he who had once been obliged to pass the threshold of infamy, would regard himself as disgraced for ever?

Rich families frequently send on long journeys and at great expense, sons of whom they have cause to complain; but this plan has often only the effect of substituting one kind of dissipation for another. By this course, studies are suspended; the habit of application is lost; the young people meet abroad the temptations from which they were sought to be rescued at home; and they yield to them with the less reserve, as they feel themselves now free from all surveillance: they begin to entertain ideas of independence and insubordination; and after having brought trouble into their families, they, later in life, introduce disorder into the State.

By the terms of the Articles 375 and 376 of the Civil Code, a child under 16 years of age may be detained one month, and the youth from 16 to 21 years old, six months. We must then, if we wish to produce a salutary effect upon the mind of the young offender in so short a time, employ a species of discipline which will *punish fast*, if we may be allowed such an expression.

Besides, the discipline of reformatory colonies to which young criminals are for a long time subjected, can scarcely present a sufficiently repressive character: the children in these establishments enjoy a certain degree of liberty; field labour would appear, especially to boys, much to be preferred to the study of Latin, for

which the greater part entertain a profound aversion.\* Moreover, this state of mixed society exposes the children to form connexions which would sadly compromise their future prospects in the world of the higher classes.

We do not hesitate to say, that solitary confinement only, can act with efficacy in such cases. It is necessary to have witnessed its effects in order to form a correct idea of the happy influence which it obtains over the character. A complete transformation is effected in the individual submitted to its operation. As he cannot procure either indulgence or amusements, nothing is at work to remove from his mind the exhortations and counsels he has received. Reflection is perpetually holding before his eyes the picture of his past life. In solitude there is no place for pride, for self-love. The child is obliged, in his own despite, to enter into himself: he no longer blushes for yielding to the promptings of his conscience, which has been so justly called the 'voice of God.' Little by little, he becomes accessible to religious sentiments: labour now becomes an occupation for him, and very soon a pleasure; he gives himself up to it with ardour; and that which he has hitherto considered as a painful task, becomes a comfort, even a necessary, so that the greatest punishment that can be inflicted on him is to deprive him of employment.

The short period of his detention dissipates whatever fears the solitary system may excite in the minds of some individuals.

We have been enabled to witness these effects of solitary confinement which we have just described, at Mettray, where children under 'paternal correction' have been sent for some time past.

Every child has two cells at his disposal, one in which he sleeps, the other in which he is employed, either at manual labor, or in being instructed.

The vicinage of the College of Tours enables us to procure for the children, such professors as people in easy circumstances would wish to give them. Up to the present time, with regard to the young people confided to us, M. the almoner has undertaken to direct their classical studies. He has betaken himself to this charge with the greater willingness, as it furnishes him with a pretext for being the oftener with his pupils, and holding intercourse with them, without appearing to come directly to read a moral lecture.

We always take the precaution before receiving a child of this class into our colony, to announce to him his parents' wishes that he should be placed under restraint. We give him to understand that we have obtained a delay in his favor: we exhort him to profit by this new proof of indulgence, letting him understand at the same time that if he does not, he shall be the object of severe chastisement. We have the satisfaction to inform you that in the greater number

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\* Mettray affords, at the present time, a case in point. One of our colonists not being able to obtain from his parents permission to leave school, did not hesitate to set the building on fire. We are happy to say that the conduct of this boy is now of the most satisfactory character.



of cases this announcement has sufficed. Thanks to this weapon placed in their hands, many parents have made their hitherto despised authority, fully respected.

When the menace has had no effect, and we are obliged to put the threat in execution, the boy on entering Mettray changes his name for a number by which he is henceforth designated; the letters of his family, preserved with care, are delivered up to him when he quits us, so that there may remain no traces at any time, of a 'past' which is so desirable to be never drawn from oblivion.

As we endeavor to prevent whatever might compromise the future fortune of these young people, so we neglect no means of making the time spent with us, exercise a happy influence over them. They are the objects of our constant solicitude: we have made it a duty to visit them every day; to have long conversations with them. In our absence we confide this trust to M. Blanchard who is fully qualified for this mission by his experience and his devotedness. Such, Gentlemen, are the precautions which we have judged necessary to take, in order to realise all the good expected by the country from this new organization.

We do not think it necessary, Gentlemen, to occupy your attention with the state of our agriculture which is improving from day to day. Our worthy president to whom Mettray is so much indebted, has undertaken the office as in former years, to present a detailed account of your agricultural concerns: Mettray could not find a worthier interpreter.

We shall also abstain from entering on any explanation relative to the financial condition of the colony. Every year, our worthy collector consents to undertake this task. It is clearly shewn from his reports that all new expenses, all claims against the weakest of our resources, particularly at the present high price of cereal products, might endanger the very existence of Mettray. We fear not to avow now more than ever, our great need that charity should come to our aid, and we feel it our duty to appeal to all of good hearts on whose succours our hopes chiefly rest.

These men are numerous in France, and they will not fail our expectations. We are much gratified by the collections constantly accorded to us by the gentlemen of juries, and we beg them to accept the expression of our gratitude for their generous assistance. We must also not forget Messieurs the presidents of assize for their encouragement to the juries to come to our aid. The exhortations of these magistrates have so much the more weight, as they were the first to occupy themselves with the future prosperity of our work, and as they have strengthened their preaching by their example; for out of 27 imperial courts which exist in France, we reckon 17 among our founders. It is not then, Gentlemen, without a legitimate sentiment of pride, that as a magistrate ourselves, we invoke such a suffrage.

We must not omit mentioning an auxiliary no less dear, and one that recommends our colony as well to our fellow citizens, as to the confidence of Government. The Councils General as well as the Imperial Courts, and in a still more considerable proportion, have given us their encouragement and contributions.

Out of eighty-six departments, seventy-two have subscribed as founders of Mettray.

Strong in these good feelings towards us, we present ourselves to public opinion: it cannot condemn the utility of a work so well appreciated, nor refuse us that assistance which we need to assure its permanence.

As to ourselves, Gentlemen, we feel our courage redouble, in thinking of the good disposition of the little population you have confided to us, and particularly of the assistance which you do not cease to afford us. We claim no other recompense for our zeal, than the privilege of continuing to offer you new proofs of it, happy to live in an abode where so much good is realized, though always regretting not to have for a witness of this good, 'Him' who was its chief author.

*The Director of the Colony,*

DEMETZ,

Honorary Counsellor of the Imperial Court, Paris.

## AGRICULTURAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1854,

BY M. LE CTE. DE GASPARIN,

*Minister of the Institute, President of the Parent Society.*

GENTLEMEN,—Your Agricultural accounts for 1854, are closed by a net produce of 12,599fr. 91 c., which represents the interest of your standing capital. This result is the more remarkable on account of its rarity in a year (such as the last) which has been distinguished by unusual severities. Our cabbage crop so necessary for our beasts has been destroyed by the frosts of winter; the severe spring weather has arrested the growth of grass; the cold and prolonged rains have levelled and blighted the corn, and brought disease on the grapes: of the latter there has been no produce this year. Finally the prolonged drought of the summer has hindered the beet from coming to full maturity. Only for these obstructions, the agriculture of Mettray would have yielded a considerable interest on its funded capital; and if, despite these obstacles, it has produced some profit, we must attribute the merit to the devotedness, to the zeal of the agricultural officers, and to the sound and wise directions given to them by their chief, M. Minangouin, who continues to justify the confidence you have reposed in him. What may assure you that these successes are not accidental, but that they result from the wisdom of the course which has been followed, is the increasing value of our raw produce which has been

in 1850	31,309fr. 94c.
1851	55,054fr. 16c.
1852	62,399fr. 15c.
1853	76,183fr. 69c.
1854	92,787fr. 65c.

To render these numbers in a true proportion, we should take account no doubt of the extension of our agricultural farm, but it is very easy to judge that it has not kept pace with the increase of the products.

We can form a correct estimate of these improvements, and of that of our nett revenue by recapitulating the ameliorations successively introduced in the management of Mettray.

1st. The roads which led to the different parts of the farm have been repaired: where half a load only, could be formerly drawn, we can now get a full load conveyed.

2nd. Many fields which were destitute of a clay bottom have now been subsoiled, and we have removed vast quantities of stones which being first broken by our colonists, have been sold for repair of the neighbouring roads, or burned into quick lime in a kiln constructed for that purpose.

3rd. We have commenced to drain these lands which have suffered most from humidity; and this operation is still continued though slowly, owing to arrangements entered into with the proprietors, of whom we are only tenants.

4th. We have replaced the sowing of spring oats by colza which has turned out very satisfactory in produce.

5th. The culture of wheat has been carefully looked after, it has been carefully weeded, manured after sprouting, and has been covered over in spring with a light coat of pulverized manure where the soil seemed too light.

6th. Lucerne clover, beet, and cabbage, have furnished provision for our cattle; we have ceased to purchase fodder.

7th. The mass of manure heaps has been increased: we collected only 1224 metres in 1850, while in 1854, we obtained 2834 metres.

8th. By the purchase of guano, we have increased the quantity of manure necessary for tillage, and though we have not succeeded in giving the land a complete dressing, still great progress has been made in this respect.

9th. The labors have been more regularly and better executed than formerly, and the substitution of oxen for horses, which is still but partial, has been of advantage. A day's labour with oxen comes only to 1fr. 80c., while one with horses amounts to 3fr. 55c. If the ratio of work between these animals is as thirty to forty, the value of a day's work with the latter animals ought to be merely 2fr. 66c. instead of 3fr. 55c. So there is evidently an advantage in substituting the ox for the horse, to the limit which will leave us the yokes necessary for pressed ploughings.

10th. Although our dairy presents better results, we are far from regarding them as perfectly satisfactory. But with the assistance of a Swiss dairy-maid whose skilful cares we highly appreciate, with a more careful selection of good milk-maids, with a reduction in the rearing of calves, and improvements in the management, we hope that this department will make a satisfactory progress.

11th. Improvements have been also introduced in our piggery which is to be limited to the exact number that can consume our buttermilk and the offal of the house: we have experienced a loss every time that, wishing to keep a larger number, we have fed them with marketable produce.

If we except 8 or 9 acres left for the culture of the vine, and for a

shrubby, and our kitchen garden of 5 acres, and 2½ acres in unbroken pastures, the rest of the agricultural farm of Mettray enters into the general cultivation, and may be divided into four sections; the cereals, green crops, roots, and saleable products.

The cereals chiefly consist of winter wheat which up to the present time, has yielded the most certain products. The land appears best adapted to this produce which is most worthy of the attention of the cultivator. Spring oats are rarely profitable; the habitual dryness of the season prevents it from throwing out a sufficient number of stems. But we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the success of our winter oats. Colza is the crop which, conjointly with the cereals, yields the most profitable returns. So without letting ourselves be discouraged by this year's failure, let us continue to cultivate it on a large scale.

Among the green crops, the trefoil, the chief cutting of which takes place early in the season, and which suffers much from the want of spring showers, has not yet afforded a satisfactory return.

Lucerne by its repeated cuttings is exempt from this inconvenience; however, although it is a fine ornament to the land, the produce hitherto has been scant. Must we attribute it to the scarcity of manure used in its production, or are we to lay the blame on the want of depth in our loam, and the arid subsoil which meets the roots: perhaps both causes contribute their influence. A more careful culture will probably point out to us what we are to expect from this grass which moreover has as yet given us the least disappointment. If we pass to the roots, we now come first to the potato which we cultivated at an early period, on a large scale and in deep soil, and which has yielded us nothing but disappointments. These successive losses have obliged us to contract the extent of this culture more and more, seeking in the market what is necessary in the article of food, and at a price inferior to what we should lay out in its home production. The beet and cabbage are unprofitable. If we could dispense with half the manual labour which is necessary to make a profit on the cereals which follow them, we would find that we would really have a profit of 34fr. per acre, instead of a loss of 19fr. in selling them at 20 francs per millier, (1000lbs.) At a much inferior price such as they produce when consumed by the cattle (9fr. 80c. the price being 48 fr. as during last year), the loss would be still more evident.

We may say the same with respect to carrots which yield a good profit when sold to the cavalry at 31fr. 60c. the millier, which in home consumption is worth no more than 12fr. Unhappily, the quantity which can be so disposed of is very limited: we cannot extend the culture of this root beyond an acre and a half.

Jerusalem Artichokes are profitable owing to the little labor they require, but being set in bad land their return has been trifling.

Under the title of marketable produce we include artichokes, hemp, mulberry trees, and madder.

Artichokes have up to this time, yielded us considerable profit, but the progressive diminution in their price, in the same ratio as the railroads enlarge the Paris market, prevents us from extending their culture beyond the two acres allotted for them.

Hemp has not been cultivated with us except on trial, and in a low ground; but its success, and the use we can make of it, with ourselves, encourage us to extend its culture on a suitable soil.

Our essays in the rearing of silk worms, made on a small scale, and within the limit of the quantity of leaves produced, have succeeded so well as to induce us to enlarge our mulberry plantations, which being subject to skilful pruning, are easily distinguished from the bushy looking mulberry trees of the country.

Although the madder has sold well and is of good quality, we have not closed its account to a profit. It has shared the fate of our other crops, owing (as in the other instances) to want of depth in the soil, and to drought during summer.

Nothing can prove better than what we have said, the difficulty of judging of the qualities of land, and of fixing on the kind of tillage which will answer it best, particularly when motives of economy mix with the agricultural views, thus greatly complicating the question. This question has been broached at Mettray, but it is only proper to observe that we have often changed our mode of operations, up to the moment when the selection of M. Minangouin introduced perfection in practice, united to thorough agricultural knowledge, which were wanting to his predecessors, and which alone can lead to success. Now the line we ought to follow is fixed, and when we depart from it, it will be with the conviction that our shortcomings in farming will be more than compensated by the advantages of employing our young hands, and by the impossibility of reducing our operations to a state of simplicity, which might suit a simple farmer, but which would not afford the necessity of recognising the benevolent support of the Minister of Agriculture, by remaining above all, an Agricultural School.

The 'Parent Society' may now congratulate itself on the state of its farm, a state which is a happy presage of that to which it may hereafter attain.

CTE. DE GASPARIN.

We beg the attention of all our readers to the following most able and important letter, addressed by the Recorder of Birmingham, to Mr. Adderley, on the Ticket-of-leave question:—

*Heath House, Stapleton,*

*February 20th, 1856.*

Dear Sir,

I have read your remarks on my late Charge with great interest, and in many, perhaps in a majority of them, considered as insulated propositions, I entirely concur.\* Thus the field of controversy is materially abridged, and the points of difference may, I trust, be disposed of without my trespassing too much on your patience.

\* "Punishment is not Education."—Parker and Son, West Strand.

It may wear the appearance of pedantry or formalism, to begin by reminding you that the ultimate object of all punishment is the diminution of crime to the lowest attainable point; but experience has convinced me that such a precaution is absolutely necessary. This definition is the compass by which the argument must ever be guided, and to which the eye of the pilot must perpetually recur. But, unfortunately, the proposition is so obviously true, that the mind admits it and forgets it almost in the same instant, although if steadily kept in remembrance, nine-tenths of the differences which perplex the controversy would adjust themselves.

You maintain that we must rely on the deterrent principle; you believe that punishments must be 'short and sharp;' and you are of opinion that if the pain were *exhibited*, as the apothecaries term it, in homœopathic doses, with repetitions *quantum suff.*, this remedy, from which the world has expected so much and reaped so little, might yet accomplish the desired object without the aid of long training, which implies a long detention. The deterrent principle captivates the mind upon its mere enunciation, consequently I am not surprised that it should have laid such fast hold on public favour in all ages. The maxim, *metus ad omnes, pœna ad paucos*, commends itself as a most specious offer. It proposes by acting on a few to influence all, confining acute suffering to those few, and only producing on the multitude a wholesome dread of incurring a like penalty. Such an offer at once engages our kindly feelings, and falls in with our admiration of powerful effects produced by slight causes. That every stroke on the shoulders of a thief should scare thousands of outstretched fingers from diving into honest men's pockets, and save the owners of those fingers from pain and disgrace, would be a state of things very agreeable to contemplate, if we could forget that it is for the most part only a creation of the fancy. Deterrents have a certain degree of power beyond all doubt; and that the power, such as it exists, is of the kind indicated by the maxim is also freely admitted. But each expedient which that maxim suggests has been tried in every possible form; and the state of crime in all ages and in all countries abundantly supports me in asserting that deterrents, however used, whether in large or small doses, whether at once or with repetitions extended over a long period, are but weak agents, and cannot be relied upon for an efficacious repression of crime.

Perhaps a succinct examination of the causes which produce this debility will disclose reasons why we must not hope to accomplish very much in our attempts to increase their efficiency. It is obvious that if every offence drew down inevitable punishment, and if the penalty followed quickly upon its commission, the deterrent principle would be vindicated by perfect success. Crime, although it can never be extinguished, would, at least, be so much reduced, as to be no longer a cause of public anxiety. Offences would be infrequent, and punishments might be slight. If, for instance, a thief knew that his plunder would to a certainty be taken from him in every instance, the forfeiture of his time and labour would be almost of itself sufficient punishment; sufficient to prevent his

repeating his offence, and sufficient to deter others from embarking in so futile an enterprise as theft would then become. But alas! how are we to ensure certainty of detection? Have we made any near approach to it? Is not the existence of a professional class of thieves, conclusive evidence that the proportion of detection to offences must be small indeed? Bearing in mind the low price which the thief obtains for his plunder, as compared with its value to the rightful owner, it will be evident that every person who maintains himself by theft must daily exercise his calling; and as his term of impunity often extends over many years, we can have no doubt that he looks upon detection as a tradesman looks upon a bad debt, namely, as a misfortune incident to his occupation. The lesson which he draws from it is also identical with that learnt by the tradesman, namely, to exercise greater watchfulness for the future. Now this being the well-known state of the facts, why are we to be surprised at the existing pressure of crime upon society? And why are we, so long as we build our faith on deterrents, to indulge in hopes that the future will differ from the past?

In disregarding the chances against him, and in fixing his attention on those which are in his favour, especially when the latter outnumber the former, does not the thief act in conformity with a law of the mind influencing all around him? Nay, even when the chances are against them, a very large class of the community, such are the gambling propensities of mankind, are willing to incur enormous risks. Lotteries flourish in all countries in which they are not prohibited; and yet the adventurer knows full well that if he were to buy all the tickets, and consequently secure all the prizes, he would nevertheless be a great loser. When Beccaria and his followers magnified the value of certainty as contrasted with severity, they did well. But the fatal defect in their argument is their assumption, that certainty is attainable; shutting their eyes as they did, and still do, to the incontrovertible fact, that while in no age or country has it yet been secured, every addition to our numbers and our wealth, and every step of our progress in the arts, create new temptations to crime, and new facilities for its commission. That they also furnish additional means of repression is not denied; but on the whole, our approaches towards certainty of detection, if indeed, we are moving towards that point, are too slow to give any reasonable hope that it will be attained, even in the most distant future, while it is quite clear that for all present purposes it must be put entirely out of calculation. But certainty, even if attainable, would be insufficient unless accompanied by *proximity*. Indeed, certainty is attained in one sense. Every thief is conscious that sooner or later he must come under the grasp of the law, and that although he will be mercifully dealt with at first, yet in the end, his punishment will be severe. Still, he is not prevented from running his course of guilt. And here, again, he follows the example of his betters. The drunkard is painfully conscious that destruction is the inevitable consequence of his vice, and yet he cannot refrain from his bottle.

This habit of disregarding consequences, not immediate, was a few

years ago brought to my mind with great force. I happened to visit a Cornish tin-mine, and inspected the various operations performed upon the ore. Some of these were carried on in the open air with the spade, and were, like agricultural employment, which they much resembled, very favourable to health. Other operations were conducted in buildings furnished with stoves burning fiercely. These emitted fumes which I found it difficult to endure, even for the few moments of my stay. On enquiry, I discovered that the painful sensations which I had experienced, arose from the presence of arsenic disengaged from the ore, by the process going forwards in the stoves. The workmen exposed to these deleterious exhalations are, as may be expected, very short-lived, few attaining the age of forty. On comparing the wages earned by the labourers at the stoves, with those engaged in the open air, I found that the difference is only half-a crown per week. For this miserable bribe does the victim incur the penalty of a certain and early death!

Let me relieve for a moment the dryness of this discussion with an extract from an article by Sir Walter Scott, in the "Quarterly Review," on Sir Humphry Davy's *Salmonia* :—

"We happen to recollect an anecdote, indicative of the passionate hold which the sport of angling maintains over the minds of some individuals, with whatever risk it may be accompanied. It is now a great many years since we met in fishing quarters, the very pleasing and accomplished gentleman, then engaged in his medical studies, from whom we heard the story.

In a former fishing excursion, such as that in which he was engaged at the time, our friend had observed a follower of the same sport, holding his course down the very midst of the small river; and the angler in question, was a 'noticeable man.' He was of uncommon stature—a large and portly figure, brandishing with both hands a rod which commanded the stream on either side,—while being immersed to the waist, his 'fair round belly' seemed to project like a dark rock when in the shallow water, and in the deep current to rest and float on the surface of the waters, like the hull of some rich argosy.

Our friend could not help looking back, more than once, at this singular figure, until he suddenly observed the angler quit the stream, get out upon the bank, and hasten towards him with shouts, which seemed a signal of distress. On his closer approach, our medical friend observed that the countenance of the fisherman, naturally bluff and jolly, and not unfitted to correspond with the height of his stature and importance of his paunch, seemed disordered and convulsed with pain. He begged earnestly to know if our acquaintance had in his basket a flask with spirits of any kind, complaining, at the same time, of an attack of cramp in the stomach, which gave him intolerable agony. This was supplied with all the benevolence which should subsist between brothers of the angle, according to the instructions of their patriarch, Isaak Walton. When the tall fisherman had experienced the relief which the cordial drop afforded, our informer told him his profession, and enquired whether these attacks were frequent, and whether they were



constitutional. 'Very frequent,' answered the lusty edition of *Piscator*, 'and, I am afraid, rooted in my system.' 'In that case, Sir,' replied my friend, 'allow me to tell you that fishing, or at least wading while you fish, is the most dangerous amusement you can select for yourself.' 'I know it,' said the poor patient dejectedly. 'Assure yourself,' pursued the physician, 'that your very life depends upon your forbearing to pursue your sport in the manner you do.' The intelligence seemed nothing new to our forlorn angler. 'I know it, Sir,' he said, 'I have been told so by the best of doctors; but,' he added with an air of stoical yet rueful resignation, that might have graced a man who sacrificed life to some mighty duty, 'Heaven's will be done! I cannot live without fishing, and without wading I can never catch a fin.' So saying, the giant thanked his adviser, went back to the spot where he had left his rod, and was seen a few minutes afterwards bowled-deep in the stream.

Our friend had the curiosity to enquire after the name and condition of this devoted angler, to whom life was nothing without wading waist deep after trouts. In the course of the year, he saw his death announced by the newspapers. He was found dead on the banks of his favourite stream."—*Scott's Works*, 1835, v. xx.

Here the prescription of 'short and sharp' had a fair trial, the doses being repeated until death, an event which interferes with so much medical treatment of the most brilliant promise. In this case the deterrent principle had an advantage which you cannot command. Not only was the immediate pain intolerable, but it was known by the offender to be a solemn warning that unless he altered his course of life, capital punishment would quickly terminate his career. It will not do to say that this is an exceptional case. The criminal class is itself an exception, and is in the main composed of individuals who, from want of good training, are not amenable to the restraints which are found sufficient to keep the bulk of society within the boundaries prescribed by the law. Again, it would be conceding too much to admit that the instances to which I have called your attention *are* exceptions. As in the case of the tanners, large bodies of working men may be found, who, with their eyes open, encounter, not the risk, but the certainty, of early death. Take the trade of needle making, as it existed some years ago at Redditch, within a few miles of your own residence. The workman knew by unerring symptoms when his short life was drawing to its close, and if his friends ventured upon soothing him with hopes of recovery, he resented all such delusions as a cruel mockery, yielding himself to his fate as to an evil foreseen and not to be avoided. The gilders of Birmingham were formerly under the same irrevocable sentence, and many other artisans were subject to a like doom; nor is it immaterial to remark that when any invention has been made, having for its object to relieve the men from danger, it has frequently been very ill received by them, because it imposed some small trouble or inconvenience on the workman, or led him to fear that his danger being reduced his wages would undergo a similar change; so inexorable is the tyranny of the present over the highest interests of the future!

It must not be objected in favor of deterrents that criminals will undergo the sufferings of shame in addition to corporal or pecuniary penalties. Doubtless, by expulsion from the honest part of society, such as were ever members of that class suffer much, but that suffering comes too late. They have calculated on escaping detection, and have been deceived, or as they call it 'unfortunate'; and once enrolled in the criminal class, their sense of shame becomes inverted. Disgrace then attaches not to dishonesty, but to want of skill in their avocation, and to repentance under suffering; and thus it is that the same emotion which at one period presents obstacles to their fall, afterwards becomes a serious impediment to their restoration.

The absence then, either of certainty or proximity, will so far weaken deterrent action as abundantly to account for its inefficiency; but in the case of criminals we have, and I fear must ever have, the two causes of uncertainty and delay operating in combination, and, consequently, with multiplied force; if so, is it not hopeless to put faith in deterrents?

In early times it was natural to suppose that the want of certainty and proximity might be supplied by increasing the severity of punishments. But this expectation was quickly found to be fallacious. More than 2200 years ago this question was set at rest in the minds of the observant and reflective Greeks. The speech which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Diodotus, in the debate on the revocation of the decree of extermination against the men of Mytilene, shows that the vanity of this expedient was no secret at Athens, and the experience of the world from those times to the present has borne uniform testimony to the same effect.\* I need not, however, urge this truth upon you, who freely admit it. I will content myself with observing that the crime of forgery was never so rife as when it was a capital offence, and when the Crown was far more inexorable towards forgers than it is now towards murderers.

But to you it appears that the salutary consequences which aggravated severity has failed to produce, will follow upon a milder infliction frequently repeated. Whether pain concentrated or pain distributed strikes more fear into the criminal, is a question which I will not take up your time in discussing, because it appears to me beside the mark. That by either process the mind of the sufferer may be filled with anguish, and his body racked with torture, that he may, in his moments of suffering, deplore his folly in having subjected himself to such appalling visitations, that his resolutions to avoid them for the future may be sincere and as strong as his mental constitution will permit, I make no doubt. But of this I am equally assured, that if you send him forth into the world without habits of industry, and without the power of self-government, to encounter the awful difficulties which stand in the way of every man who has lost caste, and is struggling to recover his position, you embark him on a hopeless enterprise. Not that he is ignorant of the fatal vortex towards which he is irresistibly drawn,—not that he underrates the agony which is in store for him; but his necessities are instant, and

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\* Book iii. cap. 45.

the penalty is at some distance. The contest is between his present and his future self. And with the members of his unhappy class the future self is as certain to be sacrificed as if it were the self of another being.

And this brings me to what I must consider the fallacy which has misled you, in common with all the votaries of the deterrent principle. You assume that the deterrent force of a punishment will increase in proportion to the pungency of the infliction; and you would be right if you had any means of stereotyping the state of mind in which the criminal finds himself at the moment of suffering. But that is just where all your predecessors have failed, and where you must fail, because the change which you propose, if it were a novelty, which it is not, leaves the defect in the deterrent principle untouched. For the criminal under deterrent action the line, 'Wax to receive and marble to retain,' must be reversed. However deep may be the impression, it quickly wears away.

Thus then the school of criminal jurists, to which I belong, have not deserted received opinions on light grounds, or sought for new principles until the failure of the old ones for the production of good practical results had been demonstrated by centuries of experiment, varied until the wit of man had exhausted all the possibilities of permutation. What course then remained for choice? None within the scope of my imagination, save two. First, such treatment as incapacitates the criminal from the commission of offences, leaving at the same time his appetites and passions unsubdued, and his desires unchanged; or, secondly, a treatment which has for its object to reform him, by leading him to yearn after good instead of evil, and by so training his habits as that he shall be able to give effect to his new aspirations.

We are reduced, in short, to *Incapacitation* or to *Reformation*. Both these expedients, it must be admitted, are of very humble pretensions, when contrasted with the ambitious aims of deterrent punishment. Incapacitation limits itself to preventing the criminal from repeating his offence, either for a time, as when imprisonment is employed, or for ever, as by the infliction of death. But as we are in no wise friendly to capital punishment, we would only use incapacitation as furnishing the opportunity for exercising reformatory action on the criminal, or in extreme cases, for withholding from society one who has resisted all endeavours to improve him. But although we administer pain with a reformatory object, yet we incidentally obtain the advantage of whatever deterrent defect belongs to that pain, because it is clear that the patient is deterred, not according to the purpose with which the pain is inflicted, but according to the amount of the pain itself. Now reformation implies a long detention,—a protracted struggle,—and many a disappointment before the goal is reached. Indeed, one of the grounds of your objection to reformatory treatment is (if I have not mistaken your meaning), that from its extensive duration, it exceeds all just measure of severity. Let me admit, for the sake of argument, that your censure is just. Surely then, reformatory treatment cannot be objected to as wanting in a copious infusion of the deterrent princi-

ple, and consequently to compare or contrast reformatory and deterrent punishment must be illogical. For although we find deterrent punishments are too often not reformatory, reformatory punishments must of necessity be deterrent, and thus the latter scheme combines the advantages of both systems.

But I am in hopes you will cease to consider what you term a reformatory education as visiting the criminal with excessive punishment when you call to mind that, while enduring it, he is not merely expiating an offence, but at the same time receiving an inestimable benefit; for you, I am sure, will not hesitate to admit that reformation is the greatest good to which the criminal can possibly aspire, and that riches, titles, power, or any, or all the objects of earthly ambition, ought to be as nothing in his mind in comparison with what we are doing our best to enable him to achieve.

Our first expedient in reformation is, you know, to induce the criminal to labour, until the habit of industry is well formed. Yet although this may be justly called our main expedient, it is far from being our only one; since the habit of industry, without the power of self-government, would be insufficient to preserve the prisoner when at large from falling a prey to temptation. But his industry may be made to supply a fund, which will enable us to train him in the art of self-government. Let all fines for misconduct, either of a positive or a negative description, be paid out of this fund. As he advances in the work of reformation, relax gradually the various restraints which are imposed upon prisoners. At first he will be kept in a state of separation from his fellow sufferers, and cannot there exercise many of the social duties. Still he may do much towards the acquirement of self-control. Let him have a certain limited command over the produce of his industry, which he may at his own option expend for the purchase of indulgences, or retain to accelerate the moment of liberation. If he snatch immediate gratification at the expence of increased length of imprisonment, it will be seen at once that his power of self-control is inadequate to protect him from the temptations which he will have to encounter on going back into the world. But when there is good reason to believe that their minds are turned into a right direction, however feeble may be their power of acting on their convictions, let a small class of such prisoners be permitted to associate together. Let the little band be under pecuniary liability for the offences of each, or in other words, let the fines be paid out of a common stock. Thus the prisoner will find himself exposed to new dangers, new temptations, called upon for the fulfilment of new duties, all of infinite importance, and his powers of self-government will be elicited to an extent for which solitude furnished no scope. So again, if the little community, by quarrels, by supporting each other in misconduct, or by relaxing in any way the efforts of each member towards reformation, showed that the individuals of which it is composed had been brought out of a state of separation before they were prepared to live together with profit, it should be broken up, and each prisoner must recommence in solitude the labours of self-improvement.

By these and similar means, many of which are not mere specula-

tions, but have been reduced to practice, the prisoner might be so gradually released from one restraint after another, as to make the step to perfect liberty a far less change than it is now.\* For instance, one stage might be to remove him from a prison, strictly so called, to some building not surrounded by walls; to let him know that he was under no physical restraint, but that if he absconded he would, upon his apprehension, be brought back and consigned again to the gaol, to recommence the toilsome journey towards freedom. Here is a new temptation to resist, the power of which it is almost impossible for any one who has never endured the tedium of a prison life adequately to conceive. Being some years ago at Florence, I made the acquaintance of Signor Salvagnoli, the head of the Tuscan bar, a gentleman who, having been a Minister of State during the revolution of 1848, found himself when the old order of things was restored, consigned to a fortress, in which he was detained for a period of some months. I took the opportunity of enquiring from him, as I had done from others, whether he found the privation of liberty more or less painful than he had anticipated. He, like others, told me that he found imprisonment irksome to the last degree, and that when he regained his freedom he spent his whole time for some days in roaming about, changing his route almost at every moment to assure himself that he was not compelled to observe any prescribed course. '*Juvat ire,*' he repeated to himself again and again, every time striking into a new path.

To overcome the temptation to wander at large, revisit old scenes and old companions, and more than all, indulge in his old gratifications, would indeed be a great lesson in self-government, and furnish a most valuable test that the reformation of the prisoner, so far as it had proceeded, was genuine and substantial. The next stage might be employment upon public works, at wages below the ordinary standard, but which employment would, after a time, entitle the prisoner to a Ticket of Leave of the very best kind, because it would be a certificate of character. I would then place the prisoner under the guardianship of a member of a *Société de Patronage*, such as France has long possessed, and such as I trust England will not be long without.

By the aid of such a society, prisoners who had gone through the ordeal which I have thus indicated, would be placed in reputable employment, and to a very considerable extent, guarded from the snares which beset the liberated convict. Meanwhile the liability to recommitment would still hang over him, at least for some years, and must, if duly exercised, operate as a check, not only upon the commission of crime, but upon the formation of habits and associations which lead to crime. The warning now endorsed upon the back of

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\* See Captain Maconochie's pamphlet, just published, entitled "Prison Discipline." Harrison, Pall Mall. 1856. See also, "A Visit to the Great Prison at Munich," by the Rev. C. H. Townsend, in the *Zeist*, for January, 1856.—Hall, Paternoster Row. If I had seen this article before I wrote this Letter, I should have made frequent reference to it in support of my suggestions.

each Ticket of Leave would then become a truth; and the holder, if found without visible means of subsistence, or associating with persons of bad character, would be held to have fallen into dangerous courses, and would be considered as about to relapse, and his licence to remain at large would be revoked.

The distinction between a good prisoner and a good man is well established in the minds of all who are conversant with the habits of convicts. It is generally referred to hypocrisy. The good prisoner who, upon his release, turns out a bad member of society, is held to have been playing a part; and too often the imputation is well founded. But it quite as frequently occurs that the relapse of the unhappy individual is caused by his finding himself forced upon assuming the reins of self-government, when his prison training has not only *not* qualified him for the task, but has thrown into disuse whatever power of this kind he may have taken with him into the gaol.

It is true all this is education,—education, as I submit, of the very best kind. But I am sure you will not object to the State affording education to the criminal, unless it can be shown that the benefit to the individual is productive of some injury to the community. Now, any such evil could only accrue if this education really weakened the corrective or the deterrent effect of punishment; but if the foregoing arguments are valid, the corrective effect of punishment is largely augmented, or indeed it may be said, altogether created, by this educational training; while, having regard to the vicissitudes of progress and retrogression which the prisoner must necessarily undergo, and which will not only be severe but of long continuance, it can hardly be doubted that their impression on his mind will be greater than that produced by any process of 'short and sharp'; as it will also be on that of the class, on whom whatever he may suffer is likely to have the greatest influence by way of deterrent. Sharp, such treatment cannot fail to be, and it will not only be sharp but long.

I now address myself to your objections. You appear to have no confidence in the labour test, and instances, you say, have been found, in which prisoners, evincing much power of labour while in prison, have abjured all honest industry from the moment of their discharge. Doubtless industry, as I have already said, is not of itself reformation. The habit of labour, however, removes one great difficulty. It endows its possessor with the faculty of self-maintenance, although it cannot be depended upon to prevent relapse if unallied with the faculty of self-government. Thus the high value which we set upon industry, is not merely because it enables the individual honestly to maintain himself if he be so disposed, but also because those who have the control of his prison life, may avail themselves of that industry, as a means by which he may be taught to govern himself. Again, I think this education may be defended on your own principles. Not only do you urge by precept, with all the power derived from your talents and your high position, and also by your munificent example, the duty of educating the young, but you seem disposed to go to the length of denying the right of the State to punish juvenile offenders whom it has not guarded from ruin by proper training. If, however, that notion be well-founded, when does the right of the

State to punish a non-educated criminal begin? If it be wrong to punish him in his youth, because the gift of education has been withheld, how does he become responsible by effluxion of time? What has manhood done for him, except to add the chains of habit to those of ignorance? I must confess it seems to me that every reason which can be alleged to show the injustice of punishing the uneducated boy is strengthened in the case of the uneducated man; and I cannot but hail it as a most happy coincidence, that in adopting the best known means to arrive at the true end of punishment, the repression of crime, we do, in fact, bestow that education at last, which in the majority of instances, we have neglected to supply at an earlier and more natural stage.

But then you raise an objection which I cannot but honour, although I must not for a moment yield to it. You seem to think there is a want of fair dealing, as between the high and the low, in imposing on the latter a course of training which the former escape. It is a novelty so agreeable, to find the rich and the well-born evince this jealousy of the rights of those below them, that allied as I am by birth, and by many strong prepossessions, with the class of which you are the champion, I cannot but feel some reluctance to combat what I must nevertheless hold to be a fallacy. The rich, you say, are not very likely to commit offences which bring them under the animadversion of the criminal law, although they but too frequently indulge in conduct which cannot be reconciled, either with the rules of religion or morality. The consequences which you draw from these undeniable facts is, that we have no right to keep offenders belonging to the humbler classes under a discipline which shall give us security against their repeating their offences, because there is no correlative treatment for the misdoings of the higher classes. But if your argument have a just foundation, it must lead, I submit, to a much more sweeping conclusion than that which you have adopted.

The punishment which we propose to administer may be considered in two aspects; first, as turning the offenders from evil to good, which is a benefit, and beyond all doubt a benefit of the highest nature, to the individual; and next, as administering the pain which is necessarily incidental to such a process. Now it is not to pain, *per se*, which you object. That you are ready to inflict to as great an amount as is necessary to bring the deterrent principle into full operation. Your objection is pointed against what forms the benefit to the individual, and if the pain, which we cannot help administering, is greater than that which you would inflict, still even looking solely at the interests of the patient, he purchases, at the price of his additional pain, an inestimable blessing: while your treatment would thrust him from the prison doors, smarting under bodily suffering, his angry passions exacerbated, his thirst for guilty pleasures made intense by privation, and all his habits of mind and of body, if changed at all, changed for the worse. Surely, then, if this new right of equality which you have discovered, is to be established, it would much more reasonably confer a proletarian exemption from 'short and sharp,' than from education, and thus you would have to exempt the lower classes from punishment altogether.

The deterrent principle sacrifices the individual to the public; the reformatory principle though incidentally deterrent, yet repays the individual for his suffering, by bestowing upon him a gift, for which that suffering is well endured. The deterrent principle arms the executioner with the whip, the marking-iron, and the knife. The criminal is flogged, branded, deprived of his ears. The reformatory principle calls in the surgeon who, although he may cut deeper and inflict far more excruciating torture, has ever the benefit of the patient in view, and subjects him to no pain which is not to purchase for him a greater measure of comfort. Trust me, if you could consult your clients, and if they were cognizant of their true interests, it is against the executioner and not against the surgeon they would instruct you to remonstrate: the latter they would implore you to retain.

You express doubts as to the possibility of discovering and applying effective tests of reformation. Unerring tests, I admit, cannot be supplied, but neither can they be found in support of the verdict which has consigned the convict to prison. Moral certainty, according to Beccaria, is only a probability, but one so strong that we are constrained to act upon it.\* If you would be satisfied with a probability, as high, if not higher, than the one upon which the prisoner has been stamped with the brand of conviction, such a probability can be afforded by daily record of facts *pro* and *contra*. The fate of a prisoner ought not to depend on a conclusion formed without precise data gradually accumulating through a series of months or years. But with those aids to the judgment of the authorities, with his prison life divided into stages of progress, each attainable by good conduct, and each to be forfeited by ill conduct, each relaxing some restraint until the last step into perfect liberty is but a slight modification of the state immediately preceding it, and with a license to be at large, revocable for a period sufficient to operate as a check upon even incipient bad courses, I see no insuperable difficulty to be overcome; that is to say in a large majority of cases. Some prisoners would never work their way out of prison, but they would be for the most part, of a temperament to suffer little from the restrictions to which, under a mild and enlightened system like that of Captain Maconochie, they would alone be subjected. There is a class of prisoners, a small one no doubt, yet larger than those unacquainted with criminals might expect to find, who are not wholly unconscious of their incapacity for self-government, and who are happier, or at all events less unhappy, in prison than at large. In prison they behave well, though, knowing their own frailty, they may not exert themselves much to obtain a discharge. Such prisoners need not be sub-

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\* "Io parlo di probabilità in materia di delitti, che per meritar pena debbono esser certi. Ma svanirà il paradosso per chi considera, che rigorosamente la certezza morale non è che una probabilità, ma probabilità tale, che è chiamata certezza, perchè ogni uomo di buon senso vi acconsente necessariamente per una consuetudine nata dalla necessità di agire, ed anteriore ad ogni speculazione; la certezza che si richiede per accertare un uomo reo è dunque quella, che determina ogni uomo nelle operazioni più importanti della vita."—*Dei Delitti e Delle Pene*, § vii.



jected to a very harsh discipline, and their lives may be suffered to pass away in a manner best suited, both as regards the State and themselves, to the infirmities of their nature.

There is one suggestion in your remarks in which I heartily concur, although certain difficulties which would attach to its practical operation have hitherto prevented me from submitting it to public consideration. It is the expediency of calling upon the criminal to compensate those whom he has wronged by his offences. The great value of the suggestion consists in its obvious justice, which would reconcile the public to a long detention of convicts with a view to their labour furnishing them with the means of payment. And, having regard to the present state of the public mind on the subject of punishment, it might be desirable often to make the cost to the community and the individual injured, flowing from the convict's offence, the measure of his punishment. Charge him with the cost of his apprehension, prosecution, and imprisonment, including not only his lodging, food, and clothing, but also the expense of guarding and training him. Add to this, an indemnity to the party injured, and a *debit* would be raised, which it would require a considerable length of time to extinguish. It would, however, be necessary, frequently, to exercise the power of remission to a large extent, as the injury which he has committed is often one which the whole life's labour of the convict would not repay; especially if he should be weak in body, or unskilled in any profitable employment. But the Crown is in the daily exercise of such a power, and I do not anticipate any difficulty which a sound discretion would not readily dispose of.

With regard to the suggestions which I have thrown out, I know by experience how easy it is to meet them by objections of detail; and where the experiment is conducted by officers who have but weak faith in the principle of reformation, or who have not well considered what are the constituents of a reformed character, just grounds of complaint will but too often arise. The task of those with whose opinions I agree, is consequently one replete with discouragements. Ours is an experimental science, and yet we have no laboratory placed at our command. We must depend upon the phenomena disclosed by the manipulations of persons who are, sometimes avowed opponents of our doctrines, sometimes mere conformists to our views, and seldom more than half converts. Whoever has traced the fate of inventions reduced to practice by persons who had but little confidence in their value, will know how to sympathise in our struggles and our disappointments. Still, I believe we are making way, and I find here and there symptoms that light is peering into places hitherto in utter darkness.

Believe me, dear Sir,

With sincere esteem and regard,

Your faithful Friend and Servant,

MATTHEW DAVENPORT HILL.

C. B. ADDERLEY, Esq., M.P.

During the past quarter, Mr. Horsman, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, introduced a Bill into Parliament, by which he proposed to extend to Ireland the provisions of the English Juvenile Offenders' Act. This proposal was as unwise as it was ill-considered, and has caused considerable discussion and opposition in Ireland. The facts of the case and the grounds of opposition are already before most of our readers, at least before all who can aid in securing a just, suitable and safe measure for Ireland, and it is unnecessary to dwell upon the subject here, more especially as we have, in the number of this REVIEW, for June, 1855, devoted considerable space to the topic.

All our readers are acquainted with the history of the admirable Reformatory of which Mr. Bowyer is the Honorary Governor. We feel very great satisfaction in inserting the following Report of this Institution.

*The North West London, heretofore called the St. Pancras, and Marylebone Preventive and Reformatory Institution.*

On Tuesday, October 9, the commemoration stone of the new building of the above Institution was laid by Lord R. Grosvenor, in the presence of a very numerous assemblage of friends to the Reformatory Movement, who were accommodated in a piece of ground at the rear of 19 New-road, near Gower-street, North. The place was decorated with flags manufactured by the inmates, and the afternoon being remarkably fine, the whole scene presented a very cheerful appearance.

Lord R. Grosvenor arrived shortly after four, and was accompanied by the Rev. Canon Dale, the Rev. L. W. T. Dale, the Rev. H. J. Hatch, Captain Grant, Lieutenant Blackmore, R.N., Messrs. R. Ricards, H. Wilkinson, A. J. Baker, architect, and G. J. Bowyer, Hon. Governor, &c.

Lord R. Grosvenor read letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir B. Hall, regretting that the pressure of engagements prevented their attendance.

After a prayer from the Rev. Canon Dale, a hymn was sung by the inmates, and Lord R. Grosvenor performed the ceremony of laying the stone, amid loud cheers.

The Rev. Canon Dale in proposing a vote of thanks to his Lordship, said,—He thanked God such an Institution was rising in his own parish, an institution which asserted that none of God's creatures were so lost as to be consigned to despair, none who had fallen into crime from bad example, or want of instruction, but could be reached by the power of God. There was no depth of misery that could not be reached by the Gospel. He considered Reformatories and Ragged Schools, as the two safety valves by which those

evil elements were got rid of which would endanger the social system. The Institution was also preventive, it excluded none, and provision was made for those whom evil example at home would otherwise train in a course that would lead to misery in this world, and in the next. (Hear.)

The Institution aimed at producing three things profitable to the soul: self-control, self-denial, self-respect. In education, self-respect ought to come first, but with those who had forfeited self-respect it was necessary to begin with self-control, and self-denial. All who had that regard for the welfare of the fallen, which was based on Christian love, nay, all who were possessed of mere human sympathy should support this Institution. The noble Lord had come at some sacrifice to himself, but he esteemed that consideration of no account when good was to be done. With all Institutions of a philanthropic and Christian character, the name of Lord R. Grosvenor would ever be associated. He should only embody the feeling of the meeting in thanking him for the honor he had done them, and he might say the honor he had done himself, in coming there. (Cheers.) But for the successful issue of these Institutions they wanted more than the assistance that could be rendered by his Lordship. They wanted men who would concentrate their energies on the one subject, men who did one thing and did it well, such a man, in short, as the Hon. Governor of the Institution. (Cheers.) *Captain Grant* having seconded the resolution, *Lord R. Grosvenor* said in returning thanks, that a large share of the energy and wealth of the nation was engaged in prosecuting a formidable war; but the country could find time for other things, and was occupied in promoting social reforms, among which he thought none more worthy of support than the Reformatory Institutions. The question arose, ought this to fall on private resources, ought not the cost to fall on the country at large? (A voice, certainly.) His opinion coincided with the person who said certainly, but what were they to do in the meantime? If the support of these Institutions was not thrown on Government, were they not to exist at all? All such reforms commenced with individual effort, individuals first tried what could be done, and then Parliament took up the matter. In the last Session a bill had been passed for establishing Reformatory Institutions by a public rate. It would be in operation in less than a year, and then no young person would be committed to prison, but would be sent at once to a Reformatory. But this undertaking is not only Reformatory, but preventive, offering succour to those who had not committed crime, but were on the verge of it. Birmingham had been foremost in making popular this subject, which had originated in Aberdeen; but in the Midland counties it had been more discussed than in any part of the kingdom. He was for money being spent in an economical way. People asked, "why give a criminal a better education than an honest boy?" The question was easily answered, on the ground of pounds, shillings, and pence. Criminals preyed on the public, some cost thousands to the public before closing their career. Therefore, it was better that he should be taught honestly at 5 per cent. of the cost of teaching him crime. (Hear.) Educa-

tion was formerly thought injurious to the poor, this had been long given up, and we considered education should be general, but it was only of late years that we had extended it to criminals, and left off sending the young offender to a gaol where he infallibly became worse. He would refer to the police, as to the effect of these Reformatories in making neighbourhoods safe, which were formerly impassable. (Hear.) This Institution had effected great good—50 had left, and the subsequent career of the majority had been most satisfactory. The Reformatories throughout the country were said to reclaim 75 per cent. His Lordship proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Bowyer, who was a most indefatigable person. (Cheers.)

*The Rev. H. J. Hatch*, Chaplain to the House of Correction, Wandsworth, seconded the resolution, as he could speak from experience of the benefits resulting from Mr. Bowyer's exertions. He would mention a circumstance which had occurred to him that very morning. A lad who had been sent to prison for thieving, stated that his father had broken his leg, and was in Guy's Hospital, and he added, "please sir, father told me to get into prison till he came out of hospital." When a parent was so unmindful of his responsibility, it was a blessing to the community to remove the boy from his charge, and place him under instruction; but do what they would, they could never give the criminal the feeling of independence, which the honest man possessed however poor, therefore, the honest man was immeasurably superior to any benefit they could confer on the convicted criminal. (Hear.) Those assembled before him proved that all classes felt themselves interested in this important movement, and all such were indebted to Mr. Bowyer for his zeal and perseverance. (Cheers.)

*G. J. Bowyer, Esq.*, said he felt grateful for the kind mention made of him. He had only done his duty, and had done it imperfectly. Lord R. Grosvenor had accused him of writing very often, but he had always found his Lordship ready to reply, and not unfrequently he had found, what he hoped their friends present would bear in mind, a cheque. (Hear.) The working classes were deeply indebted to his Lordship, and though his intentions had lately been misunderstood, he felt sure he had their welfare deeply at heart. In conclusion, he asked the support of the meeting, for there was still much to do. The new building would cost £850, of which only £450 had as yet been subscribed. (Cheers.)

"God save the Queen" was then sung by the inmates.

The Rev. Canon Dale announced that he would give all his parishioners an opportunity of contributing, by having a collection as soon as possible. (Cheers.)

The meeting then separated.

The architect of the new Building is *A. J. Baker, Esq.*, of Barton Crescent, who kindly gives his services gratuitously.

On *Wednesday, December 19*, the new Building was opened by a public meeting very fully attended, which derives additional interest from the fact of its having been the last attended by that excellent man, *Sergeant Adams*, assistant judge of the Middlesex Sessions, whose lamented death took place a very short time afterwards.

The proceedings, as those of the last meeting, commenced with prayer by the Rev. J. H. Gurney, and a hymn by the inmates.

The chair was taken by the *Hon. W. J. Cosper, M.P.*, who expressed his gratification that an Institution which commenced with so small a beginning had been expanded to such limits. In former times the only course was to punish crime, and when, as almost always happened, the criminal repeated his offence, increased severity was resorted to. Of late years there had been a vast improvement in our prisons; moral agency was brought to bear, which had been productive of the best results. In the solitude of prison, an opportunity for reflection was given, seldom afforded in the turmoil of life, and the better feelings exercised their due influence. The dictates of benevolence had been found to be the dictates of wisdom. When the criminals left prison there was often a great struggle in their minds whether they should return to former vices, or endeavour to elevate themselves to an honest, respectable position, but they were in circumstances which rendered it most difficult to follow the right path. He knew of no more pitiable condition than that of a man who came out of prison with a desire to reform, who had repented of the evil which he had committed, but who found every avenue of honest employment closed. There was a repugnance against the branded felon, and he was irresistibly drawn from the point at which he hoped to arrive, to the depths he desired to avoid. Unless he had a stronger will, and greater determination than most of his class, it was almost impossible for him to avoid resuming his former evil course. This was the moment at which this, and similar Institutions stepped in to his aid, and gave him a chance of getting on, providing a fold for these wandering sheep at the moment they were most liable to stray—(cheers)—and teaching them those trades which would enable them to earn their own living. It was a remarkable circumstance that the mass of our criminals were ignorant of any trade. (Hear.) They displayed ability and ingenuity in abstracting property, and it was the object of the Institution to divert those talents into a better channel, to change those who preyed upon society, into useful members of it. All might assist by purchasing articles of their manufacture. Moral and industrial training was their object, to comparative neglect of mere scholastic culture. (Hear.) The inmates were taught that there were some who cared for them; and that the love which was manifested in providing them with a home, and means of reformation, was but a reflection of the Divine Love. Thus, they were won not by fear, but love, the only way in which great and lasting changes could be wrought in the human heart. (Cheers.)

*S. Cave, Esq.*, the Hon. Secretary said, that the recent great alterations had prevented his furnishing a complete report, according to his promise at the last meeting, (reported in the XIX or September number of this Magazine.) He hoped, however, before long, to show how far the Institution was self-supporting, not that it can ever be strictly self-supporting: the expenses being considerable, and the inmates being sent out to get their own living so soon as they become tolerable workmen: still in a wider sense it may be called self-supporting. An Institution which for a few

pounds a head, turns thieves, who cost the country hundreds a year, into honest men, and prevents boys from becoming thieves—a society which turns wasps into bees; idlers and rogues into steady workers, may be called, looking to the country at large, more than self-supporting, a lucrative investment of public money. (Cheers.) We have proved that it is not impossible to reform criminals, and silenced objections on that score; and now we hear it said that society is improving, and that these efforts are superfluous: we hope it is improving, but it is in consequence of such efforts: these objectors forget the workers; society improves as the coral reef grows, by the secret toil of many unobtrusive laborers, whose number and whose efforts must be increased before it can lift its head above the waves of crime. (Cheers.) He called their attention to the building, it had cost a large sum, but there was no architectural beauty in it, it was a mere box with square holes in it, adapted for its purpose, nothing more; not that the committee were blind to architectural excellence, but because they grudged spending on embellishments, even the small sum which might save one sinner from the error of his ways. (Hear.) He adverted to the movement being taken up on a large scale by Government and Counties, and said he considered there was great danger of failure. The work could not be done by ordinary paid agents, a man must have his heart and soul in it; unless he had, the best system could be of no avail. He gave some statistics of the Institution, that since 1852, when they commenced with six inmates, 51 had left, of whom 5 had emigrated; 13 had been established in trade; 14 had joined army or navy; 4 had been provided for by friends; 7 had quitted prematurely; 1 had been dismissed, and 1 had died. There were at present 35, one being a ticket-of-leave man. (Hear, from Sergeant Adams)—of whom 3 were training as assistants for Reformatory Schools. The present building would contain 100, to defray expense of which a large sum was wanting, and he trusted the liberality, as well as the interest of the meeting would not suffer the undertaking to languish for want of funds. (Cheers.)

*Mr. Sergeant Adams* said, this was a subject of vital importance to the entire Empire. He thought people were now taking a correct view of the punishment of crime, and reformation of criminals. The two should not be confounded. The criminal should undergo the punishment due to the offence, before being admitted to the advantages of a Reformatory. He himself was peculiarly interested in these Institutions, the first of the kind having been established in Warwickshire many years ago by one of his name and family. (Hear.) Most people heard that he was opposed to the ticket-of-leave system. Nothing could be more absurd than turning men out of prison with a sum of money in their pockets, and a blemished character. Why, the first thing they did was to make up for their confinement by spending the money in jollification; probably with their old companions in crime; and at any rate they found the hope of honest employment cut off. No one would trust them. The learned Sergeant narrated anecdotes in support of his views; and concluded by saying, that if convicts who behaved well, were, instead, made to pass through the purifying ordeal of a Reformatory, it

would be a vast improvement on the present monstrous system. (Cheers.)

*Sir B. Hall* said, they had met to prosecute an object which had been put forward of late years by philanthropic persons, but which had been originated in the metropolis many years ago, and had been stopped by circumstances on which it was unnecessary to dilate (referring to Captain Brenton's scheme, written down by the *Times*.) We were now living in an age of improvement of all kinds, scientific, social, moral, and political. Sergeant Adams had spoken of the county of Warwick, and he was glad to see that a meeting had recently been held by the influential Roman Catholics of the county, who had determined to establish a large Institution, to which £4,000 had been already subscribed, for the reformation of criminals of their faith. (Hear, hear.) He hoped the inhabitants of the large and wealthy Borough of Marylebone would vie with the Catholics of Warwickshire, and produce an Institution worthy of the district, and of the objects to which it was dedicated. (Hear.) He had often wondered how the wretched children who swarmed in the streets could ever be brought to maturity; and yet more, how any of them could avoid sin, or overcome the temptations into which they were so early led. One object of Reformatories was, to bring up these children in a way to make them abhor vice, and the other object to bring back into a better state those who had fallen. The great evil of the ticket-of-leave system was, that the men discharged from custody had no place to which they could go, but in an Institution like this they were sheltered for the time, and removed from former temptations. It had been said by the Secretary that men like Mr. Bowyer, who conducted this Institution from disinterested motives, were far more valuable than paid superintendants. In this he quite agreed, they were more valuable to the Institutions themselves, and they were more valuable in a wider sense, they formed a link between classes, and forced the lower classes to think well and kindly of those above them, instead of joining in the cry, which he was happy to say was daily lessening, against the gentry. The Right Hon. Bart. concluded by assuring the meeting that he would spare no exertions to further so valuable an Institution. (Cheers.)

*R. Hanbury, Esq.*, said, that he was happy to advocate the cause of the Institution, having for some time had experience of the value of such projects, in one of his own in another quarter of the metropolis. (Cheers.)

*The Rev. J. H. Gurney* said, that some people averred that the war compelled us to look into the condition of the lower classes; there could be no greater mistake. It was during the long peace that so many Institutions for the improvement and reformation of the dangerous classes of society had sprung up. The absorbing interest of the war, as well as the taxes rendered necessary by its vast expense, had acted very injuriously on all charitable Institutions. (Hear.)

*Mr. Curtis, the Rev. Mr. Hatch*, and other gentlemen, having addressed the meeting, a vote of thanks was passed to the chairman, and the proceedings terminated.

On the 9th of February, a conversational meeting was held at the Reformatory, when a discussion took place in which S. Cave, Esq., Hon. Secretary, G. H. Oliphant, Esq., Barwick Baker, Esq., Mr. Leland, the Rev. H. J. Hatch, and others joined. The feeling of the meeting seemed to be in favor of compulsory education of neglected children, and of making the parents contribute towards the expense. Apprehension was expressed that paid agency might not prove so successful as voluntary effort, and it was therefore considered that government should support voluntary movements, rather than found Institutions of its own. Regret was expressed at the division which took place among the promoters of Reformatories at the conference, the day before, in consequence of a portion having objected to the admission of Roman Catholics into the Reformatory Union.

The Roman Catholics of England are becoming active in the Reformatory Movement, and of their most important meeting, held at Birmingham, the first week of December last, we have the following report from *The Birmingham Mercury*, of December 8th :—

“The Right Rev. Dr. ULLATHORNE, of Birmingham, was called upon to move the first resolution, which, after recognising the alarming increase of juvenile delinquents, and the principle of reforming juvenile offenders being preferable to punishing them, recommended the establishment of a school for the reformation of such Catholic youths as might be convicted of crime in the counties of Warwick, Stafford, Derby, Oxford, Leicester, Nottingham, Northampton, Salop, and Worcester. He observed that their fellow-countrymen had established, or commenced to establish reformatory institutions in not less than twenty-five counties, and it was therefore high time the Catholics also began operations. (Hear, hear.) They had amongst them a large class of poor, who were placed in a most exceptional condition, uprooted from their native homes by circumstances the most sad, and the most heart-rending, and thrown upon the broad world in search of bread and shelter. They came to this country in vast numbers, and wherever they came, from their poverty they were cast into the most miserable and contaminating parts of our large towns. That class of distressed brought with them their own feelings, their own traditions, their own habits, which were indeed very little understood amongst those amid whom they were destined to live. They were placed, as it were, in almost a state of repulsion wherever they went, for that faith which is their constant, their great, their one support and consolation, was alas, too often the very cause of the repulsion they found on every side. (Cheers.) They had no friend except their priest, and they were so separated that in many places they could not even find that friend. Their patience, their endurance, their piety, and above all, their reliance upon the providence of God which rules over the sad destiny of these virtuously heroic, are known only to God and to us. Out of this class there had sprung another—another had sprung out of their



very poverty. There were orphans not a few, who had been made such by fever and by pestilence; there were fathers in America and Australia in numbers, whose children were here, perhaps with widowed mothers; there were fathers and mothers separated from each other in search of labour, and who never again found each other. Then there were those who were convicted, who were in our gaols, who were transported, and had made another class of orphans. Then there were a class who came themselves without any protectors. How often had he met, while walking on the public road, young women, with the freshness of innocence upon their faces, their shawls drawn over their poor heads, and their feet naked, asking their way to this town, or that, seeking some relative, and it had made his heart ache, when, after giving them a few words of advice, and passing them by, he thought how little they knew to what they were going. He did not include these in the crime class; but he said they were hastening to those places where they would find a crime class. There was still another class whom intemperance had made miserable. All these classes were thrown into the most contaminating quarters of our towns; their homes were rather dens of squalor and denudation, than properly speaking homes, nor had they any refuge even to obtain a little wholesome air, except streets filled with gin-shops. These were to be added as causes for the increase of crime amongst those of their communion. It must be remembered that, in addition to their own natural proportion of poor, they had an immense number of poor who came among them, who were most dear to him, and of whom he had said what he had said in apology and explanation. Notwithstanding all these causes, upon inquiry he found that the numbers of young delinquents convicted of crime, so far as he was able to ascertain, were far fewer than the general statements and reports put forth would lead them to conclude. He had made inquiries from the chaplains attending the gaols in the four counties in which he was particularly interested. In Stafford Gaol, so far as known to the chaplain, there had been in the course of last year 300 men who had declared themselves Catholics, six youths under sixteen, and one or two girls. At a great meeting held last year, Captain Fullford, the respectable governor of that gaol, stated that in the course of the previous five years, 20,000 persons had passed through Stafford gaol, giving an average of 4,000 persons per annum. In the gaol at Worcester, the number of Catholic men in the course of the present year, as far as known to the chaplain, had been fourteen; women, four; boys and girls, two or three. In the gaol at Warwick, as far as known to the chaplain, the number of Catholic men was sixty-three; women, thirty-five; boys, ten; girls, five. From Coventry gaol he had not received returns. In the gaol at Oxford, he believed there were very few Catholics, the chaplain wrote that there had been no boy or girl there to his knowledge, during the course of the past year. He now came to Birmingham Borough Gaol. The chaplain of this prison had visited during the whole period of his appointment twenty-four men, sixteen boys, and seventeen women; there were now under his care six men, four women, and no boys; during the

whole of this year he had not seen more than eight men, five or six women, and only one boy. If these returns could be taken as proofs of the number of Catholic delinquents confined in the gaols of these counties, it would give an extraordinary low average; but he was convinced they showed no really accurate result. (Cheers.) They proved to how many Catholics they chaplain had been introduced, and they proved nothing more. In the Birmingham Borough Gaol, he found the rules, requiring that the chaplain should not see a criminal unless the prisoner asked for him, was most rigidly enforced; and in several cases he had reason to know, where parents had spoken to the clergyman, and he had consequently asked to see prisoners, he had received the answer that they had not asked to see him. (Hear, hear.) He had also reason to believe that in the course of this year, although the chaplain declared he had had but one boy introduced to him, there had been at least three or four youths in that gaol, Catholics, who had been sent over to the Reformatory Institution at Saltley, or other Reformatory Schools, without the Catholic chaplain having had an opportunity of seeing them. (Hear, hear.) From these statistics he came to the conclusion either that the Catholic criminals in these counties were very few indeed, which the public was not willing to admit. (Laughter.) Or that no opportunity was given to reform them. (Hear, hear.) He could form a fair idea of what the proportion used to be between Catholics and the other criminals of this country. He passed eight years of his life in the colonies to which our convicts were transported; and the average of Catholic criminals transported from England, as compared with others, was ten per cent. Sergeant Adams, in an able letter to the *Times* last week, stated the average number of young criminals in England, up to the age of fourteen, as compared to the whole body of criminals, was ten per cent.; the average between the ages of fourteen and twenty was fully fifty per cent.; that would give sixty per cent. to a crime class ranging up to twenty years of age. What he had laid before them he considered to be calculated to induce the strongest possible motives for carrying out the objects of the Institution they were met to promote. The actual number of Catholic poor in Birmingham could not be less than three or four and twenty thousand. The Birmingham police returns for 1854 shewed that the numbers summarily convicted or held to bail, were 783 males, 112 females, total 895; the numbers committed to sessions were 378 males, 126 females, total 504; committed to assizes, 46 males, 13 females; total 51. Of these the number under sixteen years of age summarily convicted and held to bail was 209 males, and 29 females; committed to sessions, 60 males, and 8 females. The Rev. Dr. read the education classification from the same return, proving ignorance to be a main source of crime; and then went on to say that, despite Shakspeare's famous question, he was of opinion that there was a great deal in a name. Although the word Reformatory was as modest a word as could be adopted for the general expression of the object of which they were speaking, yet he should not like a name, modest even as that, attached to an Institution of that kind. He would not have a

name which in any manner indicated that a youth came from an establishment in which he had been confined as a criminal. (Hear, hear.) They knew well the truth of that proverb, "give a dog a bad name and hang him." The learned prelate, in support of his argument, referred to the excellent practice of never calling transports "convicts" or "prisoners" in Australia; to the titling of reformatories in France, "*Colonie Agricole*;" and in Scotland, "Houses of Refuge," or "Industrial Schools." He next adverted to the paramount importance of providing a good "head" for such an establishment; mentioned that the venerable abbot present had selected such a man, a British subject, from a similar association in France, which he had successfully conducted; and remarked that there must ever be by the side of the superior a chaplain selected from amongst hundreds, combining within himself the most generous self-devotedness, the most minute knowledge of human nature, and at the same time that rare power of winning and attracting boys. The indispensable requisites of outdoor employment; the essential elements of curing the *physique*, acting through the mind upon the body, as well as through the body on the mind, were ably enlarged upon. Of the utility of classification and probationary treatment, the learned prelate discussed at length, and proceeded to observe, that they had then to decide whether they would commit the unfortunate, unhappy criminal of their faith to others, or take the charge upon themselves. (Hear, hear.) They had to consider whether they would respond to the invitation held out by government to all religious sects: whether they could, by taking up this system, virtually put themselves into a position to win the confidence of the government, of public opinion, and of the magistrates, and having won that confidence, whether they should not be able to penetrate further into their gaols. (Hear, hear.) Whether they should not be able gradually to obtain their strict rights in this free country. (Cheers.) Whether they would show they had in them the benevolence, charity, and zeal which inspired their fellow-countrymen or not—they had to prove whether they were worthy of the opportunities put into their hands; whether they would leave their Catholic convicts to fester in gaols, or pass into other Reformatories, where they could never be internally reformed, for the Catholic heart could receive no other religion but the Catholic. (Cheers.) And if they were not in Catholic hands they would become hypocrites, and be thrown again on society worse than when they entered these Schools. (Applause.) He concluded by intimating that it was said the Catholics, by instituting Reformatories, were beginning at the wrong end; and by maintaining that this was not the case, inasmuch that Catholic education was in a satisfactory condition, and they were thus working at both ends. The Right Rev. Dr. resumed his seat amid loud applause.

The Right Rev. the Abbot of St Bernard's Monastery made a statement declaratory of his opinion in favour of the establishment of a Reformatory School, and that he and his brethren were willing to undertake the reformation of Catholic Juvenile Offenders. He entered into full details of the plan on which the Institution would

be founded, said the building was in course of erection four miles from the Abbey at Charnwood Forest, would cost £966 10s. 3d. exclusive of painting, &c., and would accommodate 100 boys. (Cheers.) A lodge would have to be put up at a cost of £60, and it was necessary to purchase fifty acres of land, at a cost of £2500; the present quantity of land attached to the monastery, 230 acres, being not more than sufficient to support the community, and the 100 poor daily relieved. A total sum of £4000 would be at least required. The inspector of prisons had signified his intention to certify the Reformatory, as soon as it was ready for occupation, which would be in about three months. (Hear, hear.) And the Government would then give 5s. per week for the support of each boy. From this, the land to be provided, and no officials having to be paid, it was fully anticipated that the Reformatory would become self-supporting. (Applause.) The rules would be almost the same as at the Institution of *La Grand Trappe*; and the management would be vested in the Abbot."

From Northamptonshire we have the following *Report*, and we beg attention to the observations of the Rev. H. J. Barton, as they are of great importance to all; particularly to our friends in Ireland, who are only *about* to commence the establishment of Reformatory Schools.

*Northamptonshire Society, for promoting and extending Education, in accordance with the principles of the Established Church.*

(Extracted from the '*Northampton Herald*' of Saturday, Feb. 16, 1856.)

The General Meeting of this Society was held on Tuesday last at the George Hotel, in this town. There were present, the Bishop of Sodor and Man, Lord Lilford, Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton, the Dean of Peterborough, E. Bouverie, Esq., Col. Cartwright, W. B. Stopford, Esq., W. Smyth, Esq., H. O. Nethercote, Esq., H. P. Markham, Esq., H. P. Gates, Esq., Revds. Henry J. Barton, P. Lee, Thos. James, Chr. Smyth, G. S. Howard Vyse, W. Woolcombe, H. De Sausmarez, R. Isham, D. Morton, F. M. Stopford, Hamlet Clark, J. H. Brookes. &c., &c., &c.

On the motion of Colonel Cartwright, Lord Lilford was invited to preside.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting having been read, Lord Alwyne Compton read the following Report:—

"When the Northamptonshire Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church determined, in August 1854, to discontinue its central schools in Northampton, to enlarge its objects, and, consequently, to adopt a somewhat different

name,—the following were laid down as the chief points to be kept in view:—

- 1st. The introduction into rural schools of industrial instruction.
- 2nd. The establishment of a training institution for the masters of such schools.
- 3rd. The periodical inspection of such schools.
- 4th. The improvement of the grammar schools throughout the county, and establishment of additional schools for the middle classes.
- 5th. Reformatory institutions for young criminals of both sexes.
- And, 6th. Industrial feeding schools for the unemployed children in towns.

To which must be added, what has always been an object of the Society, viz., to make grants towards the building of parochial schools.

Your Committee have now to state how far these objects have been attained during the last 18 months.

The Society having resolved, at its last annual meeting, to proceed first with the Reformatory Schools, one of these (that for boys) has already been opened. Full particulars with respect to it will be found in the report of the Reformatory School Committee, from which it will also be seen that the corresponding institution for girls has been delayed, because the building to be used for that purpose is not yet available.

The first steps towards the establishment of the Training Institution for Schoolmasters at Peterborough have also been taken. It will be seen from the report of the Special Committee that the Lord Bishop of Peterborough has presented the Society with an acre of land, in an excellent position, near the cathedral; that a house has been taken as a temporary residence for masters; and that plans and designs for a practising school are in preparation, which it is proposed to build as soon as possible, so as to open the Training Schools this year.

The Committee regret that they cannot lay before the present meeting an estimate of the expense of the practising school.

The Inspector has nearly completed his examination of the schools in union with the Society, and his report will be laid before the meeting.\* The Committee regret that it is not in their power to remunerate him adequately for his services to the Society. They propose that the Society should pay him £30 a year for the keep of a horse and his extra travelling expenses.

The Society has made small grants towards the building of two parochial schools, in the parish of Hargrave, and the parish of St. Peter's, Northampton.

With respect to Grammar and Middle Schools, it will be seen that the Special Committee have been in communication with the managers, in certain cases, as to the means of rendering such schools more efficient, and have also prepared a scheme for a self-supporting

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\* Not laid before the meeting in consequence of having been wrongly posted.

Middle School in Northampton, but they have deferred carrying out their scheme in the hope that the Charity Commissioners' Inspector, who has lately visited the town, may render it unnecessary. Should this not be the case, this Society cannot employ its funds more efficiently in the cause of education than in opening such schools, which in a few years will be found to exert a powerful influence on the lower classes, as well as those who attend them.

Among the new rules to be submitted to this meeting is one for the appointment of corresponding members.

Your Committee trust that one effect of that measure will be greatly to extend the influence of the Society in the county, and to enlarge the subscription list.

They trust that their receipts in the present year will thus become sufficient to enable them to make the following grants from the annual income of the Society, for each of which a resolution will be proposed to the meeting, viz. :—

Inspector of Schools.....	£35
Paid Clerk .....	25
Building Parochial Schools .....	50
Towards support of Reformatory School .....	110
Ditto      Training School .....	110
General or contingent expenses.....	50

In the event of the hopes of the Committee being disappointed, it will be necessary to reduce the grants; the opening of the Training School must be deferred; the grants to building schools diminished; and the capital of the Society treasured upon for maintaining objects which are all essential.

This, however, your Committee are willing to hope is impossible.

The General Statement of the Income and Expenditure of the Society for the past year is as follows :—

	General Purposes.			Training School.			Reformatory.			Middle School.			Gross Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Received.	976	2	0	842	1	0	1231	19	0	20	0	0	3070	2	0
Paid.....	164	19	1				383	17	6				548	16	7
In hand ..	811	2	11	842	1	0	848	1	6	20	0	0	2521	5	5

#### TRAINING AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

The Report of this Committee was next read, as follows :—

The Society having determined to open a Training Institution for masters, at Peterborough, where they may be prepared for the management of Schools in rural parishes, your Committee, at their first meeting, addressed enquiries to the Committee of Council on Education as to whether they might hope for assistance in carrying out their object from the annual Parliamentary grant. They were informed, in reply, that such help could only be granted on the usual condition, viz. : their training the students in such a manner

as to qualify them to hold Certificates, and giving them, in short, a higher amount of instruction than the Society had contemplated.

Your Committee, therefore, felt it necessary to examine anew the whole question as to the advantages and disadvantages of employing "certificated" masters in rural parishes. It cannot be doubted that a highly-educated teacher will increase the efficiency of any school he is placed over, provided that, in extending his knowledge, he has not neglected to pay full attention to the best methods of teaching, nor omitted to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the subjects usually taught in village schools. These dangers seem carefully guarded against in the scheme of examination for training colleges which the Committee of Council had adopted.

Such masters, however, are often objected to, either because they are too expensive, or because they are above their work. The first difficulty is removed by the minute of the Committee of Council for making grants for the support of schools in rural districts and towns with less than 5,000 inhabitants, such grants to be proportioned to the number of scholars in regular attendance. With the assistance thus given, a master holding a certificate may generally be obtained at an expense (to the promoters of a parish school) less than the hire of a labourer at 12s. a week; less, therefore, than could well be offered to any other trained master.

Moreover, it appears by returns which your Committee have received, and of which a summary is appended to this report, that the sums actually paid to masters in the county would, with capitation grants, &c., be amply sufficient for 'certificated' masters. And as regards the objection that such masters are above their work, the Committee trust this will not be the case with those trained in the proposed institution at Peterborough, with express reference to industrial and other requirements of village schools.

Your Committee have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the instruction given in the Training School should be adapted to the Government examinations. The Society will, by this means, be entitled to considerable grants to the school, amounting to between one-fourth and one-third of the annual expense, besides grants towards the building.

During the past year, the Lord Bishop of Peterborough has kindly presented to the Society, with the consent of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, one acre of ground, in an excellent position, not far from the Cathedral, and on this site the Training School will be built. The precise position of the acre, forming part of what is known as the Vineyard Estate, has been fixed upon by the Committee, so as to suit the convenience of the Cathedral Grammar School Trustees, to whom they understand that an acre had, in like manner, been conveyed. The deed (if not done already) will be executed in a few days. Besides this, the Committee propose to rent one acre of land adjoining, so as to enable the students to work and receive instruction in gardening, and thus qualify them to manage schools where agricultural employment is combined with in-door lessons.

As it is highly desirable that the Society should proceed cautiously, they have determined, in the first instance, only to build

a school-room (with class rooms attached), where the students may practically learn the art of teaching, and whither the boys of the new parish in Peterborough (about to be formed into a district), may be expected to come. The other buildings, such as master's residence, &c., they have determined not to commence till the Training School shall have been brought fully into operation.

To secure the satisfactory character of the buildings, they appointed a Sub-committee to act with a Committee of the Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, and to obtain plans and estimates from some competent architect, by which means they hope to avoid all unnecessary expense or unsightliness in the design.

They have also taken, as a temporary residence for the masters and pupils, a house adjoining the two acres of land, at a rent of £20 a year, which is underlet till the Society shall require the use of it.

The probable annual expense of the Training School will be found in the report of the General Committee.

The annual subscriptions of the Society are not, at present, sufficient to justify it in opening its Training Institution, even on the most moderate scale. Your Committee trust, however, that this may soon be remedied, as no real improvement can take place in the Parochial Schools save through the employment of duly trained masters. The supply of such masters from existing institutions is even now unequal to the demand for them, and in few, if any of them, are they prepared to take charge of schools where much stress is laid upon industrial teaching.

The Committee are glad to state that the number of Parochial Schools in the county continues steadily to increase. During the past year the Society has made small grants to two new schools, at St. Peter's, Northampton, and at Hargrave. When the house in St. Giles's-street shall have been sold, you will have more ample means at your disposal to assist in building schools where they are still required."

The Report on the Pecuniary Condition of the Schools throughout the County was then read as follows :—

" In the month of February, of last year, the secretaries, by direction of the general Committee, sent circulars to the clergy in the county, requesting information as to the schools in their several parishes, the number of scholars, the size and height of the rooms, the salaries of the teachers, and the sums paid by the children. From 143 rural parishes (as well as from the towns) answers were received from which the following tables are compiled :—



Size of Parish	No. of Parishes in the County.	Aggregate Population.	No. of Returns of Par. sent in.	Aggregate Population.	Schools Mixed, Mistress, Master, &c.	No. of	Average Population.	Average Attendance.	Salaries.	Average
Under 150	36	3,365	21	2,409	None - - - - -	14	105		£ £	
					Mixed, Mistress - - -	6	124	19	5 to 25	
					Endowed Grammar - -	1	135			
Under 600	147	51,330	63	24,375	None - - - - -	13	272		5 to 35	
					Mixed, Mistress - - -	20	272	24	5 to 35	
					Mixed, Master - - -	10	406	29	12 to 61	
					Mixed, or Boys and Girls	-	-	-	-	-
					Master and Mistress - -	15	463	47	25 to 51	
					Mixed, Master, and Infant	3	399	79	39 to 100	
					Boys, Mixed and Infant -	1	450	140		
					Other Schools - - - -	2	418	47		
Under 1,000	60	45,778	36	27,708	None - - - - -	1	736		17 to 31	
					Mixed, Mistress - - -	2	709	40	25 to 37	
					Boys, Master - - - -	2	667	35	25 to 37	
					Mixed, Master - - - -	9	730	50	30 to 80	
					Mixed, or Boys and Girls	-	-	-	-	-
					Master and Mistress - -	17	797	65	21 to 50	
					Mixed, Master, and Infant	2	875	100	33 to 85	
					Mixed, Master, Mistress, & Infant	2	822	104	33 to 100	
To 1,500	28	32,684	16	18,148	No School (being established)	1	1,443		30 to 75	
					Boys, Master - - - -	4	1,201	59	30 to 75	
					Mixed, Mistress - - -	1	1,777	38		
					Mixed, Master - - - -	2	1,107	61	27 to 35	
					Mixed, or separate—	-	-	-	-	-
					Master and Mistress - -	6	1,185	88	46 to 100	
					Mixed, Master, and Mistress	-	-	-	-	-
					and Girls endowed - -	1	1,089	159		
					Several Mixed and Infant	1	1,231	210		
Above 1,500 to 5,000	15	32,018	7	14,181	Boys only - - - - -	1	1,577	50		
					Mixed, or separate—	-	-	-	-	-
					Master and Mistress - -	2	1,548	80	57 to 60	
					Master & Mistress, and Infant	2	2,886	189	105 to 130	
5,000 & upwards	4	45,606								
	286	166,165	137	84,624						
	290	210,770								

In many of the small parishes, with no school, the children may perhaps go to an adjoining parish school.

Without going into lengthened calculations, it may be stated on the authority of these tables, that in parishes of less than 600 inhabitants with mixed schools under a mistress, it would be possible, with Government aid, to raise the salary of the mistress from £23 to £42 a year, for which a good certificated mistress may be obtained; and the same results would follow in other cases.

Again, if we suppose that in parishes of less than 150 inhabitants, no school is needed; that in other parishes with less than 600, there should be a mixed school, under a mistress; in parishes from 600 to 1,000, mixed schools under a master; in parishes from 1,000 to 1,500, schools under a master and a mistress; and in larger parishes, separate infant school besides, under a mistress, we shall find, from

the numbers given in the above tables, the following results (as affecting the whole county):

		Masters.	Mistresses.
36 parishes under	150	—	—
147 „	600	—	147
60 „	1,000	60	—
28 „	1,500	28	28
15 „	5,000	15	30
		103	205

Or about 100 masters and 200 mistresses will be required for the rural parishes in the county. These the Society may, perhaps, hereafter be able to furnish from its training institution, though, in the first instance, it proposes to confine its operations to masters for rural schools.

We cannot conclude this report on the pecuniary condition of the schools in the county, without referring to the very gratifying condition of the schools in the town of Northampton, in which there are employed, according to the returns we have received for six parishes only, no less than 12 masters and mistresses, nine of them certified, besides pupil teachers, at salaries amounting altogether to upwards of £700 a year. At the time the Society commenced its operations in 1812, its central school was the only one in the town; and we hope that the training school at Peterborough may, in like manner, form a nucleus around which will spring up many efficient parochial schools, and that the work of education may advance under the auspices of the Society during the next 44 years, as it has done during those that are past.”

#### REFORMATORY COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

The following report was next read:—

“Your Committee have to report that, after agreeing to a series of resolutions for their future guidance, they advertised for suitable premises and land, with the intention of receiving boys under 16 from any gaol in the county (including the Soke of Peterborough), or unconvicted boys who have fallen into vicious courses.

Your Committee having failed in obtaining what was required, some of its members agreed to advance a sufficient sum to purchase a small farm of 34 acres at Tiffeld, near Towcester, the Society paying the interest upon the mortgage so far as it exceeded the rent. The tenant of the farm expressed his willingness to take as many acres as the Society had no immediate occasion for at the same rental as before, although he would lose the advantage of the barns and other buildings.

It is hoped an arrangement will be made whereby the society shall pay £50 a year for 12 acres of land and the buildings referred to, with the power of taking as much more of the remaining 22 acres as they may require, and of purchasing the whole at the original cost.

Having obtained the land, your committee agreed upon plans for building a school and school-house to accommodate a master and about 30 boys, which has been done in a most satisfactory manner by Mr. Dunkley, of Blisworth, for the sum of £383 10s.

Your Committee having made known the character of the proposed institution to the rector of the parish, and conferred with him on the subject, proceeded next to enquire for a master and superintendent, and they consider themselves fortunate in having secured the services of Mr. Julius Benn, who has been highly recommended for his experience and zeal in a similar institution, and who, for the present, will take the entire management of the school under the Committee.

Your Committee have likewise to state that application was made at quarter sessions for the use of the militia store-house, in the town of Northampton, for a Female Reformatory School, and that the sessions have agreed to give up the store-house for that purpose as soon as a new one is built.

As regards their financial position, your Committee beg to refer to the report of the general Committee, by which it will be seen that, in answer to the appeal agreed upon at the annual meeting last year, the sum of £1,221 14s., donations, and £10 5s., annual subscriptions, have been received, which, they regret to say, fall far short of what was expected, particularly in annual subscriptions.

Your Committee also regret that they have experienced a further disappointment in their appeal to the Committee of Council of Education for grants towards rent, &c.

In conclusion, your Committee have to state that the school-house, having been examined by Her Majesty's Inspector of Prisons, and certified by the Secretary of State, is now opened for the reception of boys approved of by the Committee; and that, in addition to the three who were brought from another reformatory by Mr. Benn, one boy has been admitted from the parish of Kettering, his parents paying a shilling a week towards his support. The other three boys are considered to be in a hopeful state, and likely not only to exercise a beneficial influence on their companions, but to be capable of assisting in the work of the establishment, for which they are to receive 1s. a week each.

Rules have been agreed upon for the management of the institution, and a circular and forms of admission (which will be found with other printed documents, on the table) are to be sent to the clerks of the county and borough magistrates, and to those of the city and Soke of Peterborough.

#### REPORT OF THE MIDDLE SCHOOLS COMMITTEE.

The Middle Schools Committee's Report was next read as follows:

"Your Committee have held several meetings and discussed the question of a Middle School in the town of Northampton. But as one of the Charity Commissioners has recently been to examine the statutes of the Grammar School and other charities in the town, your Committee have determined to await the result of his enquiry. Should the Grammar School continue in its present inefficient condition, your Committee are prepared to lay before the Society a scheme for a day-school of a superior character, the payment to be £2 a quarter for each pupil. They would propose that a house

should be taken capable of accommodating 200 day scholars. That, in the first instance, three masters should be engaged to superintend respectively the classical, mathematical and English education of the pupils, at salaries, rising with the number in the school, from £200 to £300 for the head master, from £150 to £200 for second master, and from £80 to £100 a year for third master, besides extra masters for French, drawing, singing and drill. That a certain number of pupils, (30, when the school is full,) should be elected after examination to free scholarships, and that when the school is thoroughly established, three exhibitions of £50 a year, to last three years, be given after examination to those who have been educated in the school, one being open every year. Your Committee are satisfied that such a school, under good masters, would be well attended, and it will be found on calculation that, if so attended, it would more than cover its expenses.

The Endowed School at Guilsborough has also been under the notice of the Committee, and they have reason to hope that (the legal difficulties having been removed) the Trustees will consent to act, and that the school may be made available for the children of farmers and others of the middle classes.

Your Committee have also conferred with the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, on the subject of the Grammar School at Brackley, and are led to expect that the college, either alone or in conjunction with your Society, will convert the present establishment into an efficient Middle School.

Mr. Markham enquired whether any communication had been received from the trustees of the Grammar School at Northampton?

Lord Compton said, that a request had been received that morning by the Middle Schools' Committee, to meet the Trustees of the school to discuss means for its improvement.

Mr. Markham mentioned that a letter had been received from the master of the school, professing his readiness to do anything in his power to forward the views of the Committee.

#### EXPENDITURE.

Lord Compton said it was necessary at that meeting to authorize the proposed expenditure for the year, and he would now lay the items before the meeting.

After some discussion, in which Col. Cartwright expressed his objection to making payments out of the Annual General Income of the Society, the several items were agreed to, as mentioned in the Report of the General Committee.

The Officers of the Society were next appointed.

It was resolved to petition the county magistrates for permission to hold the Society's annual meeting in the County Hall, and for the Committee to meet monthly in the Grand Jury room, or in the room of the Clerk of the Peace.

Col. Cartwright next proposed the cordial thanks of the meeting to their two excellent Secretaries. Though he had the misfortune to differ with them on the present occasion, no one appreciated the value of their labours more than he did.

Mr. Nethercote seconded the motion.

Mr. Barton rose to return thanks. He said—It would be affectation to say we are not sensible of the compliment paid to us by this meeting, as Secretaries. If I stood alone I should tell my friend Col. Cartwright that what he has said proceeded from the partiality of friendship; but I am thankful to say I do not stand alone, and I have the satisfaction now of giving honour where honour is due. When I remember the clearheadedness, the untiring energy, the singleness of purpose with which Lord Alwyne Compton has devoted himself to this great and good cause, it is impossible for me to speak of him as he deserves. But I am glad to see that his conduct is appreciated by this meeting, as I hope and believe it will be by the county at large. It has been said that if the Church of England is only true to herself she can never fall; and it may be said with equal truth that if the nobility of England are true to themselves her aristocracy can never fall (I use the word true, not in any narrow and bigoted, but in its best sense); and in alluding to my brother secretary I can point to one who fulfils both these requirements; and I hope I am not taking too great a liberty if I say that we have in this room at this moment another instance of the same kind. No one knows my native county without knowing what the Bishop of Sodor and Man has done for Lancashire in promoting the great cause which we are now advocating. And no one knows the Isle of Man without knowing that, in their present bishop, they have a worthy successor of the Wilsons and Hildesleys of former times. Nothing would encourage us more than his lordship's advice and approbation; and if it can only go forth to his own county that he approves of what we are doing it would be the greatest help to us. His lordship knows that we are no new Society; but he may not know, or he may not remember, what ought to be known—that from the year 1812, when it was first established, to the year before last the Northamptonshire Society expended not less than £21,888 in assisting to build schools and in promoting the cause of education. Neither are we in our extended form a bigoted Society, and in part proof of this I will read one of the rules of the Reformatory School—'If the religious persuasion of any of the boys differ from that of the Church of England, a minister of that persuasion, at the request of such boy, or his parents or guardians, may be allowed to visit him, at all proper and seasonable times, under such regulations as the Committee shall approve.' But it has been said, and I am sorry to hear that in one instance it has been hinted at to-day, that we are proceeding upon too extensive and broad a basis. In answer to this I shall, perhaps, save the time of the meeting if I may be allowed to read an extract from a letter which I sent at the beginning of the present movement to one of the most influential members of the Society:—'If we lose sight of the broad view we lose everything. The great object of the united educational movement will fall to pieces. And, instead of one great undertaking, supported by the influence of the whole county (lay as well as clerical), there will be three smaller undertakings, only one of which (the Reformatory) will succeed. The Middle School question will never quicken into life at all, and

e Training Institution will again die out for want of lay energy and support. If a Reformatory School is wanted to diminish the numbers in the Gaol, a Training Institution is wanted to promote and extend sound religion and useful learning, so as to diminish the inmates of the Reformatory. And, above all, as a matter of life and death, security to the state, peace to society, and the moral regeneration of the masses of the people, a good and complete education for the middle classes is indispensably necessary. But all these must work together if any great good is to be done. The opportunity is now offered, and it may never be offered again, of combining the whole county for the purpose. There must be difficulties in every great undertaking, but it is un-English to flinch from them, and if I did not honestly believe that you would be the last to do so, I would not trouble you on the subject. Look for a moment at the immense advantage which the influence of a county gives. The ablest advice; the most experienced persons in every department are at its command. Without it, individual bodies are powerless, and the clergy especially are unable to carry forward their part of these educational schemes. The clergy, as a body, are not men of business; they never have been, and, perhaps, from the very nature of their office, they never ought to be. If, therefore, you deprive them of this lay assistance by not allowing the proposed union, you prevent what I believe would do more, not only for the morals, but for the religion of the county, than has ever yet been done for any county in England. How much truth comes out in the quiet discussion of any question before a Committee, and if you would only allow the clergy to be present on proper occasions, and yourselves be present with them from time to time, each would learn to understand and appreciate the other's motives, and truth, instead of prejudice, would be the result. Only keep the general Committee united; let it be combined with separate Committees for special purposes, and let the clergy and laity, for once, be welded together in so good a cause, and we shall be sure to succeed. By this combination we should realize what one of our judges pronounced with his dying breath to be the great want of English society—that 'sympathy' between the highest, the middle and the lowest classes which is of such incalculable advantage to all. I only wish I could state the case as it deserves, and I am sure it would present itself to your mind with irresistible force as an opportunity of doing good which does not happen once in a life, and on which the blessing of the Almighty must rest."

Lord Compton here expressed a hope that, before separating, they might hear something from the lips of the Bishop of Sodor and Man.

The Bishop of Sodor and Man immediately rose, but protested that he was never more taken by surprise than by the request made to him.

Not that he felt a want of interest in the cause of education, or in the advancement of that cause in his own native county, but that owing to his limited knowledge of the county, arising from his long separation, he did not feel himself in a position to express either approval or dissent regarding the proceedings of their Society. It was true he had a strong feeling upon the question of education—the question to which all his energies had been directed for years. He believed it was the

question on which the vital interests of England depended, and he was thankful to see that question taken up with such vigour in Northamptonshire.

He would speak upon another point. However energetic the clergy might be, they would find that they would not be able to move so efficiently as was desirable unless they were encouraged and urged on by lay cooperation. He believed, too, from practical experience—and perhaps they would think that he was giving utterance to a bold opinion—that the world was all wrong upon the question of education. He feared that too many were looking to the knowledge of the country instead of the piety of the country, as a means of directing the people in the path of wisdom, forgetting that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, and thinking rather through wisdom to lead to the fear of God. He hoped, therefore, that in Northamptonshire they would adhere to the principle which inculcated the love and fear of God, and invoked the aid of true religion to direct every effort for the promotion of education.

There was another point. They would not effect their purpose of rearing a moral and God-fearing population unless they trained their teachers in the fear and love of God. Their efforts, therefore, must first be directed to the training school. It was a most important thing to be careful as to the religious principle of those whom they selected to teach. He would not admit that teachers could be over-educated, but unless secular knowledge could be given them so as to promote humility and piety in their hearts, by which to influence people not so much by their worldly wisdom as by their piety and humility, the knowledge obtained by them would prove to be rather a curse than a blessing.

On the motion of Mr. Barton, it was unanimously resolved, “that the thanks of this meeting be given to F. S. Percival, Esq., the Treasurer; to H. P. Markham, Esq., Clerk of the Peace; and to J. Mercer, Esq., Treasurer of the county, for their valuable services in promoting the interests of the Society.”

Mr. Bouverie proposed, and the Dean of Peterborough seconded, a vote of thanks to the noble Chairman, which was cordially given and responded to, and the meeting separated.

#### REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

*To the Editor of the Salisbury and Winchester Journal.*

SIR,—In a letter recently addressed to Sir E. Kerrison, one of the members for Suffolk, by the Rev. Henry J. Barton, Rector of Wick, Northamptonshire, and published in the local and some of the London papers, the following most important passage occurs:—“I may further remark that though reformatory schools have been established in other counties, I believe Northamptonshire is, as yet, the only one in which the whole question has been taken up; in no other has been combined with them ‘the more noble and necessary duty of endeavouring to prevent crime rather than reform the criminal.’”

Now I would earnestly desire to direct the attention of every inhabitant of Wiltshire, and particularly of the magistrates who will next week meet at the Quarter Sessions, to this important extract

I confess that I have looked with much misgiving and fear upon the active movement that has been made during the present year among us for the establishment of a reformatory school. But I could not help doubting my own judgment when I saw Mr. Barton's name among the gentlemen who met at Hardwicke Court, as I know him well to be a man of Christian benevolence, practical experience, and sound judgment, equal to any one in the whole of the united kingdom. But this explanation of his more extended views and feelings has fully confirmed my former opinion, and I cannot but regret that no allusion was made to them in the account that lately appeared in your paper of the meeting, as I feel certain he must have pressed them with his usual zeal and force on the notice of the gentlemen who were assembled at Mr. Baker's.

In the present state of our county I cannot but look upon the establishment of the proposed reformatory school as a direct inducement to and premium upon crime, for I will ask any practical man, if every ploughboy in the county would not benefit his condition by getting into this establishment, where he would be provided with every comfort and advantage, and, after a certain period, returned back again into society in a better and higher position? And as there will be but one road by which he can arrive at these advantages, if he fail to discover it for himself, his friends and relatives will soon point it out to him.

Would it not be a work much more acceptable to God, and much more beneficial to man, to endeavour to direct all this zeal and liberality to "*the more noble and necessary duty of endeavouring to prevent crime*?" For look over the length and breadth of this great county, and I declare, I do not know a single rural parish where the social condition of the labourers is satisfactory, or the means for education anything approaching to efficiency. There may be such—but I do not know them. I know many where there is no day-school of any description, and one instance where in *five* parishes the schools are only kept in existence in their present wretched and almost useless condition by the liberality of one single individual. And I could name one parish, and that too belonging almost entirely to one of the most active promoters of this reformatory movement, where the social condition is such that the cottages are an outrage upon common decency, where no attempt has ever been made to teach a single ploughboy in the parish to write his name, and where they would have been equally unable even to read if it had not been for the little that has been done for that purpose by the dissenters.

Would it not then be much better to make the improvement of this wretched and deplorable state of things the subject of a county movement? Let every gentleman who has taken part in this reformatory movement, exert himself to the utmost, by his own liberality, and by his influence over others, to establish really useful and efficient schools on his own property, and in his own locality. An example would thus be set, and a spirit stirred up that, I do not doubt, would rapidly spread through the whole county. Nothing is wanted for this noble work but the means, and if it is to be done efficiently, *they* must be given with no niggard hand. Really good education,



like all other valuable things, can only be had at a costly price. But it is worse than folly in the professing friends of education, if they are really sincere in their professions, to hesitate for one moment about the cost. For while you remunerate your teachers at a rate below the wages of common labourers, and even then neglect to provide them with the necessary books and other requisites, you cannot expect to obtain it. In your paper of the 15th inst., there was an advertisement for a schoolmistress for a country parish, and offering a salary of eight pounds a year. This, I fear, is too just an example of the liberality of other country parishes. And what *must* be the result of such a system as this? You must of necessity get a person who is unable to teach properly the most common rudiments, and to such a person you entrust the entire control and management of the education of a whole parish. You are then surprised at the results, and pretend to regret that reformatory schools have become necessary.

It is a common thing to hear the professing friends of education ask with exultation, "Have you read such or such a pamphlet on education?" But it is a very rare thing to hear any one speak with commendation of the only efficient step that has, as yet, been taken in this county in the cause of education—the establishment of the training school at Salisbury, for mistresses, by the late Bishop, and its sincere and zealous support by the present Bishop, both before and since he was raised to the bench; and I believe it has only been by great exertions, on the part of a few individuals, that this excellent establishment has been kept in existence. These controversial writings, instead of promoting, only retard and mystify the great question of general education; and I believe that too many of them are put forth only to divert attention from the really important point, how the means are to be provided for a really efficient system of parochial education. To say that the difficulty is a religious one, I do not believe it to be true. I have never known an instance in all my experience, and it has been considerable, where the parents of children, for whose benefit our national schools are intended, ever refused to send their children from religious scruples, when the school was conducted in any degree approaching to usefulness and efficiency. And I know an instance at this moment, where an improvement having been made in the management of a school, all the dissenters in the parish immediately sent their children with alacrity and gratitude. When these objections are made, it is by a different and higher class of persons, and I do verily believe that in most cases they are put forth to keep alive a spirit of controversy, and to divert public attention from those heavy pecuniary sacrifices that must be made, either by voluntary contributions or general assessment, if we are ever to have a really useful and efficient system of parochial education.

But how proud and happy would it make me, if this county would really take up this great question with sincerity and zeal. I believe that a reformatory school would then be unnecessary. And that the few cases of depravity which would even then occur in the present corrupt state of human nature, would be better met by an improved system of prison discipline, and by a legal power being given to the

constituted authorities to commit for a longer period those criminals under a certain age, whom they should consider it advisable to subject to a full course of such discipline.

I shall deeply regret if these observations should cause pain to any individual. But I think it a subject on which every inhabitant of the county should fully and freely express an opinion. I cannot, for a moment, doubt the motives by which the promoters of this movement have been actuated. But I would earnestly entreat them to pause, and reflect seriously, before they proceed further. And with the zeal, the talents, and activity that some of them possess, I believe they will see that a higher, a nobler, and much a more useful course of duty lies open to them.

I am, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

G.

In the *Illustrated London News*, of March 1st. 1856, there appeared a portrait of a very remarkable man, William Driver, the Manager of the Home for Out-Cast Boys, accompanied by an account of that Institution, of which we have, in former Records, given some most interesting details.

About twelve months ago, the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland sent two of their excellent School-Masters to visit some of the English Reformatories, and when those gentlemen had returned we asked one of them—from whom did you gain most valuable and *original* information?—and the prompt reply was—"from Mr. Driver;" and, oddly enough he added, "*I don't believe in Nash, although I have read Mr. Martin's Place of Repentance.*" This young man's estimate of Mr. Driver is not, we think, too high; and the following letter, from him, which, through the attention of the Recorder of Birmingham we are enabled to insert, is of great interest, and value, in its suggestions:—

*Home for Outcast Boys,*

*Belvedere Crescent, Lambeth,*

*February 18th, 1856.*

Dear Sir,

I need not, I am sure, apologise for addressing you upon the subject of this letter. You have already had from Mr. Whitehead some foreshadowings of the success of our industrial department. But at the time when he wrote to you, describing his occasionally unclerical costume and occupation in our work-room, he was not in possession of the results of our last month's labour. Our arrangements are anything but complete, and our average skill is as yet rather low. Nevertheless our earnings even now are satisfactory. We have now dispensed with all professional assistance, and manage

our own affairs. Our numbers had, for reasons of economy, been unavoidably decreased from thirty to fifteen. We did think of keeping to this latter number for some months, but we find it impossible. Our work so increases, that to do it we are compelled to admit more boys. Here is an example of that "life in itself," which since your letter to Mr. Whitehead has become one of our stock sentences.

It is, as you have said, of great importance to have a business which can be speedily learned, and this is certainly the case with ours. It is not necessary, however, for all the boys to be equally proficient. There is a degree of skill which it is indispensable that some of the inmates should possess. I have a scale of proficiency in which I represent the highest skill by a symbol—say 12: lower degrees of skill, I represent by other figures from 1 upwards, altering the figure which represents each boy's skill according to his progress. I find that if I have two in fifteen at 12, the rest may be anywhere between 1 and 12. A boy can be made useful directly he comes in, and then he improves till he can take the place of those who leave.

Our goods are all manufactured to order, and such is the demand, that we can scarcely keep one small house supplied. We readily find customers, and our dealings with them being strictly matters of business, we are expected to send our work in as well as they have been accustomed to have it. In this we are perfectly successful, and the praise of our employer acts upon the boys as a very powerful motive to exertion. Sometimes we have to execute an order very quickly to a given time, and the boys take great pride in getting it done. Any appearance of slackness is a damper to them, just as much as it is to those who are working for their living. In fact, we find them most willing and capable, and—with the opportunity of spoiling valuable materials—careful. We now reckon our profits at nearly 20 shillings a boy per month, and we hope to increase them when we get somewhat clear of the difficulties in which we have got entangled in time past.

There are many details which would be interesting to you had I time to go into them. I have chiefly wished in this letter to let you know how we stand at present, and what appear to be our immediate prospects. Another pen, more used than mine to such discussions, will before long deal with the principle involved in our system of work.

I beg respectfully to reciprocate the kind wishes expressed towards me in your letters to Mr. Whitehead,

And am,

Dear Sir,

Your's obediently,

WILLIAM DRIVER.

M. D. HILL, Esq.

We have received a most admirable, and valuable publication—*Reports of the Governor, Chaplain, and Surgeon of the Leeds Borough Gaol*, for 1855, but at too late a period to

make extracts from it. The *Report* of the Chaplain, the Rev. G. B. De Renzi, is a most able one, and contains some of the best, and most useful tables we have seen, always excepting those of the Rev. John Clay.

The twentieth report of the Inspectors of Prisons in England is just published. It has reference to the prisons in the southern and western districts, and mentions some disgraceful cases of mismanagement. At Brecon, one of the prisoners was so depressed in spirits from long confinement that he was excused from hard labour at the request of the inspector. In the Cardiff county gaol, the accommodation is most inadequate, and the prisoners are all associated together, without any work, in the most demoralising manner, in utter disregard of the law. At Haverfordwest gaol, the greater humanity of the French law of imprisonment for debt is forcibly called to mind, when it is found that an old man of seventy years of age is incarcerated in a noisome prison for a debt of £124 and interest. The gaol of New Radnor is a disgrace to the nation, and, although it ought only to be used as a house of temporary detention, prisoners have been kept there a whole fortnight. The "airing yard" was found to be occupied by two donkeys and a large hog, it being, too, evidently their ordinary abode. At the new prison of Wells there is no convenience for prisoners seeing their legal advisers in private—"a defect" (remarks the report) "of very serious magnitude." At the Exeter county prison, the barbarous practice of cutting the prisoners' hair too short is condemned by the inspector. At the Exeter city gaol, the system is abominably defective; and rather adapted "to foster than to repress the growth of crime." At Plymouth the large accession of prisoners for refusing to go to sea after signing articles is noticed, and at this gaol a prisoner contrived to escape through a hole twelve inches long by six and three-quarters broad. At Tiverton, a debtor complained of the chaplain for refusing him the privilege of having one of his own books to read. This work, so dangerous in the eyes of the chaplain, turned out to be Milton's *Paradise Lost*, whereupon the inspector reversed the rev. gentleman's opinion.

Charles Knight has published hundreds of good, interesting, useful and valuable books, but we venture to assert, that amongst these publications there is not one more interesting than that issued in his *Weekly Volume*, and entitled *The Lowell Offering*,—composed of the writings of the Factory girls of the

Manchester of the United States—Lowell. We beg attention to the following circular, which we have received through the kindness of one of our most energetic and practical philanthropists, and a female one also, now living :—

### FACTORY REFORM, AND THE EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION OF ORPHANS, THE DEAF AND DUMB, AND THE DESTITUTE.

With a view to the Establishment in Great Britain, of an improved system of Factory Economy, an Institution is projected, the great and leading feature of which, is to combine with the ordinary factory, an establishment for the board, lodging, instruction, and training of the Female Workers.

An approach to this has been for the last forty years carried on at Lowell, in New England, U.S. It has been found to work well, and is attended with very good results—social and commercial—but it has not yet been carried out in Great Britain, where the factory system has been so much condemned, and where the workers, after the hours of labour, dismissed from the premises and dispersed without guidance or control, often become anything but creditable members of society, and the course of their lives is, too frequently, a training in improvidence and vice. Under such circumstances, when the workers become the mothers of other workers, the evil gathers in intensity, the factory system becomes productive of misery to thousands, is a cause of constant physical and mental deterioration, a great social evil, and a national disgrace. Whereas, by such an organization as would regulate the conduct, economize the earnings, and accumulate the surplus, improve the leisure time, enlighten the intellect, train the mind, and provide generally for the comfort, recreation, and welfare of the workers; the factory system, instead of being a byword, would become one of the brightest ornaments of the country, and stand almost unequalled amongst institutions having for their object the welfare of mankind.

By the establishment of organized homes for Female Factory Workers, an opportunity will also be provided for the maintenance and training of Female Orphans, the Deaf and Dumb, and the Destitute generally, by the labour of the parties themselves, who will be taken at an early age and apprenticed to the Institution. When it is considered what a constant and energetic effort is requisite to obtain donations and annual subscriptions, (often by the most pitiable appeals to the compassion of society), to accomplish these objects, how precarious is such support, and how very far short the most successful efforts prove to meet the necessities of the case, it must be admitted by all, that if some plan could be carried out that would permanently enable the destitute, not only to maintain themselves, but to improve their condition, such plan would be one of the greatest blessings that could possibly be conferred upon society.

In addition to the organization of a well-regulated Establishment for the residence, board, and lodging of the female workers, separate

suitable Houses will be provided for the married and single male workers.

It is intended to carry on, as a Special Department of the Institution, the Instruction and Training of the workers in their leisure time, mainly by the personal efforts, or under the superintendence of Ladies who may volunteer their gratuitous services, assisted by such well-educated parties as may have been reduced in circumstances, and to whom a comfortable home would be a desideratum. A portion of the Establishment will be appropriated as apartments for those Ladies who may wish to reside there: and when it is seen that Ladies will volunteer to help their fellow-beings amidst disease and death in foreign lands, it is presumed that many will be found who will lend a helping hand to train and elevate the youthful Orphans and Destitute of their own sex at home: and from this contact of highly educated Ladies, who may volunteer their valuable services, with the workers of the factory, the best results may most assuredly be expected.

As one successful self-supporting demonstration, that these objects may be secured, would do more good than a thousand theoretical treatises on the subject, it is proposed to establish near the junction of the West-Riding Railways at Monkhill, Pontefract, Yorkshire, a **MODEL FACTORY**, for the manufacture of such textile fabrics as may be determined upon by the Direction, chiefly aiming at carrying out that part of the foregoing system, which relates to the employment of Orphans and other destitute persons. The Capital to be raised in part by shares under the limited liability act, and (to meet the views of those parties who would wish to assist the project, but who might object to become commercial partners in a manufacturing establishment), in part by loans or preferential shares, bearing Interest at the rate of £5 per cent per annum, but not more, previous to any dividend being paid to the ordinary shareholders, who would however receive the residue and have the management in their hands.

A Prospectus will be issued as soon as it is ascertained to what extent co-operation can be obtained. Communications from parties who are interested in the project, or who would assist in its promotion, are desired by the originator, Wm. Wood, Monk-hill House, Pontefract, formerly managing Partner of the Wilton Carpet Factory, and First Inventor of the Self-acting Pile Carpet, and Velvet Power Looms, etc., who, from the great interest he takes in the proposed Institution, offers his gratuitous services in the Direction, and will subscribe Five Thousand Pounds to the Capital, from an intense conviction of the immense benefit that would accrue to the parties employed, and also with a full belief in its great commercial success, from having the regular services of steady, well fed, well clothed, and well-trained hands, working under the most favorable circumstances.

MONKHILL-HOUSE, PONTEFRACT.  
*February, 1856.*

Might not English Lowells be formed through such agency as this Prospectus indicates?

We have, in a former part of this Record, referred to Patronage Societies, and have endeavoured to place the history of these Institutions before the reader ; but, through the attention of a lady much interested in this subject, we are enabled to insert the following translation of the paper of M. Jules de Lamarque, on these Societies, read before the International Reunion of Charity, and printed in the June number, 1855, of *Les Annales de la Charité* :—

*Patronage of Young Détenus, and of Juvenile Libérés.*

Government and private benevolence had no sooner extended their solicitude towards the Juvenile libérés, than the law of the 5th of August placed them under the patronage of the State. The first Society of Patronage, was formed in the year 1822, and in the year 1847, the Minister of the Interior, through the interposition of his numerous agents and the Municipal Authorities, made enquiries relative to the conduct of the Juvenile Détenus at their places of residence, in order to be enabled to state the results of the moral and useful instruction they had received in the houses of Correction. In fine, the directors of these establishments, had also exercised a species of patronage in procuring them situations as workmen or servants, and have received the most interesting and flattering account of several of those boys they had brought up.

We shall now glance rapidly over these three modes of patronage, and explain their results.

The number of young criminals who leave annually those establishments of correctional education, is very considerable ; during the Summer of 1852, there were 1162, without reckoning the boys who had been sent in by their parents for correction. We can understand from this how necessary it would be to arrange work in which they could be employed, and even to organize something new.

The Government had taken from the Council of the State a draft of the public administrative rule, which will undoubtedly enable them to reap the benefit of the three systems which form the subject of this work.

**SOCIETIES OF PATRONAGE.**

These Societies have been up to the present, but few in number.

We find the most important of them in the great centres of our population in Paris, Lyons, Strasbourg, Rouen, Toulouse, &c., &c. Space would not permit our describing each of these institutions separately. We will therefore limit ourselves to that of Paris, under the superintendence of M. Bérenger (de la Drôme). This institution, which has served as a model to other analogous societies, was founded in 1833, at the instance of M. Ch. Lucas, who has had the honor of founding several institutions of patronage. The statutes were arranged by a company uniting several members of the Institution, who, like their worthy president, M. Bérenger, (de la Drôme) held high positions in the official world.

The Society apprenticed the boys who left the house of correctional education, at the expiration of the term of their imprison-

ment, and the Juvenile détenus to whom the Government gave provisional liberty, in order to prove what progress they made in virtue. These boys are replaced under strict watch, when it is proved that their conduct has not been correct. The former are called definitive libérés, and the latter provisional. The Society proposed this arrangement for the purpose of habituating their pupils to an honest and industrious life, and in order to prevent them relapsing.

The members composing this body, are divided into subscribers, patrons, and donors; these are accepted without limit, in order to extend as far as possible their sphere of action. The subscribers are only called on for the sum they promised. The title of donor is acquired by giving 100 francs annually to the Society. The patrons have the most difficult task to perform, as their employment chiefly consists in procuring situations for the juvenile libérés.

The office of patron is held for three years. The Society have an asylum where all juvenile libérés are received, who, during this period have either fallen ill, or are unable to work. This asylum is placed under the immediate control of a general Agent, M. de Grellet-Wanning, a man of unalterable devotion, who resides in the Rue Mézères, No. 9. He says Mass every Sunday at an Altar placed in the Assembly Hall.

The Society is under the immediate direction of a board, assisted by an Administrative Council, and aided by three Committees, of material and funds, of management and enquiry.

The board is composed of a president, vice-president, of a secretary general or treasurer, in whom rests in fact the executive power of the Society.

The Administrative Council is composed of 12 members, deciding on all matters useful or advantageous to the Institution, which is submitted by them for approval to the board, or to one of the members of the Council. The duties of president and of vice-president, as well as those of secretary general, or treasurer, have been carefully defined. The three Committees are each presided over by a vice-president, whose duty it is to see that the funds are well employed, taking care that the boys are provided for after their final liberation, and making enquiries in order to afford the Administrative an opportunity of placing a young provisional détenu at liberty, and entitling him to seek for reward. In fine, the General Assembly is convoked annually to render an account of the working of the Society, and every six months to hear the reports of the patrons on those confided to their care. In these re-unions, the Assembly nominate counsellors to the vacant places. They introduce modifications in the laws, whenever they find cause. Finally, they bestow rewards on the patrons who merit them.

A paid agent is employed—who accounts to the Treasurer for the recovery of, and expenditure of monies received, takes charge of the minutes, keeps the register, prepares the questions, and makes enquiries relative to the management of the Superiors, and furnishes to the patrons every information necessary for the accomplishment of their mission. The general agent is also employed in procuring



situations for the libérés, and trying to arrange with the head workmen the most suitable places, and also to supply for the time the absence of a patron who is ill or stays away. Finally, he is bound to prove monthly the presence of each boy in the place marked out for him by the patron.

The Society negotiates with different contractors, who supply them with everything they require to clothe the libérés.

The patrons are admitted after every possible precaution is taken, to guarantee their good conduct to the Society. Their duties are inscribed in a hand-book *ad hoc*, and they cannot take charge of more than six libérés at a time.

The president represents the entire Society, he corresponds with the established authorities, and it is to him that the demands made by the different public functionaries in the interest of the board are entrusted.

The strictest and most watchful surveillance is exercised over all the libérés, but particularly over those who are still under the restrictions of the clause 66 of the penal code, who have been intrusted to the board as provisional libérés. Those latter are never lost sight of by the patrons, and when they exhibit idleness or disobedience towards their masters, the patron, without waiting for a more serious fault, is bound to represent their misconduct to the president.

This man decides with the board whether the charge is of a sufficiently grave character to require immediate re-incarceration. But even in case the matter has been arranged, the patron is not released from his obligation towards his pupil, and is bound to re-instate him by virtue of a ministerial decision. All the acts of the Society are inserted with the greatest care in the register kept by the agent. The principal is kept in a large book, comprising at once the moral and financial account of each boy, where they have deposited as correctly as possible the history of his life, the information received relative to his family, the progress he has made in advancement, and all the expenses he has occasioned the society.

Then follows the general register of all the members who compose the body, under the title of patrons, donors or subscribers, pointing out the assessments of each, and comprising an annual account, mentioning the date of payments.

Another register comprises the names of all the patrons employed, and of the boys under their care. A third points out the changes, either by getting in or removing any of the furniture belonging to the board.

Those registers are the ground work by which can be proved the receipt of subscriptions, the expenditure of the funds, and the supplying of all kinds of food. Putting money in the savings' bank in the children's name, and the place where the cash is kept, are entered in two different books,

Another very important book points out to you, three months beforehand, the young détenus who are about to leave the houses of correctional education in the neighbourhood of Paris, and the names of the Commissioners who will be employed to institute an enquiry into the conduct of those boys; there is also an account given of the acceptance or refusal of patronage by the libérés.

The minutes of the sittings of the Council of Administration, of the Committee appointed to procure situations, and of the six months' assemblies, are entered in another book separate.

A register in which is copied the correspondence with the administration, the bar, the prefect of police, and other functionaries; finally, there are several secondary registers which complete the vocabulary of the agent's book.

We see, by what has gone before, with what care the Society takes note of the working, and the means necessary to ensure success. The asylum in the Rue Ménières, which was founded in the year 1846, has been very useful to the juvenile libérés, particularly during this time of commercial and political panic which we have had to pass. But it has also made considerable sacrifices to the board for its appropriation, and the support of the boys contained there. These sacrifices have been exclusively beneficial to the juvenile libérés, and whilst their expenses were observed to increase, the salaries of the clerks\* continued the same; the right assumed towards them by the asylum was to increase their work, and make them labour more diligently.

The resources of the Society are comprised in the collection of taxes, which the juries award for their advantage, of the subsidies granted by the Corporation, and the prefect of the Seine, of the legacies bequeathed to them, and of the 70 centimes allowed daily by the minister of the interior, for the support of the provisional libérés.

They receive, besides, from the exchequer of this department a claim to any unusual taxes 51,450 francs.

In fine, the Government in order to acknowledge the services rendered by this Institution, has established it legally by a Royal Ordinance, dated June 9th, 1843.

Since the month of May, 1833, the period of its foundation, up to the 31st of December, 1853, the Society has protected 2,155 boys,† definitive or provisional libérés.

252 had renounced all patronage, 124 had been abandoned as incorrigibles; 112 are dead; 964 had ceased to be guardians at the end of three years; 144 provisional libérés had been re-entered into the house of correction; 506 had relapsed into crime, 88 of whom had belonged to the category of temporary libérés, 16 had been placed in hospital as lunatics, the remainder ran away.

During this period of 20 years, the Society received the sum of 457,265 francs, 55 cents; its expenses had been 381,824 francs, 89 cents. They had thus in their possession at the end of 1853, 75,440 francs, 66 cents; an important sum, which bore testimony to the good management of the board, and at the same time of the useful assistance it rendered not only to the Government, but also to

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\* These clerks are—a responsible agent at 1,400 francs; an agent for providing situations, 800 francs; a register and schoolmaster, 900 francs; an inspector, 900 francs; a housekeeper at 300 francs, and the porter got 360 francs.

† These boys go as penitents to the monastery de la Roquette.

private individuals. The receipts of the Society had been 26,97 francs, 33 cents; in 1854, the expenses had arisen to 25,342 francs, 10 cents, for 294 juvenile provisional or definitive libérés, every boy had therefore cost at an average about 89 francs. In this account had been entered all kinds of expenses, the salaries of the clerks of the asylum, and a sum of 3,371 francs, 10 cents, employed in the recent building, and repairing of the establishment in the Rue Mézières. Amongst the 294 boys patronized by the Society in 1854 65 were very well conducted; 127 well conducted; 24 wished to leave; 13 were badly behaved; 1 ran away; 23 relinquished the patronage after being submissive for some time; 7 had been given up altogether as incorrigible; 10 had been re-imprisoned in the penitentiary of la Roquette; 20 had relapsed into crime; 4 were dead. Whilst subtracting from the total number 294, the 23 boys who had renounced the patronage, the 7 who were abandoned as incorrigible, and those who ran away, there remained 263 young persons of whom only 20 had relapsed into error, that is to say, 7.60 in 100, this proportion was 75 to 100 before the establishment of the Society.

During the same year 1854, the average number of patrons staying at the asylum were 14 daily, and those supported in the establishment were 17. The average number of boys who assisted in the re-unions every first Sunday of the month were 80. These numbers prove the utility of this institution.

There is another Society in Paris deeply interesting, which is engaged in protecting young girls from the department of the Seine; detenus libérés and destitute—founded by Madame de Lamartine, and Madame la Marquise de la Grange, who was born at Caumont-la-Force. This institution, from 1841, up to December 31st, 1853, extended its care over 178 Juvenile detenus; 102 had got situations through its influence, ten relapsed into error; and 66 had escaped from their surveillance. Annexed to this establishment is a quarter set apart for correctional education, in which Madame la Marquise de la Grange is endeavouring to introduce all the improvements calculated to elevate the mind.\*

The Society for the patronage of the Juvenile libérés of the Rhone deserves especial notice, having tried to take under their guardianship subjects of a class unfortunately too numerous, young mendicants or vagrants, who though not condemned, are nevertheless a scourge to the country. The last accounts returned, published by the Society in 1847, shewed that from 1840 to 1846, they had taken under their care 22 vicious boys who had not been sentenced, or even tried, 16 whose moral state required the strictest surveillance; they had been confined at the asylum of d' Oullins; six others were placed as apprentices to trades-people; eight of these were well conducted, whilst the other eight gave frequent proofs of idleness and insubordination; three remained with the masters; one returned to his family. These twenty-two boys cost the Society 9810 francs, 20c, or 445fr. 91c. each.

From 1836, the period of its foundation, to the 31st of December,

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\* Madame Lechevalier, Inspectress-General of Prisons, has taken a very active part in the working of this Society.

1853, the Society of Juvenile libérés of the Rhone, have protected 305 of these youths, 279 are in situations, and 26 not engaged.

These two classes have furnished 68 relapses, which establishes between the discharged, and those who have fallen away, a proportion of about 22 to 100.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE PATRONAGE.

Let us see how this patronage is exercised, which has been instituted by a ministerial decision, February 17, 1847. From the time that the Juvenile libéré leaves the house of correction, the Director of the establishment furnishes a report to the minister of the Interior, in which he points out the moral and religious character of the boy; the order of his intellect, the trade to which he has been brought up, the place where he desires to fix his residence. The Prefects are obliged to transmit, a resume of these documents to the Mayors of the communes where the Juvenile libérés have fixed their abode, and these functionaries have in their turn to make known every six months to the heads of the government how these boys conduct themselves, their habits, and the way by which they gain their livelihood. The corporation (or common council) collect most carefully the information required from them. But a patronage whose only aim is to observe the acts of a young libéré without assisting him at the period of his liberation, is all but visionary.

On the other hand as the Mayors communicate generally with the libérés through the intervention of the Police officer or the Forest Keeper, who do not give to their office all the circumspection requisite, the position of these boys is ere long understood, and their employers are anxious to get rid of them, thinking that having them in their service, places them under the surveillance of the authorities.

Orders have been given it is true to the prefects to endeavour to remedy these serious disadvantages, and more cannot be done in the absence of a law to remedy this evil by enabling them to employ more efficacious means. Be it as it may, such are the results of administrative patronage during the year 1853. The mayors had received information relative to 861 libérés, of whom 124 were young girls. 197 boys and 68 girls escaped the patronage by changing their names and concealing their residences. They retain the management of

Satisfactory—304 boys and 36 girls.

Doubtful—97 boys and 12 girls.

Bad—52 boys and 5 girls.

49 boys and 3 girls have relapsed.

They have had 38 enlistments in the Army and Navy. The relapses (deducting those who ran away,) have been 9 to 100 boys, and 5 to 100 girls.

#### ESTABLISHMENTS OF PATRONAGE.

When leaving the establishments of correctional education the young détenues are supplied with suitable clothes, and assistance for their journey. The directors of several of the colonies have found it necessary to watch over the lives of those boys, who being orphans, could not receive in the bosom of their families that protecting care and counsel, necessary to sustain them in a good course. Amongst

the establishments inhabited by the greater number of their libérés, we will cite the colony of Mettray; the House of Correctional Education, Bordeaux, directed by M. l'Abbé Fissiaux; and that of Toulouse, the founder of which has organised in this city a Society of Patronage.

From 1841 to the 31st of December 1853, the colony of Mettray has rendered assistance to 953 libérés, who had sprung from that source; 18 had removed themselves from under their kind control; 307 had obtained situations through the influence of the establishment; 157 entered the army; 6 were kept as servants in the establishment; 4 entered religious houses; 61 entered the navy; 68 were taken as military recruits; 231 returned to their relations; 103 relapsed. After deducting the 18 that ran away, we find the relapses have been 11 to 100.

The libérés who go to Paris from Mettray, receive the protection of the Chief Agent, M. Paul Verdier, who engages in this work of devotion with a zeal and self abnegation beyond all eulogy.\*

There are innumerable conventual establishments to which the State confides young female détenus, protecting in their asylums those who at the period of their liberation find themselves without homes, or means of employment. The principal are the Solitude of Nazareth, near Montpellier;† the Refuge du Dorat in la Haute Vienne; the convent of the Good Shepherd at Angers, and the communities which belong to them.

A recent inquiry has been made relative to 12,464, the number of juvenile détenus, who from 1837, to 31st Dec. 1853, left the Institution of Correctional education, either publicly or privately. Of this number we cannot point out more than 528 relapses; but as it would be impossible to discover what had become of the greater number of those boys, who concealed their track by changing their names and residences, in order, either to commence a new mode of life, or to continue in their old habits, it is more than probable that the greater number of those boys have contributed to increase the population of our penitentiaries. As for the young girls, their fate on leaving has been more dark and deplorable. Are not these facts sufficiently startling to prove the absolute necessity of an obligatory patronage, which is at once aiding and preventive, especially after pointing out the services rendered by this Institution, incomplete as it still is.

JULES DE LAMARQUE.

#### DOCUMENTS TO CONSULT.

Law of the 13th June, 3rd July, and 5th August, 1850, on the education and patronage of juvenile libérés.

Statistics of prisons and penitentiaries.

Criminal Statistics

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\* M. L. Alcan deserves equal notice, his position is that of obtaining situations for the libérés of Mettray.

† See the notice we have given to *The Solitude of Nazareth* in the *Annales* of the 1st. of Nov. 1853.

Treatises on the Penitentiary Systems and Societies of Patronage, by M. R. Allier.

Report on a Project of Transportation, by M. Louis Perrot.

The Condemned Libérés, by M. A. E. Cerfberr.

Francois Perrin, or the Trial and Re-establishment of a Libéré, by M. Léon Vidal.

Report of Madame de Lamartine, on Young Female Libérés.

Account given of the Society of Patronage, Paris, by M. Béranger de la Drôme.

Description of the Moral and Material Condition of Juvenile Détenus, by M. Bucquet.

Account given of The Solitude of Nazareth, by M. l'Abbé Coural.

Before closing this Record, we think it right to state, that the Smithfield Institution, Dublin, for Exemplary Prisoners, and which we have already described, has been frequently visited by the Lord Lieutenant, who has expressed himself much pleased with the entire plan adopted.

We understand that some of the inmates have been sent into town as messengers, and have conducted themselves in a most satisfactory manner.

We sincerely trust that the plan of instruction, by lectures, will not be changed: it must be borne in mind, that no man can be supposed to remain longer in this Institution than two or three months; therefore ordinary school teaching cannot be attempted: besides, each man *must* have been at least nine months in a separate prison, and a year or two in the associated prison; in each of these Institutions he ought to have learned the ordinary school teaching, and therefore he should have, during his few weeks of seclusion at Smithfield, a chance of learning something that may show him, easily, and popularly, the great and small wonders of the world above and around him.

At page lxiii of this Record, we gave the history of the foundation of THE NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION. Since writing that portion of our paper, we have learned that the gentlemen, whose names follow, have become members, those marked with a star being Roman Catholics:—

Marquis of Northampton.

Lord Brougham.

Lord Shaftesbury.

Lord Howe.

Lord Leigh.

Lord Lyttelton.

Bishop of Gloucester.

Bishop of Manchester.

Bishop of Lichfield.

Lord Ward.

Lord Grosvenor.

Lord Robert Cecil.

Lord Ravensworth.

The Speaker of the House of Commons.

Sir John Pakington.

Sir Stafford H. Northcote.  
 C. B. Adderley, Esq.  
 T. B. Ll. Baker, Esq.  
 Robert Hall Esq. Recorder of  
 Doncaster.  
 M. D. Hill, Esq. Recorder of  
 Birmingham.  
 Rev. Sydney Turner. (Red Hill)  
 Miss Carpenter.  
 W. Morgan, Esq. Birmingham.  
 Lady Noel Byron.  
 G. H. Bengough, Esq.

E. B. Wheatley, Esq., Cote  
 Wall, Mirfield.  
 \* Lord Petre.  
 \* Lord Edward Howard.  
 Captain Walter Crofton, Chair-  
 man of the Directors of Con-  
 vict Prisons in Ireland.  
 \* John Lentaigne, Esq., D.L.  
 Director of Convict Prisons in  
 Ireland.  
 Captain Knight, Director of  
 Convict Prisons in Ireland.

From the third number of *The Law Amendment Journal*,<sup>2</sup>  
 Thursday, March 6th. 1856, we extract the following :—

#### THE NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION.

An important meeting of this Union was held at the rooms of the Law Amendment Society on Saturday last. At this meeting it was determined that the Union should have the permanent use of the rooms, and that the office of Joint Honorary Secretary should be held by Mr. G. W. Hastings, the Secretary of the Society. Any information that is desired on the subject of Reformatories, or on the plan and working of the Union, may in future be obtained at 3, Waterloo Place.

We anticipate much advantage to both of the Societies by their joint occupation of these rooms, and by their adoption to a certain extent, of a united action. Many members of the Union are members of the Society, and this double membership will no doubt rapidly increase. Moreover, the Law Amendment Society is adopting no new course in thus aiding the Reformatory Movement. Some years ago, before any Reformatory Unions came into existence, the good cause which they now advocate had been urged upon the public through the members of our Society. Mr. M. D. Hill, Mr. D. Power, and others, have frequently drawn our attention to the subject. A report on the best legislative measures for promoting the reformation of Juvenile Criminals was some time since issued by one of our Committees; and the Society was duly represented, by an authorised deputation, at the Conference held at Birmingham. It is, therefore, as approved labourers in the same field that we now join forces with the National Reformatory Union.

The promoters of the Union have already been very successful in obtaining support in all quarters; they hope for still further aid; and the catholicity of their views, their readiness to receive all

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\* This *Journal* is published, weekly, by the Society for Promoting the Amendment of the Law, at their office, 3 Waterloo Place, and is presented gratis to its Members, and sold at three pence per number to all other persons; the number for Thursday, March 13th, contained, by Authority, Lord Brougham's Speech, on Judicial Statistics, as delivered in the House of Lords.

suggestions and information, and their determination to start with no preconceived dogmas, but honestly to elucidate principles from the widest collection of facts, will no doubt recommend their objects to the public generally.

MEETING OF THE NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION.

This Society, which has lately increased greatly in numbers, and has been re-formed upon a wider basis, held a meeting on Saturday last, the 1st of March, at the rooms of the Law Amendment Society. The objects of the meeting, as announced in the circular, were "to receive the report of the sub-committee, and to consider the further organisation of the Society."

Mr. T. B. Baker, founder and manager of the Reformatory at Hardwicke, in Gloucestershire, was called to the chair.

Among the others present were—Viscount Ebrington, M.P., Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., Lord Lovaine, M.P., Hon Mr. Liddell, M.P., Sir Stafford Northcote, M.P., Sir Thomas Winnington, M.P., Mr. Adderley, M.P., Mr. Monckton Milnes, M.P., Mr. Justice Coleridge, Mr. Baron Alderson, Prebendary Fane, Rev. Sidney Turner, Mr. F. Hill, Mr. D. Power, Mr. G. W. Hastings, Mr. Bowyer, manager of the New Road Reformatory, Rev. W. Hatch, chaplain of the Wandsworth House of Correction, Captain O'Brien, inspector of prisons, and many others.

Sir Stafford Northcote read the following report from the sub-committee:—

The sub-committee appointed at the last general meeting of the Union beg leave to report, that they have drawn up and circulated a short prospectus explanatory of the objects of the association, and that they have received the adhesion of a large number of influential persons, including most of those who have taken an interest in the Reformatory Movement. The number of those who have already signified their intention of joining the Union amounts to upwards of 150.

The sub-committee have obtained permission to use the rooms of the Society for Promoting the Amendment of the Law for their meetings; and they recommend that the Union avail itself of this permission, both because the rooms are in a convenient situation, and because the secretary and clerks of that Society will be able and willing to give material assistance to them.

The sub-committee consider that the time has now arrived for electing a president, committee, and other officers for the direction of the Union, and they recommend this subject to the attention of the present meeting.

As soon as the committee shall have been appointed, the sub-committee think that attention should be directed to the following points:—

The formation of Local Sub-unions.

The collection of Statistical information.

The establishment of a Patronage Society.

The appointment of a Committee of Correspondence, which should include the principal managers of schools in various parts of the country.



It was moved by the Rev. Sidney Turner, and seconded by Mr. Justice Coleridge, and carried unanimously, that the report now read be received and adopted.

Sir S. Northcote then moved, "that a deputation be appointed to wait upon H. R. H. Prince Albert, to request His Royal Highness to accept the Office either of Patron or President of the Union as he may think best."

The Hon. Mr. Liddell, M.P., seconded the motion, which, after a short conversation, was agreed to.

Some discussion then ensued as to the persons who should be named on the deputation, and a list of noblemen and members of Parliament was proposed, on which several modifications were suggested.

Mr. Justice Coleridge advised that the deputation should be composed of those individuals who had hitherto worked in the formation of the Union, and who were practically acquainted with its nature and objects.

This proposal was received with approbation; and it was finally arranged that the present sub-committee, with the addition of Mr. Sidney Turner, should form the deputation, and that they should have power to add to their number any nobleman or gentleman whom they might wish to accompany them.

The subject of the appointment of the Vice-Presidents was then discussed, and after some conversation it was agreed that the following noblemen and gentlemen should be appointed, and that the general committee of the Union should have power to elect additional Vice-Presidents.—Lord Brougham, the Marquis of Westminster, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Baron Alderson, the Bishop of Lichfield, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Lord John Russell, Lord Petre, the Marquis of Lansdowne.

Sir S. Northcote then said that, as to the appointment of Honorary Secretary, it was desirable that there should be one for London, and one for the provinces. Mr. G. H. Bengough had hitherto acted as honorary secretary, and he had consented to do so still as far as the country was concerned; Mr. G. W. Hastings would undertake the task in London—an arrangement which would be advantageous to the Union, as Mr. Hastings resided on the spot, and would be always ready to give information.

Mr. Bengough and Mr. Hastings were then formally appointed joint Honorary Secretaries.

Mr. Dudley Marjoribanks was elected Treasurer.

It was then agreed that the Union should enter into an arrangement with the Law Amendment Society for the use of their rooms when required. The terms on which the arrangement should be made were left to the sub-committee of the Union on the one hand and to Mr. Hastings on the other.

A long discussion then ensued as to the appointment of the general committee, and at length it was moved by Lord Ebrington, M.P., seconded by Mr. F. Hill, and carried—

"That the general committee consist of 25 members; and that the sub-committee add such names to their own as may, together, make up the 25."

It was also resolved.—“That the principal managers of the town and country Reformatories (being members of the Union) be corresponding members.

“That the sub-committee be requested to communicate with the committees of all certified Reformatories, asking each committee to nominate a corresponding member.

“That corresponding members be *ex officio* members of the general committee, in addition to the 25 elected members.

“That the committee be authorized to invite foreigners who take an interest in the Reformatory cause to become corresponding members.”

Mr. Adderley, M.P., moved the appointment of a sub-committee to consider the bills on Reformatories now before Parliament, the one relating to Scotland, the other to England. This was agreed to.

A vote of thanks was given to the Chairman, and the meeting then adjourned till Saturday, the 15th of March.

We append the names of the General Committee of the Union:—

Adderley, C. B., Esq., M.P.  
 Baker, T. B., Esq.  
 Bowyer, G. J., Esq.  
 Carleton, Hon. R.  
 Cecil, Lord R. M.P.  
 \* De Vere, S. E., Esq., M.P.  
 Dunlop, A. M., Esq., M.P.  
 Ebrington, Viscount, M.P.  
 Forsyth, W., Esq.  
 Gladstone, W., Esq.  
 Hill, Frederic, Esq.  
 Kerrison, Sir E. Bart., M.P.  
 Leigh, Lord.  
 Liddell, Hon. H. G., M.P.

Lovaine, Lord, M.P.  
 \* Manning, Rev. H. E.  
 Miles, W., Esq. M.P.  
 Milnes, R. M., Esq., M.P.  
 Northcote, Sir Stafford B.,  
 Bart., M.P.  
 Pakington, Rt. Hon. Sir J. S.,  
 Bart., M.P.  
 Power, David, Esq.  
 Stuart, Capt. W., M.P.  
 Turner, Rev. Sydney.  
 Ward, Lord.  
 Winnington, Sir. T. E. Bart.,  
 M.P.

As we were putting this Record to press, we received a number of *The Leeds Mercury*, of Tuesday, March 11th, 1856, containing the following most valuable Lecture, by the Recorder of Doncaster, on the Treatment of Adult Criminals. We need scarcely recommend this Lecture to the attention of our readers; Mr. Hall's name must be quite sufficient to secure most earnest study from all who have read his two Lectures reprinted in former numbers of this REVIEW:—

On Friday evening, March 7th, Robert Hall, Esq., barister-at-law, read a paper at the Mechanics' Institution, Leeds, on “The Mode of Treating Discharged Criminals, and on the Ticket-of-leave system.” The audience was numerous, and included several of the leading gentlemen of the borough, as well as some from a distance. The chair was occupied by the Rev. G. W. Conder, President of the Institution.

Mr. Hall, at the commencement of his long and able paper, alluded to the state of the earliest prisons in Christian times; and also during the last century—quoting from Houson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, and Foster's *Reports on Crown Cases*, from which it appeared that the prisons of both those periods were in a most filthy and offensive condition. It must not, continued Mr. Hall, be supposed, however, that Christianity had no witness to bear testimony against this crying and persistent violation of Christian principle, for there were on record two very notable instances of such momentary and ineffectual intrusions into the gaol regions, before Howard commenced his labours, the first by a committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, about 1701-2, the second by a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry, which sat and reported in 1728-9. But it was not until the great sheriff of Bedford began, in 1773, that course of exertions in the cause of the sick and captive which terminated only with his life, that any permanent improvement was made. After alluding to Howard's visit to the prison at Knaresborough in 1776, which was in a horrid state, and passing a high eulogium on the labours of Howard, Mr. Hall referred to the supposed deterrent effects of the suffering which criminals then underwent, and observed that though the hearts of the ordinary tenants of our prisons were neither innocent nor quiet, many of them were philosophical enough to make the best of the "austere comforts" of the House of Correction, and even to regard the prison roof as a not altogether ineligible shelter from winter and rough weather. These, he was sorry to say, were the results of modern experience. The men of eighty years ago, whom they were in the habit of looking down upon with such sovereign contempt, were aware *a priori* that some compensation must be sought for the less deterrent character which they were impressing upon prison treatment; and in the year 1779 the Legislature passed a remarkable Act of Parliament, which was the real foundation of all their systems of prison discipline. The loss of the American colonies deprived the Government of the long accustomed channel for the disposal of convicts, at the very same time that the public conscience was beginning to take alarm at the sanguinary character of our criminal code, thus increasing the numbers of the offenders who had to be dealt with in a manner consistent at once with the public safety, and those sentiments of humanity which were beginning to make progress. Criminals must not be put to death; they could not be sent abroad; what was to be done with them? It was thought that they might perhaps be corrected and reclaimed by imprisonment at home, and the framing of a system was confided to Mr. Howard, Sir Wm. Blackstone, and Sir Wm. Eden. In reading one of the preambles of the Act, they might suppose themselves to have before their eyes the last expressions of the deliberate judgment of the De Metz, Davenport Hills, Duquetiaux, and Sydney Turners of their own generation. The title of the act was, "An Act to explain and amend the laws relating to the transportation, imprisonment, and other punishment of certain offenders." The preamble to which he alluded was prefixed to the fifth section, and was as follows:—

"And whereas if many offenders convicted of crimes for which transportation had been usually inflicted, were ordered to solitary imprisonment, accompanied by well regulated labour and religious instruction, it might be the means, under Providence, not only of deterring others from the commission of like crimes, but also of reforming the individuals and inuring them to habits of industry."

And the act contained a most minute series of provisions for the building of penitentiaries, the employment of convicts on public works, or other employment consistent with their sex, age, health, and ability to labour; the utmost possible application of what was called the separate system; suitable clothing and dietary; and a staff of governor, chaplain, and superintendents, under the supervision of committees and inspectors. Nor did the framers of this act overlook the necessity which constituted one of their great present difficulties—the necessity for making some provision for the prisoner on his discharge. He was to be provided with decent clothing, and a sum of money for his immediate subsistence, so as such sum should not exceed £3, nor be less than 20s., in case he had been confined in the penitentiary for a year, and so in proportion for any shorter term. Then came a proviso, the speedy restoration of some equivalent for which the statute book was much to be desired—"And any such offender so dismissed at the end or other determination of his said term, who shall procure any reputable master of a ship, or tradesman, or other substantial housekeeper, to take him into service, or provide him with proper employment for one year then next ensuing, the same to be approved by such superintendent or superintendents, and who shall serve accordingly, shall be entitled at the end of the year to another sum of money equal to that which was allowed him at the time of his dismission." It was impossible to overrate the importance of the principle thus enunciated. If efficiently carried out, it would have constituted a complete system of what was called "patronage," by the prison authorities for the period of a year, and, with the support of private benevolence, might have enabled them to have pointed with pride to the Reformatory institutions of their country, as showing that England was amongst the first, instead of being, in fact, amongst the last, of the nations of Europe, to open a way for the repentant criminal to return to the paths of honesty and virtue. The scheme was wrecked because successive commissioners could not agree about a site. Meanwhile private piety and benevolence were at their post—the Philanthropic Society, that earliest of Juvenile Reformatories, was established in 1785, and there was no lack of writers to enlighten the public conscience by their discussions on the subject of the punishment of crime. The principles of the penitentiary act had, as early as 1781, been extended to Houses of Correction; and in 1790 the county of Gloucester completed a penitentiary on the same system. If Mr. McCulloch was well founded in his statement that, under the operation of this system in the Houses of Correction at Petworth and Horsham, and the penitentiary at Gloucester, re-committals had nearly disappeared, it was high time that they instituted an inquiry into the reasons why the results obtained by modern science were so

much less satisfactory than those which crowned the labours of Howard, Blackstone, and Eden, when the science of penalty was still in its infancy. The act was repealed in 1827, having been virtually superseded by the Prison Act of 1823. The allowance to discharged prisoners was reduced—the maximum from £3 to £1, and the minimum from twenty shillings to five shillings, and the premiums on a year's good behaviour in service were altogether omitted. Meanwhile the enterprise of British navigators had discovered fresh fields for transportation, and whilst the principle of probation was abandoned, if it had ever been practised in their prisons, it was gradually introduced in their penal colonies. First, power was given to the governor to remit or shorten the term of transportation; then he was empowered to suspend or remit them conditionally, or, in other words, to grant them tickets-of-leave, under which the convicts enjoyed liberty, conditional on their good behaviour, obtained employment where they could, and lived on their earnings, and had the power of acquiring and holding property; then a restriction was introduced, prohibiting the grant of those tickets-of-leave until the convict should have served a certain number of years, having some proportion to the term of his sentence, four years on a sentence of seven, six years on a sentence of fourteen, eight years on a sentence for life; finally, the principle was developed into the very remarkable system of which he gave some account in his lecture on Tuesday, under which these periods of service were for the most part passed in the penitentiary and penal works, good conduct during the service being rewarded by a further shortening of the service, and by the grant of conditional liberty almost immediately on arrival in the colony, with a small accumulation of his prison allowances for the purposes of immediate subsistence.

Had there been time for fully working out this system, they would have been able to try the effects of allowing a period of probation under favourable circumstances. Unfortunately the colonists refused to let them work out the experiment. The Government was compelled to give way, and they must now provide for criminals at home. There was no use in blinking the question: when death and banishment were both inadmissible, provision at home was the only alternative. Let them be candid, and not join the cry against the system actually introduced until they established the possibility of adopting some other. Some persons thought at the time and still thought, that the system of penal colonies was abandoned too lightly, as there were tracts enough where new ones might have been planted—at all events for the 6,000 convicts who were actually under sentence of transportation; but the legislature perceived that besides the difficulties which might have been occasioned by the sort of Monro principle which some of their existing colonies were disposed to apply to the whole of the particular continent on which they happened to be located, such an expedient would have been only an adjournment of the question, as in a few years the new colonies would have had their non-convict population expressing the same determination not to let their countries continue to be the common sewer of the mother country. The Government then had to consider what they should substitute, and as they had still one colony that would receive their

convicts, all that was absolutely required was an enactment authorising the Government to substitute conditional liberation at home for conditional liberation in the penal colony. Instead of that, however (and probably for political rather than social reasons), they invented a new name for punishment by imprisonment; they abolished transportation entirely as regarded by far the greater number of the cases to which it was applicable; they substituted for what they were pleased to call penal servitude for terms of four, six, and eight years, which were made to correspond with the usual terms of transportation, and the principle of conditional liberty before the expiration of the sentence was expressly extended to persons under sentence of penal servitude, as well as to persons under sentence of transportation, the only difference being that whilst the liberated transport was kept on his good behaviour for several years, the shortening of the term restricted this temporary control over the convict sentenced to penal servitude to a few months, or at the most a year. Why was this? He feared that the terms were shortened for the very purpose of relieving the prison authorities from the burthen of looking after the discharged convicts from the moment of their discharge. Startling as the fact might be, it was a fact, that, in the very teeth of the act of Parliament, the prison authorities refused, save in exceptional cases, to apply the provisions for conditional liberations to convicts under sentence of penal servitude: these were to be kept to the end of their sentences, under the full artificial restraint of penal discipline; and were those, without further probation or sense of continued responsibility, to be turned adrift without a hand to help them, with felony indelibly imprinted on their characters, and with their little accumulation of allowances, which used to be paid them on arrival in the colony, given them in one gross sum at the moment of their discharge? Did it never occur to official sagacity that it might be well to reserve part of that sum, or to hold out some additional sum, as the reward of a year's good conduct after discharge? He believed that official sagacity would have scouted the idea, and he believed that official sagacity had stood smiling on one side, whilst the Legislature was cheating itself with the notion that it was applying the principle of temporary probation to the class of offenders for whom the ordinary punishment by imprisonment was not severe enough, and to whom the present punishment by transportation could not be applied.

The result was, that though there had been a great hubbub about the ticket-of-leave system, that system, in the sense in which it was understood by sound reasoners on the subject of penal institutions, had never been applied. There were no tickets-of-leave; but, instead thereof, they had had orders of license. The name had no existence, neither had the thing, at least not for the purpose for which they had fondly imagined that it was invented. He did not mean to say that the authorities had, in no cases, kept their eye upon the subsequent conduct of convicts discharged subject to revocation on misbehaviour, but he was not himself aware of a single case; and he heard so many complaints of ticket-of-leave men being at large without any ostensible means of living honestly, and taking so large a share in the more serious crime that was committed in the respec-

tive localities, and he found so strong an impression on the minds of practical men that the order of licence was, in fact, revoked only on subsequent conviction, that he was quite satisfied that, taking it as a whole, they had not that system of intermediate probation which the legislature contemplated, whatever the compilers of the act might have done. He was satisfied that, taking the actual working of the system as a whole, the condition which was set forth on the ticket of leave itself was an idle threat. That condition was as follows:—"The power of revoking or altering the licence of a convict will most certainly be exercised in case of misconduct. If, therefore, he wishes to retain the privilege which by his good behaviour, under penal discipline, he has obtained, he must prove by his subsequent conduct that he is really worthy of her Majesty's clemency. To produce a forfeiture of the licence it is by no means necessary that the holder should be convicted of any new offence. If he associates with notoriously bad characters, leads an idle and dissolute life, or has no visible means of obtaining an honest livelihood, &c., it will be assumed that he is about to relapse into crime, and he will be at once apprehended and committed to prison under his original sentence." This was a correct exposition of the idea on which the system was supposed to rest, and the manifest grievance was, that the idea was either not acted on at all, or not fully carried out. He was not prepared to say that if it were fully carried out it would be successful. On the contrary, though he was satisfied the idea was the right idea, he was also satisfied that to give it any chance of being carried out successfully a great deal more remained to be done by the legislature—a great deal more required to be done by the administrative authorities—a great deal remained to be done by private benevolence. Though in granting, under the act passed in the time of Howard, £3 to a convict on discharge, and £3 as a premium for good behaviour in reputable service for a year, the legislature put forth a germ which might have been developed into the most complete system of what was called patronage, yet the form of the proposed encouragement was not a happy one. It was not unreasonable to give the convict a sum of money on his discharge, but the sum was too large to entrust him with without some assurance that he would use it properly, and the subsequent premium was open to the palpable objection of giving him an unfair advantage over the honest labourer. The difficulty, such as it was, might be easily overcome by a slight alteration in their prison arrangements. In some of the model prisons of the United States the convict was credited with the full value of his labour, and debited with the expense of his imprisonment, and when industrious and well-behaved, he was often entitled to a substantial balance on his discharge.

In the prisons of the French Government the prisoners had an interest in their earnings, and were allowed to purchase a few luxuries,—it was made available also for fines on misbehaviour, and the balance was paid the convict on his discharge. Something of the same kind existed in the prisons at Ghent and Munich. In England, the convict had no interest in the value of his labour, but in some cases a small good conduct allowance was made, which was

said to him on his liberation. The system of allowance did not appear to have been much carried out. Now he would give the convict a direct interest in the shape of a proportionate share of the value of his labour; abolishing all allowances for good conduct, except perhaps that of a slight increase of the prisoner's provisions.

He would allow the prisoner to spend a small portion of his earnings in the purchase of slightly superior dietary. The fund, of course, should be available for fines on misconduct, and the balance should be paid by degrees in procuring the prisoner, on discharge, employment or the means of emigration, the ultimate balance being kept back for a while, and paid over only as the reward of continued good behaviour. This would remove the objection of rewarding offenders out of the public purse. He had already intimated his strong opinion that the great majority of convicts were not qualified to pass all at once from the artificial and highly protective system of the prison into the free license of ordinary life. He should object to the crowding of discharged convicts together in a refuge, which was merely a continuation of a well-regulated prison, but to provide places at which the discharged convict might find work and continued instruction at a reduced rate of wages, whilst waiting for regular employment or emigration, was, he was satisfied, one of the most important purposes to which private benevolence could address itself.

The men might work together under the surveillance of an overlooker, but they must not be barracked together in their houses of rest or recreations; it was something more like ordinary life that was required—reputable lodgings within the visitor's round would supply the mode of life which the case demanded. This would only be an intermediate state; and a new country offered so many advantages for the successful commencement of a new life that they all turned to it as a matter of course, as the best and most natural expedient, the best because the most natural. They must not look to it as a solution of the difficulty, as many convicts would not go, and if it were carried to any extent new colonies might refuse to receive them. It was quite clear the Government must have nothing to do with it, and even private associations must act with great delicacy. After all that could be done in the way of emigration, it was employment in this country that would ever be the necessity to be provided for in the majority of cases. How was that to be accomplished?

Alluding to the Worcestershire Prisoners' Relief Society,—the object of which was to bring discharged prisoners under the notice of the clergyman of their parish, who was supplied with from 3s. to 5s. a week until he got the convict employment—he said they might assume that all cases taken in hand by the society were cases in which they had perfect confidence; but to be thoroughly efficacious—to produce any sensible impression on the mass that was well nigh overpowering them, such a society must extend its aid to cases in which there was indeed hopefulness, but not perfect confidence. This might be effected by means of the system of guarantees. The discharged prisoner might be aided until he got employment in the ordinary way, and then a guarantee might be given for him



to his employer. Such societies might be entrusted with the small balance due to the convicts under the system he had suggested. Let the severe majesty of the law stand behind these societies, and recall to the prison, which was their only proper domicile, those who, notwithstanding all their opportunities, associated with notoriously bad characters, led idle and dissolute lives, and having no visible means of obtaining an honest livelihood, refused to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. What, it might be asked, were men of this description to be virtually imprisoned for life! Yes, unless it should please God to change their hearts, so that they could be restored to society without danger to their neighbours or to themselves. In conclusion, he called upon the working classes not to refuse to work with a convict to whom employment had been given; he again alluded to the labours of Thos. Wright of Manchester, and then reverted to the ticket-of-leave system as now administered. In his own name, as an individual, and in the name of the advocates in general of improved convict discipline, he entirely repudiated the ticket-of-leave system. It was no system of theirs—it was a direct violation of every principle by which the conduct of the administrative authorities to those unfortunate persons ought to be governed.

Colonel Jebb admitted that the total number to whom this system was applicable was 6,000, of whom he did not flatter himself that more than 75 or 80 per cent. would abstain from crime.

Only fancy a system which calculated on letting loose 1,500 persons convicted of such grave offences as to have been sentenced to transportation, and who would certainly relapse into crime. The only precaution which was taken was, that the balance of their allowance was kept back for three months, and could not be obtained unless the applications were backed by some reliable person. But for those 6,000, at least, some place of transportation ought, at any cost, to have been found or founded; the punishment of transportation ought to have been discontinued gradually and not suddenly; the hanging about large towns ought to have been specially prohibited; places of honest employment in remote districts ought to have been specially provided; and the penalties declared in the license ought to have been rigidly enforced. He pointed out and urged the duty which every man had to perform in the labour of reformation, and concluded, amidst loud plaudits, a paper which had been excellently received by the entire auditory.

The President spoke in terms of warm commendation of the paper which had been read, and said he hoped, as they had present amongst them many gentlemen well acquainted with the subject treated of that a valuable discussion would ensue. In order, however, that everything might be done in order, he called upon

The Mayor (T. W. George, Esq.) to move a vote of thanks to the lecturer. (Applause.) His Worship eulogised the paper as being most admirable, and briefly proposed, with great pleasure, the vote.

W. St. James Wheelhouse, Esq., seconded the vote, but declined to discuss the questions treated of in the paper, as he preferred the strangers present giving their opinions upon these very important topics. (Hear, hear.)

J. H. Shaw, Esq., at the call of the President, opened the discussion. He said he was not disposed to dissent from the substance of any portion of the paper, though he might dissent from some of the details. For example, he hesitated about going the length of Mr. Hall as to the necessity of discontinuing the system of transportation; indeed, he had the strongest opinion that removal to another country, either as transport or an emigrant, under a system calculated to reform the criminal, was the best possible course for the offender himself, for the country, and for the whole population. The ticket-of-leave system was the worst that had ever been introduced. (Hear, hear.) And though he was not going to say anything against the appeal made by Mr. Hall, he must remark that he looked with respect upon that feeling of the working classes which led them to object to mixing with convicted criminals; and he looked upon that feeling as a great safeguard to the virtue and morality of the working population. (Hear, hear.) Among criminals who were really penitent there was almost always a desire to emigrate, and it would be well if that desire could, under proper regulations, be gratified. (Hear, hear.)

D. Lupton, Esq., did not altogether agree with Mr. Shaw in regard to returning to the transportation of criminals; at least, he was of opinion that they had no evidence of its working beyond the fact that we got rid of our convicts, and that some of them succeeded very well in the colonies. The colonies, too, had only done what all Englishmen would have done, in refusing to take the offscourings of our population; and said very properly that if this country would not train its population properly when young, it must pay the piper, and keep its adult criminals at home, somehow or other. There were grave objections to the ticket-of-leave system—among others, that the worst criminals were the best prisoners. Their cunning taught them that good behaviour in prison was the only means of procuring their liberation at an early period. There was in Wakefield gaol at the present period a man who had been forty times convicted, and was well known to all the gaol authorities in the kingdom. He was a most incorrigible thief, but a most exemplary prisoner; and his admirable conduct in gaol was always procuring his liberation. (Hear, hear.) The system adopted was entirely fallacious. The only test now was that of good conduct in gaol; but the Government authorities ought not to take that as a test at all; but to obtain, in every case, from the chaplains and governors of the several prisons in which the convict had been confined, a report of his real character. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Paige or the Rev. Mr. De Renzi would know a convict's real character, which all his cunning and art would not conceal from them, however many marks of good conduct he might obtain. (Hear, hear.) He objected, also, to the system of sentencing prisoners to a period of penal servitude with the intention of not carrying out that sentence to the full extent. When a sentence was once pronounced, it ought to be rigidly adhered to and carried out, unless under some extraordinary and very special circumstances. Of course there might be some exceptional cases, in which it would be right to allow a man to apply to his friends to become security

for his good behaviour during the remainder of the term that he would have been in gaol; and it was well to remember that it was the rarest thing in the world to have such sureties broken. There was a kind of honour among thieves, that they did not like to bring men into trouble who had been bound for them. The system of guarantees, therefore, might in exceptional cases, act most beneficially. (Hear, hear.) He mentioned a fact which might interest some. Out of 91 Government convicts in the Leeds Borough Gaol in 1854 and 1855, he found that only 26 were married men; and he had no doubt that when a man had a wife and children they were a kind of pledge of good conduct towards society. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Lloyd Jones said, the conduct of the colonies in regard to our transported felons was precisely the conduct of the people of this country in regard to the ticket-of-leave convicts—they refused to receive them. (Hear, hear.) Something had been said about the working classes refusing to associate in their workshops with discharged convicts. There was a strong and a praiseworthy reason for this. Working men not unfrequently had employed beside them, their own children; and though they might have no insuperable objection to working side by side with a liberated criminal, from a philanthropic desire to give him a chance of retrieving himself, yet they could not, and very properly would not, consent to have their children subjected to the contamination and evil influences inseparable from having felons associated with them in their workshops. (Hear, hear.) He had great hopes of reformation when they caught their criminals young; but he confessed that he had no great faith in the reformation of old and confirmed criminals. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. G. B. De Renzi said that holding, as he did, the position of chaplain of the borough gaol, they perhaps felt themselves entitled to hear something from him; and he certainly felt as strongly as any now could do upon this question. Neither, he believed, had any person had better opportunities of seeing the difficulties which beset a criminal on his discharge from prison. It was utterly impossible to exaggerate these difficulties. A prisoner had been convicted of felony, undergone a term of imprisonment, and came out of gaol homeless, friendless, and with character lost. He was actuated by an earnest desire to pursue an honest life in future; but on seeking employment, the first question asked him was—“Where did you work last?” He admitted that he had just been released from prison; and instantly the employer’s back was turned upon him. The prison discipline induced a desire to live better, if he had a chance; but he soon found that every man’s hand was against him; and was it to be wondered at that he turned his head against every man? (Hear, hear.) That was a pressing difficulty, and how was it to be overcome?

Another difficulty was this:—Mr. Hall proposed that each prisoner should be allowed a per centage upon the profits of his labour while he was in prison; but it was almost impossible to find profitable labour for prisoners. If a debtor and creditor account were kept, the prisoner, as a rule, would not only not be able to purchase

little comforts, but would find the balance actually against him. (Hear, hear.) Again, some descriptions of labour were more profitable than another. The man who worked at shoe-making or tailoring, would earn much more than he who picked oakum or wool; yet the latter might be more industrious and deserving than the former. Unless they established some uniform rule, therefore, they would be acting unfairly. He had, in a published document, recorded his deliberate opinion of the impolicy of the ticket-of-leave system. Correct in theory, it was impossible to carry it out in practice. Were they, for example, to have the ticket-of-leave convict constantly watched by a policeman? If they adopted this *surveillance*, then there was an end to any chance of the man's obtaining and retaining honest employment. (Hear, hear.) He bore testimony to the desire of Government to carry out the conditions; and mentioned an instance which came to his knowledge of a ticket-of-leave man resorting to the expedient of teaching a female to plunder, and living upon the proceeds of her robberies. He reported this case to the Government, and the man's license was at once revoked. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the good conduct marks required to be supplied to well-conducted convicts by the Chaplains, he thought it right to say, that while he had always given the marks truthfully, yet he had always appended to them such observations as he thought were required to convey the truth to the Government. Sometimes, after giving all credit for good conduct while in prison, he appended such remarks as this:—"I have no faith whatever in this man; I believe him to be a thorough thief, and if released from prison would steal again." (Hear, hear.) With regard to what had fallen from Mr. Shaw, he believed that emigration was almost the only way likely to be attended with success, to deal with discharged criminals. (Hear, hear.) His experience had been, that the men in whom he had the greatest hope had almost always the greatest desire to emigrate; whilst those who had no real desire to reform had a repugnance to emigrate. (Hear, hear.) He agreed with Mr. Hall that convicts should not be suffered to go at large unless they found sureties for their good behaviour; and he thought it would come to that by and by. He also concurred with Mr. Jones as to the desirability of catching the criminal young, and dealing with him in the early period of his career. But there was something required beyond Reformatories—the providing of employment for youths who left those institutions. (Hear, hear.)

E. B. WHEATLEY, Esq. (Mirfield), said the subject brought before them that evening was not his special subject, which was to dip a little net into the sea of crime to take out the small fry. (Hear, hear.) Within the last twenty-four hours, it had been his painful duty to pass sentence upon some of the characters treated of in the paper. One of them had committed a crime apparently with no other object than that of being apprehended; and his observation to the constable was—"I am *stalled* of being as I am." He feared that that man was a type of a large class in this country. Much had been said about tickets-of-leave and transportation. In regard to the latter punishment, if they sent their convicts to a desert island, like

Norfolk Island, they established a hell upon earth, and created a population too infirm ever to be trusted alone : while by sending their convicts to a colony already populated, they were inflicting an injury they were not justified in inflicting upon any community. Otherwise he was of opinion that the best thing they could do to enable a man to re-establish himself was to send him to a new sphere, to a country where he and his antecedents were unknown. (Hear, hear). With respect to the ticket-of-leave system, he believed it no longer existed. He had been informed that instructions had been given not to recommend any other convicts for tickets-of-leave except females. (Hear, hear). His opinion was, that Government was most sincere in its desire to do all that it could do ; but unfortunately its hands were tied with "red tape," and it must proceed according to certain prescribed rules. (Hear, hear). Now, they must in these cases have the action of man upon man, and it was impossible to make men good by a system. They would do no real good with their criminals until individuals had established a system of "patronage," as in France, and honest men would take an interest in penitent criminals. (Hear, hear). That system of "patronage," however, must not be carried forward by Government. It must be worked by the action of private and philanthropic men. The French Government had, in 1847, taken up the patronage system, and worked it for a time ; the result was so disastrous that in three years they abandoned it. The fact was, they employed the police to look after the liberated youths from the Reformatories, and when the employers became aware in this way that the boys had been convicted they discharged them. (Hear, hear). In this way, as the reports showed, more boys from Mettray were lost to society during the two or three years the system was in the hands of Government than from all other causes put together. (Hear, hear). If a system could be framed by which persons might come forward and send out criminals for some probationary period, the colonies would receive them ; and employers in England would, as a rule, receive reformed criminals under a system of patronage and guarantee. As he had already said, in France Government patronage has been an utter failure, while individual patronage was most successful ; and so, they might reasonably anticipate, would be in England. (Hear, hear).

The vote of thanks having been carried by acclamation, Mr. HALL briefly replied, and the company separated at a quarter-past ten o'clock.

# WORKS ON REFORMATORY TREATMENT OF CRIMINALS.

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- me in England, by Thomas Plint. Gilpin (now Cash), 5, Bishopsgate Street, 1851.
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- the Principles of Criminal Law. London: William Pickering, 1846.
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- ocial Evils; their Causes and their Cure, by Alexander Thomson, of Banchory. Nisbet & Co., Berners Street, 1852.
- eport of a Conference on Preventive and Reformatory Schools, held at Birmingham, Dec., 1851. Longmans, 1851. Price 1s.
- eport of a Second Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, and Preventive and Reformatory Schools, held at Birmingham, Dec., 1853. Longmans, 1854. Price 1s.
- Reformatory Schools in France and England, by P. J. Murray, Cash, Bishopsgate Street. Price 1s.
- Prize Essays on Juvenile Delinquency. Smith, Elder & Co., 1853. Price 5s.
- Juvenile Depravity: Prize Essay, by the Rev. Henry Worsley. Gilpin, 5, Bishopsgate Street Without, 1849.
- Inquiry into the Causes and Extent of Juvenile Depravity, by Thomas Beggs. Gilpin, 1849.
- Reformatory Schools; and Juvenile Delinquents, by Mary Carpenter. Cash. Price 6s. each.
- Reports of the Surveyor-General of Convict Prisons, by Colonel Jebb.
- Crime, by Frederick Hill. Murray, 1853.
- Prison Discipline, by Rev. John Field. Longmans, 1847.
- Results of Separate Confinement, by Rev. C Burt.
- First Report of the House of Lords on Criminal Law. Parl. Blue Book, 1847. Price 6s. 6d.
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- Reports of the Preston House of Correction, by Rev. John Clay. Clarke, 37, Fishergate, Preston.
- Reports of the Chaplain of Durham County Gaol. Durham: Aux Humble, Sadler Street.
- Reports of the Durham Refuge for Discharged Prisoners. Durham: George Walker, Sadler Street.
- Charge to the Grand Jury of the Borough of Birmingham, on the Reformatories of Stretton-on-Dunsmore and Mettray, by M. D. Hill, Recorder, Michaelmas, 1848. Charles Knight, 90, Fleet Street.
- Two Charges to the Grand Jury of the Borough of Birmingham on the Prevention of Crime, Oct., 1850-51. By M. D. Hill, Recorder. Evans and Abbott, 29, Clare Street, Bristol. Price 2d.
- Charge to the Grand Jury on the Conduct of the Birmingham Gaol, Oct., 1853. London: Longman & Co. Price 4d.
- Charge to the Grand Jury on the Connection between Disease and Crime, March, 1854. London: Longman & Co.
- Charge to the Grand Jury on the Abuse of Intoxicating Liquors, &c., Jan. 1855. Cash. Price 6d.
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- Correction of Juvenile Offenders. Edinburgh Review, April, 1855.
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- Colonie Agricole, &c., de Mettray. Rapports Annuels. Paris: Rue des Moulins, 11.
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Reformatory Discipline in County and Borough Prisons, by Capt. Maconochie. Gilpin, 1851. Price 1s.

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The Moral System of Prison Discipline, by Captain Maconochie. Harrison, 1854. Price 1s.

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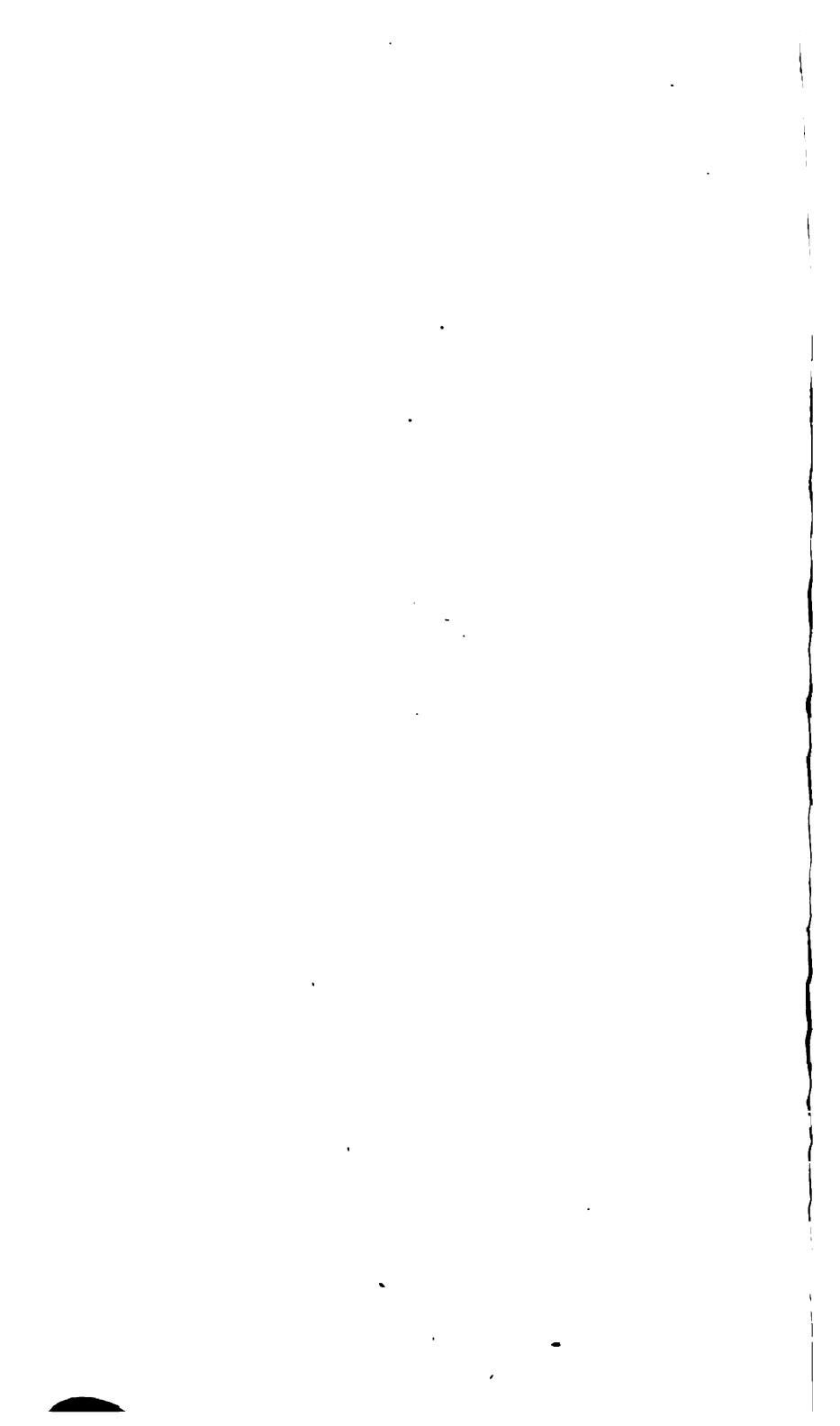
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- Our Present Gaol System Deeply Depraving; by Joseph Adshead. 35, George Street, Manchester, 1847.**
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**QUARTERLY RECORD**  
**OF THE**  
**PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY SCHOOLS AND**  
**OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.**



**QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF RE-  
FORMATORY SCHOOLS AND OF PRISON DIS-  
CIPLINE.**

In our Record, in the last, XXI, Number of this REVIEW, page cxxx, we referred to THE LAW AMENDMENT JOURNAL in terms of very great approbation, and from that number then before us, to that now last issued, May 20th, we have proofs more than sufficient to support our former opinions.

In the number of *The Journal* for April 24th, we have the following account of the three Scotch Reformatories most frequently named—the Aberdeen Schools are, of course, to be judged by their own peculiar, and most able reports:—

MEMORANDA OF VISITS TO INDUSTRIAL AND OTHER SCHOOLS IN  
SCOTLAND, IN MARCH, 1856.

*By a Member of the National Reformatory Union.*

**INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, GLASGOW (ROTTEN ROW).**

In this school the great majority of the children are those sent thither by the magistrates, under Dunlop's Act, for being in a state of destitution; the remainder are admitted from charity, for the same reason. All the children are fully fed, and those sent by the magistrates are lodged as well as fed: the diet is porridge and milk for breakfast and supper, and Scotch broth or pea-soup and bread for dinner. From the healthy and hearty appearance of the children, it would appear that the food is sufficient. The building of the institution, though old, is roomy and in a high, airy situation; and there is a playground adjoining.

The master, Mr. Wilkie, kindly accompanied me over the establishment. The boys were employed in making paper bags for grocers, &c., and in picking cotton waste: they seemed to be working with spirit. The master informed me that there was no difficulty in obtaining work for them—that indeed twice as much work could be obtained as the children could do. The girls whom I saw were employed in sewing and knitting; and I learned that they do the housework and make the clothes. Trades are not taught in this school. I was informed that it was not considered desirable to make shoemakers or tailors of the children, since the journeymen in those trades are generally in a low moral position.

The religious instruction consists of reading portions of the Scriptures; no catechism is used. A large part of the pupils have been the children of Irish Roman Catholic parents, yet half of the school has come here no other than the Roman Catholic body. On Sunday there is a Roman Catholic service, and the children of the Church of England are taught in the Protestant school, and the children of the other denominations are taught in the public school.

girls' school, informed me that great pains are taken to find situations for the pupils when they are of an age to quit the institution. Factory work is objected to, as leaving the children too uncontrolled. It is thought undesirable also that the lads should be employed as errand boys, since they would be so much in the streets, and have unoccupied time on their hands. For the girls, domestic service is preferred, particularly in the families of working men or small tradespeople, it being found that the position of servants in gentlemen's families is too great a rise for them. The boys are chiefly apprenticed to trades, such as carpenters, smiths, &c. : a large number have been taken into shipbuilders' yards, the owners of which are friends of the institution. A supervision over the pupils is kept up for some years after they leave the school ; and when out of work they are, I believe, permitted to return to the school till they can obtain employment. One condition is made with the persons to whom the pupils are intrusted, viz., that they shall cause them to attend a Protestant place of worship. The children have generally turned out well, and some of them have risen to a respectable position.

#### REFUGE FOR BOYS (DUKE STREET, GLASGOW).

This establishment is in an open, airy situation, on the east side of Glasgow ; the building is large and roomy, though in a style of architecture of more pretension than is, perhaps, suitable to an institution of this character.

The boys have all been convicted of offences, and are sent here to be detained for seven years, if necessary, for their reformation. I was informed, however, by Mr. McCallum, the superintendent, who kindly showed me the institution, that it is rarely necessary to keep a boy for more than four years. Many of the pupils have been in prison. Mr. McCallum much prefers that they should be sent direct to the institution without having been in gaol. The pupils are taught trades, such as tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, &c. The trades are taught by men who also, I believe, superintend their pupils at other times and sleep with them at night. These men are workmen thoroughly skilled in their crafts, and are paid full wages. The consequence is, that the pupils become really good workmen, and are able at once to gain a livelihood on leaving the institution. I saw some ladies' boots and shoes, which were very well made. The proceeds of the work, I was informed, pay the cost of the raw material, the wages of the teachers, and leave a surplus, which is devoted to the general expenses of the establishment. No part of the earnings is given to the pupils.

The lads were plainly but neatly dressed in the usual working garb of Scotland, and seemed to be well fed. The diet, I learned, was of the ordinary Scotch character, viz. : porridge and milk for breakfast and supper, and barley broth or pea-soup with bread for dinner.

There is a steam-boiler which supplies steam for heating purposes, and also to an engine drawing a fanning apparatus which ventilates the house. This is intrusted to the care of two of the boys.

When I visited the institution, it being near the dinner hour, most

of the boys were in the play-ground, which is spacious and airy: some of them were being instructed by a drill-serjeant in the sword exercise. Upon the ringing of the dinner-bell all who were in the play-ground formed into columns at the word of command, and marched in good order into the dining-hall. The military discipline, Mr McCallum informed me, is considered useful as accustoming the boys to prompt obedience, and saving much time in proceeding to work, meals, &c.

When the pupils leave the establishment great pains are taken to provide them with situations at a distance from Glasgow. The majority emigrate to Canada. Many of the owners of vessels trading from Glasgow to that country take the lads out gratis, two in each ship. The institution furnishes them with an outfit and a bag of biscuits towards their provisions; and they are expected to make themselves useful on board. On arriving in Canada, they are received by persons friendly to the institution, who procure them employment. Of those who do not emigrate, many are apprenticed to shoemakers and other artizans in the country, and some have gone into the army and navy.

It is calculated that 85 per cent. of the boys who leave this establishment ultimately turn out well. This, however, is upon the assumption that those whose career is unknown are going on aright; Mr. McCallum, however, believes that any who went wrong would be heard of. This success is probably in a great measure to be attributed to the removal of the pupils from Glasgow, which prevents their associating with their old connexions.

There is also a refuge for girls in Glasgow, but I had not an opportunity of inspecting it.

The combined effect of these institutions, and the industrial schools, has been to reduce crime to a considerable extent. In the last year, though the price of provisions was high and trade not good, the number of prisoners in the gaol of Glasgow was one hundred less than in the preceding year.

#### EDINBURGH UNITED INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL (SOUTH GRAY'S CLOSE.)

This school is conducted in a large roomy old house in an enclosed court, formerly the dwelling of a nobleman. I arrived a short time before the dinner hour. I went through several rooms where the children were engaged in industrial employment, particularly shoemaking and tailoring, while some of the younger ones were making paper bags and bandboxes. I learned that the shoemakers and tailors were allowed a small portion of the proceeds of their labour, as a penny per pair for shoes, &c. Those who had attained to some skill had learners under them (called apprentices), some one, some two, and even three. The work done by the apprentices is placed to the credit of the boy-teacher. The boys working at trades were in different rooms, each under the care of a master. The children appeared to work with spirit.

The account of the industrial department, I find, shows a balance of loss; but as the clothing consumed by the children themselves is not credited, the real loss, if any, will be trifling.

girls' school, informed me that great pains are taken to find situations for the pupils when they are of an age to quit the institution. Factory work is objected to, as leaving the children too uncontrolled. It is thought undesirable also that the lads should be employed as errand boys, since they would be so much in the streets, and have unoccupied time on their hands. For the girls, domestic service is preferred, particularly in the families of working men or small tradespeople, it being found that the position of servants in gentlemen's families is too great a rise for them. The boys are chiefly apprenticed to trades, such as carpenters, smiths, &c.: a large number have been taken into shipbuilders' yards, the owners of which are friends of the institution. A supervision over the pupils is kept up for some years after they leave the school; and when out of work they are, I believe, permitted to return to the school till they can obtain employment. One condition is made with the persons to whom the pupils are intrusted, viz., that they shall cause them to attend a Protestant place of worship. The children have generally turned out well, and some of them have risen to a respectable position.

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That a more favourable financial result is not obtained is to be attributed to the youth of the children, who leave the school so soon as they are deemed competent to fill private situations.

I went into the kitchen, which was very clean, and saw the dinner prepared. It consisted of Scotch broth, of a nourishing palatable description, with brown bread. The children breakfast and sup on porridge.

It was interesting to see them at dinner. They were placed at tables containing about 13 or 14 each. At the head of every table is an elder boy or girl, whose duty is to count the number at the table, and if any are away, to account for their absence.

I did not happen to be present at the hour when religious instruction is imparted, but I learned that the clergy of each denomination attend and teach the children of their creeds in separate rooms. This plan, I understand, has met with perfect success. While it ensures to the children a thorough religious training, experience shows that it is unaccompanied by any tendency to sectarian discord.

There are at present more than one hundred inmates in the school, of which about two-thirds are Roman Catholics. A large number of children have at different times left the school for various situations in which they have been placed, and have mostly turned out well.

The combined effect of this school, and of a larger one which has been for some time established on principles similar, except as respects the religious instruction, has been absolutely to annihilate juvenile mendicancy in Edinburgh, and very greatly to diminish the number of the youthful inmates of the gaol.

To the observations here made, with reference to the Edinburgh United Schools, we can add our fullest testimony. These Schools must be approved, not alone for their successful action, but likewise for the complete unity of purpose with which all sects and creeds have worked in their support. An excellent *History* of the Schools has been published, and this little work, with the eight *Annual Reports* now before us, are printed in the Institution by the pupils.

Major Arthur Mair, of Edinburgh, one of the most active and earnest friends of these Schools, thus writes to us :—

“ One principle is, I believe, peculiar to our School—it is equality of religious creeds. We have one hour (10 to 11, A.M.) appointed for religious instruction, when the different sects retire to separate rooms to receive their religious instruction, from the Teachers of their own faith : for the remainder of the day they all work together, in the fear of God, and in the love of one another, at least this is our aim, and we believe our endeavour has been blessed. We are chiefly composed of Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics. We have worked together now for eight years most unanimously, and the children who have left us in the course of that period have generally behaved well.



If you will carefully read the reports, I think you must come to the conclusion that we have done something to simplify the religious difficulty. From the very commencement, we have acted by one another, in a true and honest spirit, and though we are always most happy to see the clergy of every denomination coming amongst us, and taking an interest in our children, yet we have studiously avoided having any of them on our Committee. The venerable old Bishop Carruthers is the only exception, and he was a man any school might have been proud of having at its head.

We have constantly on our platform at the general meetings Clergy of every creed. We have frequently the Clergy of the Church of England, the Presbyterians and the Catholics, instructing the children, of course in separate rooms, but at the same hour; daily from 10 to 11 o'clock. It is open to all, and I frequently pass during that hour from one to another, to see what is going on; *but mind, each department* is under the sole supervision of its own religious instruction Committee, and *they*, by the constitution and rules of the school, cannot be meddled with by any persons but members of their own Church. For the *one hour* this distinction is made; we then join harmoniously together, and I am sure I never during the day think for a moment what is the creed of any particular child. We all acknowledge the same God, and there are general rules of guidance which cannot give offence. One of our teachers is a Presbyterian, the other is a Catholic—our Superintendent is of the Church of England—our Pupil teachers are Catholic or Protestant as it happens, so are all the servants of the Institution. I never think of asking to what sect they belong. We have a man to teach the shoemakers, I know he is a Catholic.

I do not know what the Tailor is, or the Turner, or the Book-binder, or the Printer—but I know we have never had a word of difference or of unkindness amongst the children or the Teachers. May not we then hope that the blessing of Heaven may rest upon our endeavours and that we may be the honourable means of bringing up children, who through life will obey the great command, to love as brethren.

We also have a housekeeper and a woman under her. For some years the head woman was a Catholic, but we found it very difficult to get a woman of the class we required, and so were driven to take a Protestant, but the under woman is a Catholic. As far as I can judge, this school has been and is working on a true and faithful principle.

From the Hardwicke School, we have the following, being the *Third Report* issued by Mr. Baker:—

Since the Report of the Gloucestershire Reformatory School, which was published last year, so much has occurred that I must touch but briefly on the leading points.

The rapid spread of the system throughout the whole of England has exceeded the hopes of its supporters. There is now probably not one large county which will be without a Reformatory School in

action by the end of this year. So far as we can judge, all the counties, and all the towns with populations of less than (say 50,000), will be provided for as soon as the Schools have had time to grow to the necessary size. This may probably take from one to two years after the opening of the School, and will not bear to be hurried; but I have every hope that within three years nearly every county may feel as Gloucestershire alone can as yet—that there is a *locus penitentiae* for every boy whom the Magistrates in their discretion consider to require the treatment of a Reformatory School.

Another point of great importance is, that the Act of last Session, for enforcing the payment of some part of the maintenance of such children (by their parents), has at length come into operation. Many parents have willingly consented to pay; but a short time ago the first contested case, as I believe, in England, was tried at Bristol: and the parent, a man earning large wages, was sentenced to pay 3s. 6d. a week. We have every hope that this will soon be carried out thoroughly, and that all parents, even the very poor, will be compelled to pay, at least as much as the child would have cost them had he been honest. This at any rate they *can* pay. If they can pay more, they should be made to do so. It has been for a long time a sad injustice that the parents of a criminal child should actually be benefited by his son's crime. But to come to the more immediate matters of our own School.

The first and most important observation is, that we have lost the active services, though not the name, nor, I believe I may say, the warm interest, of him by whose energy and devotion our School was first called into existence: and so well organized that it can now proceed without his help. After originating this School, and giving much assistance to the organization of that for Devon and Cornwall he has now undertaken the charge of that at Kingswood, near Bristol, which will, I trust, ere long make a clearance of all the worst juvenile criminals of Somersetshire; a range of utility of which any man might feel proud.

During this year the average number of our boys has been increased by more than a third of the number of last year. This, however, must not be taken as a proof that crime is increasing. Of thirty-six committed to us in the year, nine have been received from other counties, and thirteen more were cases sent to us on the first conviction, and who appear rather to have been boys momentarily led astray than hardened offenders.

Indeed a strong change has been perceptible in the general character of the boys received. The sharp, clever, highly educated, (in the usual acceptance of the term), but determined thief,—who has run his evil course for some years and been often convicted, and is able and willing to corrupt others,—has given place to a set who appear to have erred from a want of knowledge rather than a determined propensity. Rough and uneducated from the wildest parts of the country, rather than from the towns, many of them appear more or less deficient in reason. I remember one who had once or twice perpetrated acts of serious mischief rather than serious crime; who, though apparently only extremely stupid on most points,

could not for long be taught any ideas of time or distance. Another was reported to have been always a well-behaved boy until he had a violent attack of scarlet fever, since which time he had been often annoying the neighbourhood by shouting and screaming, and being convicted of a second theft was sent here. A third we received, a poor wretch, who, though by no means untaught, appeared utterly weak both in body and mind, excessively tall and thin, he appears quite unable to resist the temptation of stealing anything he can eat, from bread to horse-beans, on which latter luxury he once gorged himself sufficiently to produce a serious illness. Now, although this is not exactly the class of boys for whom the School was intended, yet I by no means complain of their being sent to us, *as we have room for them*, because our object is to do as much good in any way as we can, and we find that these boys with fresh air, very good food and as much hard work as they are capable of, improve rapidly, and become apparently strong, healthy and honest in a short time. But the proportion of sharp, clever town thieves, who used to constitute nearly the whole of our numbers, has diminished greatly.

In the year we have received thirty-six boys; twenty-seven from our own county, and nine from other counties. Of our own twenty-seven—three are from Gloucester, eleven from Cheltenham, and thirteen from different parts of the county. Of the town boys, only four have been of the class who are employed in corrupting and instructing others; five others have been very bad boys, two middling, and three I believe only led astray by momentary temptation. At one time, indeed, the youthful marauders of Cheltenham appeared to be scared, and for a time gave up their evil courses. One or two, I am sorry to say, have since returned to them, and, until they can be caught, the mischief will be again rapidly spreading.

With regard to what we more strictly call the reformation of the boys, (although this is a term I never like to use in the past tense, as we cannot possibly say that any boy is *reformed*), we have received in the whole, up to last Christmas, ninety-four boys, of whom

Absconded	...	...	...	...	5
Removed without our consent	...	...	...	...	3
Apprenticed	...	...	...	...	7
In Trade	...	...	...	...	8
In Service	...	...	...	...	3
At Sea	...	...	...	...	6
Emigrated	...	...	...	...	1
Returned to their Friends	...	...	...	...	6
Gone to other Schools	...	...	...	...	31
Now in the School	...	...	...	...	24

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Of the thirty-one whom we have put out in the world, either as apprentices, in trade, or the like, three have since been dishonest,—two of them under very strong temptations, and the third was unwisely allowed to leave the school much too early. Four others have turned out idle or in some way unsatisfactory, and have been discharged from their places, but are now working honestly. The other twenty-six are still going on satisfactorily.

The fact of thirty-one boys having been removed to other schools also requires some explanation. In commencing a School, great difficulty is often found in getting what may be termed a good moral tone. Where all are wild it is difficult to tame any, but when once the majority of the boys have acquired habits of at least order and discipline, any new comers insensibly adopt the same, and the training is comparatively easy.

Acting on this idea, I suggested to the Managers of Schools of several Counties, the taking a certain number of boys, who have been half-trained in some older establishment, to form a nucleus for the new School. I engaged, when such boys were taken from me by any manager, to receive half the number of newly-convicted boys in return.

This suggestion has been largely adopted; and I have sent in the last six months, twenty-eight boys to other Schools, all of whom I believe are, on the whole, well reported of. This has been a great assistance to us for the present, and for some little time longer it will continue to be so; but I must remind the gentlemen and farmers of our county, that ere long it will be *necessary* to find places for our reformed boys. This will be no heavy burden if all will endeavour to help. If one place is found in each parish once in ten years it will probably amply suffice.

But if all are utterly careless of every consideration except that of getting rid of criminals from their own neighbourhood, without caring for what may become of them, no care or expense laid out on a Reformatory School can be of any avail.

With regard to our money matters, we have also much to remark upon, as was shewn in our former Report. The total cost of the School for the first three years was £1,328. 19s. 2d., exclusive of the prime cost of building, but inclusive of purchase of Stock. Now, had we received from the first the government allowance of 5s. a week (which is now granted), it would have repaid us £620. 15s. of that money. The grants, too, from the Privy Council would have amounted to about £70. Again, we must deduct in fairness the crops in hand, at the end of the year 1854, and the price received for produce sold. This will reduce the current expenses of the three years, and will give the following result:—

	£.	s.	d.
Total Payments of Twelve Quarters	1328	19	2
Deduct Valuation of Stock-in-hand, } November, 1854 .....	298	8	3
	1030	10	11
Had we received 5s. a week from } Government for each boy, }	620	15	0
	409	15	11
The cost would have been			
But Produce sold .. £77 2 6½ } Privy Council would } have given about } 70 0 0 }	147	2	6½
Leaving as the cost of three years . .	£262	13	4½

The Farm accounts have been but roughly kept, as I could never see any certain way of arriving with accuracy at the cost of cabbages, potatoes, &c. consumed in the house. We merely, therefore, give an account of that portion of the produce which is actually sold.

The past year has from many causes been one of unusual expense. The price of Provisions may be reckoned, at least, at one half more than the average previous years.

The large number of Schools arising in all parts of England has caused a great demand for Schoolmasters and Bailiffs. This I have been anxious to supply as far as I could, and have had a considerable number of men training in the School to act as Masters or Bailiffs elsewhere, amounting to an average of three extra masters throughout the year. I am happy to add that, besides many masters of other Schools who have spent from a few days to a fortnight here, and many who have come for a short time and given it up, six men trained here have gone to other Schools, five of whom have hitherto given satisfaction. The cost, however, of the (average) three masters' board can hardly be estimated at less than, say £20. each.

There have also been an average of about five boys unpaid for by Government, having been received unconvicted before the allowance for convicted boys was granted. These may be roughly estimated to have caused a deficit of £65.

The increase also of the value of Stock on the Farm (consequent on the increase of the number of boys and acres) from £298. 8s. 3. to £476. 10s. accounts for £178., making altogether £443. more than might be expected in ordinary years, which renders the less hopeless our deficiency of this year of £283.

We must, however, acknowledge the receipt of some extraordinary donations, but for which the deficit would have been far greater. The money value of these has been considerable,—the testimony they give of the opinions of the donors has been far more. I allude particularly to £50. from Charles Bathurst, Esq., and £25. from R. S. Holford, Esq.

When, however, we consider that in nearly every County in England £700. or £800. has been raised for this purpose at the very outset, (in many far more), while in this county the subscriptions (exclusive of the Managers) amounted to somewhat under £260. in the first three years, and £163. 14s. in the present year—I cannot but hope that now that the system has ceased to be considered as a wild experiment, and has been proved, by God's help, to have hitherto succeeded and borne good fruit, the whole deficit of this year may not be left to be made up by

Your obedient Servant,

T. B. LI. BAKER.

At the Birmingham April Sessions the Recorder delivered the following Charge, which is just now most important, when most ill-advised and ignorant would-be legislators are endeavouring to subvert the Ticket-of-Leave *System*, because it has been carried out with a haste and an ignorance little inferior to that which they, themselves, display in opposing it.

For the report of the Charge, and of the presentment of the Grand Jury, we are indebted to *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, of April 21st, and to *The Midland Counties' Herald*, of April 24th :—

The proclamation against Vice and Immorality having been read, the learned Recorder addressed the Grand Jury as follows :—Gentlemen, I am sorry to have to inform you that your duties will be very heavy on the present occasion. The calendar, which is not quite made up yet, consists of 136 prisoners ; probably the number brought before you will not be much less than 150. The interval between the Sessions has been considerable, no doubt, but in the Parliamentary Session before the last an Act passed which it was expected would have the effect of lessening considerably the number of prisoners committed for trial at Assizes and Sessions. I refer to the Act extending the power of summarily convicting for felony, which had up to that time been limited to young persons, extending it under certain circumstances, which I must not stop to enumerate. And true it is that there have been many such convictions in this, as in other towns ; but whether the effect will be permanently good, or is at this present moment such as to diminish materially the number of persons committed to Assizes and to Sessions, may well be doubted, because it has been found by experience that whatever gives facility to the prosecution of offenders multiplies the number brought before tribunals, whether summary tribunals or juries, to have their cases considered. It is quite a distinct question, and one I do not now enter upon, whether the number of offences is increased or decreased ; but certainly the number of offenders brought into Court, as is proved by experience, is augmented. It is increased for this reason, that forty or fifty years ago any person who prosecuted a criminal did it at his own expense. I well remember when a boy a friend of my father's being robbed on the highway near to this town, and being shot at ; his life was thereby put in danger and his property taken from him. He prosecuted the robbers as soon as they were apprehended ; but he had to pay the costs of their apprehension, and the costs of their prosecution, and his bill amounted to 90*l*. It cost him, therefore, 90*l*. to be robbed and to be shot at ; and the result was, that the offenders, being young, were treated mercifully, and in the course of eighteen months were again in the town of Birmingham, passing him in the street, entertaining it to be supposed, no feelings towards him which it would be very comfortable for him to contemplate. It is not much to be wondered at that, when the tax of prosecution was so enormous, prosecutions were comparatively rare, and persons have from this hastily concluded that as the prosecution was rare, crime was rare ; but to gentlemen of your sagacity it will appear at a glance that the one fact does not by any means necessarily follow the other. The Legislature found it necessary to give facilities for prosecution (and the main facility was to pay the costs of the prosecutions from some public fund), considering it highly unjust that when the community had not been sufficiently strong, or sufficiently vigilant, to guard one

of its members from robbery, but that in consequence of their inability to guard him he had become a private sufferer, it was very wrong to increase that suffering by making him pay a large amount to protect that public which had not protected him. Nothing could be more fair than such reasoning; but in the very difficult subject of criminal jurisprudence it is scarcely possible to take a step, however right the direction may appear, which does not draw after it consequences quite unexpected, and very little to be desired. Certainly the consequence of the payment of the expenses of prosecutions is to bring cases into this Court which a wise and humane discretion would overlook, and give the offender another chance. The severity of punishments has to some extent that effect. Humane persons (and humanity I am glad is spreading amongst us) shrink from exposing a delinquent, for an offence which they consider slight, or caused by some overwhelming temptation, or committed by a young person without experience, to a severe penalty; thus the very severity of the punishment often acts as a protection against those who are guilty of crime. But the course of legislation has been now for many years gradually to lighten punishment; and the course of the public mind has been even more rapid than the Legislature, so that punishments as they stand on the law books cannot be inflicted in this Court. For instance, I cannot usefully, and even there may be doubt if I can justly, inflict punishments which are heavier than those that would be inflicted on the same individual by the discretion of Judges or other Recorders in other places. Of course any great inequality of that kind makes it a matter of accident, not of guilt, how much a man is punished; as it would follow that a man would be punished severely, not because his offence is great, but because it is committed in a certain jurisdiction; and punished lightly, not because his offence is trivial, but because his crime occurred in a district where a lenient scale of punishments obtain. Punishments which might appear to this Court expedient, if they go beyond that scale will, of course, be mitigated by the authorities at the Home Office, to whom her Majesty the Queen entrusts that part of her prerogative which enables her to pardon or mitigate the sentences of prisoners. Thus, there are two currents in motion, operating continually to lessen punishment; and the Legislature now and then steps in and makes a very great change, of the character to which I have referred, in the extension of the Summary Jurisdiction Act, because there is a limit to the punishment which Magistrates can inflict, much below the limit applying to Assizes and Sessions, and the consequence is that many prisoners are brought here who would not have been brought. The prosecutor says to himself, "If this person were to be punished by transportation or very long imprisonment, or taken before a large public body and exposed to shame, I should shrink from bringing him before the Court, or from having him apprehended; but he will be placed before Magistrates, will be at once subjected to punishment, without waiting for trial, and his punishment must be a light one, because Magistrates have not the power, if they have the disposition, to make the punishment heavy. I think, therefore, it would be better for all that he should

be sent to prison.' But what is the result? He is subjected to a slight punishment; he is not in custody long enough for any system of reformation, however well devised, to produce any impression upon him; he has no motive for attempting self-reformation with a view to shorten his imprisonment, for it is already so short that it cannot be lessened by any such process. Meanwhile he has lost his position in society. He was one of the honest and respectable portion of the community; he has passed the Rubicon; he has entered into the criminal class. He had a horror of a gaol; he has entered the gaol; he finds it not so dreadful a place as his imagination pictured it. The shame of having been in gaol he cannot shake off. What is his position on his discharge? He was not able to resist temptation when it was comparatively easy to resist it; he now finds himself outlawed, and repelled by society; that position which he was not able to maintain while it was easily maintainable, he has now to recover in the midst of all difficulties. This is his prospect on the one hand. On the other hand he has formed connections—he has learnt that there are means of maintenance which will preserve him from the necessity of excessive toil; which, if they are pretty sure to bring upon him great evils, those evils are in the future and prospective, while his wants and desires press upon him on the instant, and with tyrannical power. What wonder, then, if he soon falls? What wonder if he quickly finds himself again engaged in acts of dishonesty, and if he is by and by brought before us again? I am not entering into any speculation, or indulging in any effort of the imagination, in saying this. What I have told you is, every word of it, the fruit of a bitter experience, gathered in Criminal Courts, during a period of nearly forty years.

I have told you the calendar consists of 136 prisoners. I have before me what you might well suppose another calendar, and a tolerably large one. It is not so, but is a list of persons who have been convicted, with a short note of each conviction. I find that very nearly sixty of the 136 have been formerly punished, some of them many times. There is a case of an individual (I will not mention his name, because I have no desire to prejudice you against him), twenty-three years of age. It is recorded against his name, that on the 27th of October, 1849, he was summarily convicted for refusing to work at the Workhouse, and sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment; July, 1851, for wilful damage, one month's imprisonment; 1852, for stealing thirteen pounds of lead, twelve months' imprisonment; 1853, misbehaviour in the Workhouse, fourteen days; the same year, for an assault, fourteen days; same year, for running away from the Workhouse with the clothes of that establishment, one month; the same year, for insolence in the Workhouse, twenty-one days—four convictions, therefore, in 1853; at the January Sessions, 1854, he is convicted of uttering two counterfeit half-crowns, and imprisoned two years; on the 24th of July, in the following year, he is sentenced to three months' imprisonment, for assaulting an officer of the Gaol, and now he is here for another offence. That is his history from 1849 to 1856. I shall not detain you any further except to express the conviction of my own mind, which I feel



gaining strength year by year, month by month, day by day, for a very long period, that the only principle of administering punishment which does not involve absurdity when it comes to be carefully investigated, is this: when once a criminal is convicted, keep him until he has given him cogent proof that he is reformed, and if he never give such cogent proof, keep him till the day of his death—let him be released by death alone. All this may sound exceedingly harsh to those who have not been called upon to investigate and study the subject: but I believe it is capable of being proved to be the principle most consistent, not only with the safety of society, but with the good of the individual; because what can be (if we look at it either as members of society or as Christians) a greater misfortune to a man than to be put on a course which leaves him almost by an inevitable necessity to go on offending against the laws of God and man, from year to year, during the term of his life! Do we not do him, as well as society, a benefit by keeping him in custody, and thus prevent him sinning against God and man? I ask your excuse for having troubled you at this length. It was not my intention to have uttered ten words when I began to address you. I have been led on by the great importance of the subject, an importance which, if it even could be exaggerated, is so by the fact that the Legislature is now about to enter on an examination of the great question of punishment. I wish that that examination may be so conducted as to lead to such changes as shall make it less painful than it now is to preside in a Criminal Court; for the feeling uppermost in the mind of every person who, like myself, is called upon to adjudicate in criminal matters, must be that they are engaged in the execution of laws, and in the administration of penalties, which, to speak in the most cautious terms, are far less efficient for all good purposes than anyone could wish to see them who has the welfare of his country at heart.—The Grand Jury then retired.

Appeals.—There were various Appeals against the Borough and Parish rates entered for hearing, including many by the London and North-western Railway Company; only one, however, was entertained, that of *Gillot v. the Guardians and Overseers of Birmingham*.—Mr. Field for the appellant. Mr. Spooner and Mr. Wills for the respondents.—It appeared from Mr. Field's statement that the appellant complained of being over assessed for premises in Graham-street, and also that it was unequal as compared with other properties in the parish. In reply to a question from Mr. Spooner, Mr. Field stated that he had the notice of appeal, but not the necessary recognizances to prosecute.—Upon this admission, Mr. Spooner said they could not proceed, as the local Act clearly required that the recognizances should be entered into.—In this opinion the learned Recorder concurred, and ordered the rate to be confirmed.—The other appeals were resited.

The trials of the prisoners were then proceeded with. The following is a summary of the sentences:—*Penal servitude*: Four to six years, fifteen to four years.—*Imprisonment*: Four to two years, eight to eighteen months, two to fifteen months, fifteen to twelve months, four to eleven months, one to ten months, four to nine months,

fourteen varying from eight to four months, seven to three months, and the remainder from three to two and one month, a fortnight, and a week. Two were found *guilty* and discharged; *ten not guilty*; *three no bills*.—The business of the Sessions did not terminate until Thursday.

In the course of Wednesday, the Grand Jury handed in the following presentment to the Recorder:—

“The Grand Jury beg to represent to the Court, they have observed with deep concern that the majority of the numerous cases which have come before them at the present Sessions are re-committals after previous convictions for various offences, and by very young persons; also, among other cases, there are ticket-of-leave men, one having in his possession many picklock-keys, and another keeping a notorious house of ill-fame. They also particularly notice there are many cases of persons charged with uttering, or being in possession of base coin, who, being prosecuted by the Authorities of her Majesty's Mint for the minor offence of uttering, are thereby only liable to short periods of imprisonment, although they have been many times convicted of similar offences and other descriptions of crimes. The cases of servants and workmen robbing or defrauding their employers appear to be on the increase, which the jury believe is attributable to the ineffectual operation of the law, as preventive of such offences. But, while expressing their belief that the criminal laws at present in force (or as administered) are insufficient for the prevention of crime, the reformation of criminals, and the due protection of property or life in this country, the Jury do not shrink from suggesting what, in their unanimous opinion, may be probable remedies.

“1.—The Grand Jury are of opinion that sufficient means do not at present exist (but ought to be provided by a national system) for the proper moral and religious training of the young before they become educated in crime.

“2.—For the reformation of children convicted of crime, they are of opinion that their detention and moral and religious training in such establishments as are now sanctioned by law, and their parents being made liable for their maintenance, is the most probable way to reclaim them, and that punishment should be applied (under proper control) to the idle, disobedient, or refractory.

“3.—The jury suggest that those twice convicted under sixteen years of age, should be placed and trained under more strict and exclusive control, and for sufficient time to prove, by their conduct, their fitness to be once more entrusted with liberty.

“4.—They think that all young persons up to twenty-one years of age, and three times convicted of crime, ought to be adjudged unfit to be at large in these kingdoms, and ought to be transported to a colony, exclusively appropriated for their reception, and be compelled there to labour towards their own maintenance, and be trained until they prove by their good conduct their fitness to be at liberty to return to their native land, or to go elsewhere.

“5.—The Grand Jury are further of opinion that all persons above twenty-one years of age, three times convicted of crime, ought to be adjudged unfit to be entrusted with the liberty enjoyed by the honest and industrious inhabitants of the British dominions; and,

that they should be exiled for the term of their natural lives to a distant colony especially chosen for their safe keeping, and prevention of their evil influence on civilised society, and there be compelled to labour for their maintenance; and the Jury are of opinion that their labour may be made profitable under such severe toil as rigor, tempered by humanity, may suggest."

The Recorder, in reply, observed that some of the topics touched upon by the Grand Jury might create differences of opinion which that was neither the time nor opportunity for properly discussing. At the same time, many of the suggestions which had been made were deserving of and would receive great attention, as coming from the Grand Jury of this borough. "With reference to those persons under ticket-of-leave," continued the learned gentleman, "I have been in correspondence with the Secretary of State for the Home Department. I have pointed out that when persons are sent with tickets of leave into large towns, they come back into their old temptations; they find harbourage; are enabled to secrete themselves, and pursue their former course of life almost with impunity. I learn from Sir George Grey that a change in this respect has already begun to be made. I have to inform you, in consequence of the enquiries which have been made in regard to the course of life followed by ticket-of-leave men in this town, that those persons have taken the alarm, and have nearly to the whole number departed elsewhere. It would be certainly but a slight public advantage that they should go from one town to another; and although you, as inhabitants of Birmingham, might rejoice to hear that they are no longer in the town, you would surely not be so selfish as to congratulate yourselves at the expense of other large towns. But if the same vigilance is exercised in other large towns as in Birmingham, not interfering with them when they are honestly employed, but in careful watchfulness over the course of life they actually do adopt, it would be found that those who are dishonestly disposed will for the same reason as they left Birmingham leave other large towns. If ticket-of-leave men, or any other persons pursuing a dishonest course of life, could be prevented from congregating in large towns, we should find from this sole effect a great diminution of crime, because there are many appliances required to carry on crime profitably; one of those appliances is the existence of the capitalist—the receiver; he cannot be found in small places. Another is the power of at once hiding among those fastnesses which we know to our cost exist in such numbers and to such an extent in this town, where by means of their companions they can secrete themselves, and stolen property at any moment passing from one to another thus prevents the identification by the officers of justice. All these appliances require a large population, and if by any means we could prevent thieves congregating together in large towns, without any other improvement in the law or those administering it, you would find a serious diminution of crime. Whether it will be accomplished or not is more than I can venture to predict. The whole subject is one replete with difficulties. We scarcely ever make improvement in one direction, till we find ourselves, like tinkers, making holes in

another part of the article upon which we are operating; but still it is so essential to the peace and comfort and the safety of society, that we should do our best for the repression and diminution of crime, that we must not be thrown back by disappointment, but labour on in the hope that at length we shall be able to do something more effectual than we have hitherto done. I am glad to find you give in your adhesion and approval of the change made in the law in reference to the treatment of the young. I must say I felt it for many years in my professional and official life to be a national disgrace that we so treated our young offenders that by neglect and not being cared for by their natural parents, or by the State, who, when their natural parents desert their offspring, should adopt them, they have been suffered to grow up in the pursuit of crime. We never interfered with them to check them until the young untaught, who had not the means of learning his duty to God and man, was brought to answer as a responsible being for offences which too often he had not been warned to avoid, but even trained, either by his companions or parents to do. Much has been done, much more remains to be done, to remove this evil from our laws, manners, and habits. I am glad to find in this respect, at all events, we are on the right course; and I do trust, by and by, we shall find out the right course with regard to adults. I am obliged to you for the attention you have bestowed upon this subject. It is one upon which we shall make no progress until the interest in it and the knowledge of it are widely diffused among the people."

Captains Crofton, Knight, and John Lentaigue, Esq., the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, have just published their second Annual Report, from which we make the following extracts:—

In pursuance of the Act 17 & 18 Vic., chap. 76, we beg leave to submit our Annual Report on the state of the Convict Prisons in Ireland for the year 1855.

The ordinary reports of the Governors, Chaplains, Medical Officers, and Schoolmasters, are appended in the usual manner.

#### *Accommodation*

The accommodation for convicts in the Government Prisons on the 1st January, 1856, may be estimated as amounting to 3,490.

#### GOVERNMENT PRISONS.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Number in custody on the 1st January, 1856,	2,590	619	3,209
Accommodation on 1st January, 1856.	2,860	630	3,490

#### COUNTY AND CITY GAOLS.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Number in custody on 1st January, 1856,	39	214	253

*Grand Total of Gaols in Ireland, 2,192.*

The accommodation for female convicts has been much increased since our last report, and is now sufficient for 630.

NUMBER OF CONVICTS SENTENCED DURING THE YEAR.

TRANSPORTATION.		PENAL SERVITUDE.	
14 and 15 years	21	4 years,	420
Above 15 years	—	6 years and above 4,	54
Life,	12	10 years and above 6,	9
		Life,	2
Total,		33	485

Total number of Convicts sentenced in Ireland in 1855, . 518

*Disposal of Convicts.*

Removed to Bermuda, per ship "William,"	300
Discharged—having completed their sentences at home,	632
Ditto ditto ditto at Bermuda	
and Gibraltar,	188
	820
Total,	1,120

*Employment of Convicts.*

They have been employed on the Public Works at Spike Island, Haulbowline, and the Forts at the mouth of Cork Harbour, or at Trades in the other prisons.

We are much gratified in being enabled to report that we have succeeded in establishing a proper system throughout the Convict Establishments; and what we foreshadowed as our intentions in our Report of last year, we have, as far as possible, carried out. Adult male prisoners, with very rare exceptions (caused by physical inability to undergo separation), are transmitted as soon as possible from the County Gaols to Mountjoy Prison, where they are subjected to nine months' strictly separate imprisonment; they are then employed either on Public Works at Spike Island and the Forts at Cork Harbour, or at trades at Philipstown, Newgate, and Smithfield. We have erected an iron moveable prison at Philipstown, capable of holding 250 convicts, who will be employed in extending the prison buildings. Some of these will be transferred from accommodation suitable for invalids, and enable us to remove prisoners of that class from the different establishments where they have been unavoidably detained. We have also altered and provided for the warming of eighty cells in the old gaol, so that 330 prisoners, on removal from separate confinement, can now be accommodated at Philipstown, on the most improved system of prison discipline, viz., separate sleeping cells.

We have, in every possible manner, endeavoured to separate the juveniles from the adults, and regret that a difficulty in obtaining a suitable site for a Juvenile Penal Reformatory, has delayed our making the progress we should have desired. A bill is, however, immediately to be brought before Parliament, for the purpose of

enclosing the Commons of Lusk (situated about ten miles from Dublin), for this purpose; and we now trust that we shall shortly be in a position to proceed with the necessary works. We still retain the juvenile convicts at Mountjoy and Philipstown Prisons, and have reason to believe this is the best arrangement we could have made, both as regards the prevention of further contamination, and the inculcation of industrial habits. In our last Report we complained of the inefficient state of the Educational Departments of the Convict Depots, and stated the importance we conceived should be attached to them in this country, recommending at the same time they should be placed under the inspection of the National Board of Education. Experience has proved that we were correct in our opinion; the report of Mr. M'Gauran, the Head Schoolmaster at Mountjoy Prison, showing, that after a very careful examination of the prisoners at that establishment, he found that 96·2 per cent. were almost without any education at all; a fact, we submit, calling for every exertion to render the educational machinery as perfect as possible, in order to open the minds of the prisoners, by a system of training as well as teaching.

Sensible of the very great importance of establishing a proper system of education in the prisons, through which, unfortunately, thousands of human beings must pass, who are in turn subjected to its influence, we are gratified at being enabled to state that, although much of the past year has been taken up in arranging schoolrooms, classifying prisoners according to their attainments, appointment of schoolmasters, &c., a great desire has already been evinced by the prisoners to receive instruction; and this is more remarkable, as proceeding from some advanced in age who, at the commencement of the year, attended school with the greatest reluctance. This applies both to males and females, and we believe so desirable a result has been achieved through great exertion on the part of the teachers. Lectures have been established and attended with visible success; the great stumbling-block to improvement has been the low and depressing opinion that prisoners in general hold of their own qualifications, believing it to be impossible that they are susceptible of improvement. The exertion required from the instructor to remove an impression so detrimental to progress, can be of no ordinary kind, as his constant labour should be that of illustrating and picturing out to the minds of the instructed; but this is no light task, and few there are, however gifted they may be in knowledge, who can really give effect to this desideratum of *all* education, but more especially that of the pauper and criminal.

Mr. Coyle (an Inspector of the National Board of Education), has recently visited the Dublin Convict Prisons' Schools, and made many valuable suggestions, which we feel confident will advance the cause of education; it is by the constant visits of the Inspectors, and adopting their suggestions from time to time, that we may hope to render the Prison Schools what they should be—one of the primary elements of reformation.

We have been under the necessity of making many changes amongst the prison officers, which, we feel convinced, will tend to

the furtherance of prison discipline and reformatory treatment throughout the service. The establishment of fines amongst the warders, and a clear understanding that an officer proved to be under the influence of liquor, will not be retained in the service, have produced the beneficial results anticipated. We believe that there are very few officers now in the service who would not feel they had disgraced themselves, if guilty of conduct formerly too common.

The probation of six months, to which each warder is subjected on joining the service, has been found to work well; many who entered with an idea that there was nothing to do, have found out their mistake, and resigned; others who have evinced their unsuitness for prison officers, have not had their appointments confirmed.

We anticipated that on the commencement of the new system, whilst in a transition state, both as regards officers and prisoners, many subjects of jarring, disappointment, and discontent, would be likely to arise and cause troubles in the prisons; this was the case to some extent, and called for the exercise of great discrimination and firmness on the part of the local prison authorities.

We regret to state, many violent and turbulent offences having occurred in the early part of the year, it became necessary to resort to severe punishments, which, however, were carefully watched by the medical officers; these occurred principally during the disorganization of Philipstown Prison.

We are happy to state, however, that the system is now thoroughly understood and appreciated by officers and prisoners, who are aware that although the evil-disposed will assuredly receive the treatment their conduct merits, those who have chosen a different course will meet with every encouragement.

The system of classification, although a task of great labour, works well, and will amply compensate the public service the additional time required to carry it out; its importance, through the facility it affords of individualizing each prisoner, cannot be easily exaggerated.

The juveniles can at present be scarcely treated as satisfactorily as could be wished. Further contamination is prevented, and education and industrial occupations, as far as trades are concerned, are promoted as much as possible; but we have no land attached to the prisons, and cannot expect really satisfactory results until the erection of the "Juvenile Penal Reformatory," when prison construction, and the various occupations of farm labour, will aid properly selected officers in bringing about the reformation we seek to produce. We rejoice to find it is the intention of the Irish Government to bring in a Bill for the "reformation of juvenile offenders." We have long felt the importance of commencing the reformation of criminals at an early age, and before they are as hardened in crime as the majority are who come to the convict establishments. Parental responsibility, duly enforced, will do more to check the training for crime, which unhappily too often prevails amongst the class from whom these children emanate, than any other measure that has been proposed. There are many alterations we should wish to see in the

English Act: amongst others, we should prefer the age of admission to be restricted to juveniles under fourteen, instead of sixteen. We should prefer that a stipulation should be made, that the imprisonment to which a juvenile is to be subjected before he is committed to a reformatory, should be "*separate*;" but we must hope that experience in the practical working of these institutions will suggest beneficial changes, and thankfully accept what we consider will be the means, under Providence, of reducing the criminal population.

With regard to female convicts, we have devoted much attention to carry out the plans proposed in our last year's Report concerning them, and have observed a manifest improvement in their general demeanour and conduct. This we attribute in some measure to the efforts made by our teachers to open their minds by education, and to engender habits of self-control. Many, instead of sullenly brooding over their past life, now look forward with hope to the future. Even women advanced in life, who have spent most of their career in prison, and who at first would not attend school, and seemed incapable of understanding the advantages of education, are now amongst the most assiduous in their classes. A difference in their conduct is already apparent; they are more orderly and obedient to the rules, and make efforts to exercise that self-command, the want of which has so often led them into crime. We trust that, under the new arrangements in the prisons, and a system of Refuges and patronage on discharge, which we are now advocating, many convicts formerly considered irreclaimable, will finish their career as good members of society.

On the subject of education, Mrs. Lidwill, the Superintendent of the Cork depot, expresses herself as follows:—

"I find that the effect of school instruction has been, in most instances, to, as it were, awaken the minds of the prisoners, and improve their natural comprehensions, to make them more docile, more easily brought to see the value of cleanliness and order, and to inspire them with a considerable feeling of self-respect; many of them seem by education to have become better able to comprehend the folly and wickedness of their previous lives, and experience a strong feeling of repentance. I have observed, too, that as they make progress in school education, their conduct in the prison proportionately improves; and that some who have come from the county gaols, with very turbulent characters, and apparently of very violent dispositions, have become, under the influence of education, conformable to discipline."

Mr. Sinnott, the Governor, and Mrs. Rawlins, the Superintendent of Grangegorman, both dwell on the importance of this training. Prisoners are subjected, on conviction, to four months' separate confinement, as far as the accommodation at our disposal will admit, after which they are removed to the industrial classes, and employed in work suitable to their sex. The system of badges and gratuities works particularly well as applied to the female convicts, and calls forth good qualities which would otherwise have lain dormant. Mr. Synnott says—

"Classification and the badges have already proved to be of great



moment, and are well calculated as auxiliaries in producing happy results, and a further and more steady developement of individual merit."

Mrs. Rawlins states—

"The prisoners in the higher classes have exhibited much anxiety to keep their position, while those in the lower endeavour, in many instances, to raise themselves, and have tried to overcome dispositions which bring them into blame, as well as to apply themselves to work and the means provided for their improvement."

Up to the end of 1853 all female convicts were sent to Australia, where, on their discharge, they had an opportunity, in a new country, of finding an honest means of livelihood; and the individual, if unreformed, did not fall back into the stream of society in this country to contaminate it by her example. Transportation having comparatively ceased as a punishment, and with it the means of disposal of female convicts in another country, it is necessary to provide prison accommodation for the number to be maintained in Ireland: a new prison is in progress of erection at Mountjoy, Dublin, in which we hope to concentrate the whole of our female convicts, and preserve, throughout the entire establishment, a proper course of prison discipline. In the meantime, we have endeavoured to relieve the country prisons to some extent by increasing the accommodation at Cork Depôt, which now holds 370 prisoners, notwithstanding which great and just complaints are still made by Boards of Superintendence and Inspectors of County Gaols of the improper location of convicts in their prisons, to the great and manifest detriment of discipline, order, and management. For this reason, as well as the time having arrived for carrying out the system of tickets of licence, we considered that arrangements were necessary by which the numbers of females in the depôts should be reduced, and the county gaols relieved from prisoners not properly belonging to them. To effect this, it is necessary that some provision should be made for the gradual absorption into the community of such convicts as would be entitled, under existing rules, to tickets of licence.

Great difficulties present themselves in the final disposal of female convicts. A man can obtain employment in various ways in out-door service, not requiring, in all cases, special reference to character, and at work which is not open to females in this country. A woman, immediately on discharge from prison, is totally deprived of any honest means of obtaining a livelihood. Persons of her own class will object to associate in labour with her, even if employers were willing to give her work; and the well conducted portion of the community object to receive into their families, as domestic servants, persons so circumstanced, without a stronger guarantee and proof of their real and permanent reformation than would be afforded by a prison character.

Refuges for female prisoners on discharge from prison, in which their good resolutions can be tested, and provision made for a continuance in virtue, are now established in different parts of the Continent, where transportation not having been used as a punish-

ment, the reformed female convict returns to her place in society; and the community, after she has been subject to proper tests, is willing to receive her. We are convinced facilities must be afforded for the separation of the well-disposed from the evil-minded, and for turning the qualities of the former to a good account. This, we conceive, can only be done in this country in establishments so managed as to produce reformation of the inmates, and at the same time afford to society such assurance of that reformation as will be received with confidence by those who are likely to give them a means of earning their bread by honest industry. We believe that if the plan here proposed is carried out in its integrity, much will be done, not merely in the disposal of our convicts, but also in the diminution of crime generally in the country. In the treatment of criminals, when the primary object of punishment is accomplished, and reformation is presumed to be effected, the means are still required of testing that reformation, and of affording the former delinquents the necessary opportunity of showing their fitness to be restored to society.

In the Convict Dépôt, before the individual becomes eligible for a ticket of licence, the crime has been expiated, and reformation apparently effected; but that reformation has still to be tested, and the public mind must be satisfied and have complete confidence in the value of the test to which she is submitted. A Government institution would answer for a mere refuge, but not as a medium through which the individual will be re-established in society; for under any rules, it will be looked upon as a prison, and on the discharge of the inmates, the same difficulties will be felt as at present in our Convict Dépôts. For this reason, instead of increasing the existing Government prison establishments—a plan attended with much expense, delay, and difficulty—we proposed, in December last, to the Irish Government, that convicts whose conduct has been exemplary should be drafted into existing private charitable institutions willing to receive them, where the disposition of each inmate would be studied, and the certificate of character founded on that study, together with recommendation which would then be considered sufficiently satisfactory to obtain her employment; the prisoners, in all such institutions, should be under the general supervision and inspection of the Convict Directors. By this means accommodation would be left in the Government prisons for those now in the county gaols, the prisoners themselves much benefited, and better prepared for their ultimate release. In order to carry out this plan, a certain number of exemplary convicts should be selected from the Government prisons, at periods varying according to circumstances, previous to the time when in the usual course they would become eligible for discharge, and be sent to such private establishments, and not released therefrom under, at least, three months; and not then unless immediate and proper employment should offer, excepting, however, cases where prisoners become regularly entitled to their discharge, from having completed their sentence; and special cases to be determined upon by the Directors, and sanctioned by the Executive. Should, however, a prisoner misconduct herself, she would be liable to re-

Committal to the Convict Dépôt to undergo her original sentence. It is obviously most desirable to enlist public sympathy and interest in any scheme for the employment of discharged female prisoners; this object we consider will be best attained in the manner proposed. For the purpose of providing situations for the inmates, and so preventing their relapse into crime, we are given to understand that a number of benevolent ladies are willing to manage, gratuitously, a Société de Patronage, in connexion with the institution, such as has been found to work so well on the Continent, especially that established in 1837 by M. de Metz in Paris, in connexion with the great Prison of St. Lazare, and under the presidency of Madame de Lamartine, through which 700 females have passed, with scarcely a serious relapse. Of this institution, M. Béranger de la Drôme, Président à la Cour de Cassation à Paris, in his admirable work, "*De la Répression Pénale*," lately published, says:—"Près de 200 jeunes libérées sont aujourd'hui réunies dans une maison, située rue de Valenciennes, qui est dirigée par des sœurs religieuses, sous l'inspection des dames de la société. Lorsque ces jeunes filles sont suffisamment préparées et corrigées, ces dames les placent comme domestiques ou comme ouvrières dans des maisons choisies avec soin; elles leur servent alors de patronesses, les assistent de leur conseil, de leurs encouragements, et de leur maternelle surveillance. 700 jeunes filles environ après avoir passé par la maison de réforme, ont ainsi reçu au dehors, la destination à laquelle chacune d'elles était propre, et ont, à peu d'exceptions près, répondu, par l'honnêteté de leur vie, aux efforts qui avaient été faits pour les ramener au bien."

At Montpellier, from a similar institution, 360 prisoners have returned to their families, or been placed in situations, out of which number only six have fallen back into crime since 1847.

We have to express our conviction that the proposed arrangement is calculated to confer great advantages on the persons intended to be benefited, and on the public at large, by the results expected from it and experienced in other countries.

With respect to the medical department of the service, we find that our anticipations, as mentioned in our last Report, have been realized.

We stated that we had recommended alterations in the arrangements for the supply of medicines to the Dublin prisons, by which, in addition to the duties being more efficiently performed, a saving of public money in this item alone would be effected of from £150 to £200 a year.

We were not able to put the new system into force until the commencement of the financial year; and notwithstanding that a stock of medicines had to be provided, and other expenses incurred, contingent on the opening of the new surgeries, &c., the cost of these items to the Dublin prisons, for the nine months ending 31st December, 1855, has been not greater than the charge made to the same prisons by the apothecaries for medicines during the first three months of the year under the old system. On this subject the medical officer of Newgate and Smithfield observes:—"The new arrangements for the supply of medicines to those prisons, which came into operation

*in April last, has proved not only more economical, but more convenient and effective, than the former system. The economy resulting from it is strikingly exhibited by the fact, that the cost of the medicines used in the prisons, in the first three months of the year 1855, amounted to £37 10s. 10d. ; while that of those supplied during the remaining nine months, including the stock in hand, was only £32 6s. 6d."*

The subject on which we have felt great anxiety, and to which we alluded as of the utmost importance in our last Report, is the employment of the well disposed convict on discharge ; for without we can further this, we cannot anticipate a satisfactory termination to the reformatory treatment we have endeavoured to institute in the prisons. It has now been decided that "Tickets of Licence" shall be issued to those prisoners eligible by character and length of imprisonment, and in carrying out these instructions we feel the very great responsibility which attaches to us. We know that the public look with alarm upon arrangements which they consider consist in turning loose upon the community men convicted in most instances of very serious crimes. We are aware how sceptical persons are of a reformation tested alone by prison surveillance, under a comparative absence of temptation ; that the press teems with outrages committed by "Ticket of Licence" men ; that the system is denounced by some of those administering the criminal justice of the country as an unmitigated evil ; but we do not hear the suggestion of a remedy. Our colonies will not (with the exception of Western Australia) receive our convicts ; there is, therefore, no alternative but that, for the most part, they must be discharged at home.

We have deeply considered this responsibility, and in recommending prisoners for tickets of licence, shall bear in mind the Lord Chancellor's intentions expressed in the House of Lords, in 1833, that it was not contemplated to turn a mass of unemployed convicts loose upon the country, but that means would be taken to assist them in procuring employment, and employing them in the interim. With this very intelligible principle as our guide, and considering, if necessary in England, it is doubly so in this country, we are endeavouring, as a preliminary step or stage to so important an undertaking, to collect prisoners eligible for discharge (from length of imprisonment and exemplary character), in certain establishments belonging to our service, and specially devoted to the purpose—at Smithfield, in Dublin, where those acquainted with trades, and the infirm of the selected class can be profitably occupied, and at Fort Camden, near the mouth of Cork Harbour, where the able-bodied of the same class can be employed on the fortifications. These establishments will act as filterers between the prisons and the community ; but to enable them to be *really* such, the system pursued in them must be of such a character as to test the reformation of the prisoner, and throw him more on himself ; hard work and coarse fare must be the rule, and in the evenings carefully selected lecturers may inculcate lessons of practical utility. It is important that these establishments should be as self-supporting as possible, the officers connected with them should be cognizant of

some branch of industry, and give the public the benefit of their own labour—the prisoners may be employed in offices and avocations that could not be sanctioned in a prison, but, which, in this intermediate stage, would tend to engender self-respect. We believe that, by means of these establishments, we shall obtain a further insight into the prisoner's character through individualization, and thus be enabled to recommend the really deserving for tickets of licence. We consider that the community will have greater faith in such a test than they would in a character earned merely under prison discipline; but in recommending these intermediary establishments, we had a further view than the mere amelioration of the system of issuing tickets of licence; we considered that they would equally work for good towards the termination of penal servitude sentences; that they would tend to the solution of a very important question, "the treatment of our criminals;" that the good and evil can be thereby properly tested and separated—the former to be aided in the onward path of reformation, the latter, when discharged in the usual course at the expiration of their sentences, to be noted to the police of their district as requiring special supervision. This will not be a matter of such difficulty as may at first appear, the fact of not having passed through these establishments will be sufficient grounds for warning the police. Many, it is expected, will enter them in consequence of their exemplary prison character who, on being tested, will fail, and be returned to the establishments. Registers will be kept, and every aid given to further the efforts of these selected prisoners in obtaining employment at home and in the Colonies. A diminution of crimes (which is confined to fewer individuals than is generally supposed) must be the consequence; and what is of great importance, it will always place at the disposal of the Government a large number of prisoners, whose labour can be employed economically on public works, such as Harbours of Refuge, &c., who will require less supervision than ordinary prisoners, and who can be located in any accommodation that may be offered, instead of requiring special prison construction. We have commenced this system, and have every confidence in its success. We believe, if properly carried out, and extended with the assistance of the police and constabulary, it will, through the two important channels of directing and preventing, be made the means of exercising an influence over the criminal population generally, which cannot well be too highly appreciated.

The iron prison, erected at Spike in the year 1851, which was found very unsuitable for the purpose intended, owing to the great and sudden changes of temperature to which it was liable, its great heat in summer, and extreme cold in winter, and also from the dampness caused by the condensation of the breath of the inmates on the walls in cold weather, has been lined with a thin sheeting of wood covered with iron, leaving a clear space between this and the outer walls, through which a free current of air always passes. By this means the temperature has been equalized, and the experience of the past winter has proved the building to be, as described by the Governor of the prison, "both strong and comfortable."

We attach considerable importance to this result, as it proves that similar buildings which may be readily erected at any time, in the course of about a couple of months, can, at a comparatively small expense, be made available for the reception of convicts on the site of any public works, the execution of which, by means of their labour, may be determined on.

We are of opinion that the employment of convicts, selected on account of their general good character, &c., in small bodies on public works in various localities, under circumstances of exposure to the ordinary temptations and trials of the world, when the reality and sincerity of their reformation may be fairly and publicly tested, will present the most favourable chances for their gradual absorption into the body of the community. The public feeling is too general that all convicts are alike, and they are judged by the standard of the lowest and most degraded. Such being the case, it is not to be wondered at that all respectable classes shrink from contact with them on their release from prison, as indeed they may well do, so long as they have a "prison character" only to refer to, earned under a strict discipline, surveillance, and restraint. It is, doubtless, an established fact, that many of the worst and most hopeless criminals will behave well under such circumstances, and will consequently obtain on discharge good "prison character;" therefore, what guarantee can any one have, that in giving employment to a released convict, he is not harbouring a depraved and irreclaimable criminal, if he has no means beyond this "prison character" of learning anything of him. It is well known to all who are acquainted with the class to be found in our Convict Prisons, that they present every description and shade of character, and very various degrees of guilt, crime, and depravity; that many of the inmates have fallen from weakness, distress, and force of circumstances, rather than from innate and absolute natural vice; some are more hardened by a longer career in vice and crime, though still not destitute of all proper feelings, nor without some good ground for hope of their ultimate sincere repentance and permanent reformation; while others, it must be admitted, are, humanly speaking, altogether vicious, almost dead, to any good impressions, and hopelessly irreclaimable, but this last class is comparatively small. We hope, by means of a careful selection of convicts, according to their general as well as "prison character," by their employment in small bodies in various localities, comparatively as freemen (though under surveillance), that the public will gradually become convinced of the difference to which we have alluded, that many of these men are not utterly irreclaimable; and that by degrees they will become willing to extend a helping hand to such as may really prove themselves deserving of their aid and encouragement.

We believe that a general desire is felt by the community at large to aid in the restoration of these fallen members of society, though all, or nearly all, shrink from personal contact with them; however, when they become convinced that a careful discrimination has been exercised in the selection of the convicts to be employed in the manner indicated—that there are some of whose real and sincere refor-

that good hopes have been formed—and when they know that such reformation has been further thoroughly and publicly tested, we hope to find that this class of convicts at least will be no longer shunned as hopeless outcasts. If means cannot be devised to induce the community to hold out a helping hand to re-establish the reformed criminal, all schemes for their improvement and reformation within the prisons, however ably devised, however zealously carried out, must be comparatively fruitless.

At Fort Camden, situated at the entrance to Cork Harbour, where there is a branch of the Spike Island Prison, we have placed a party of selected convicts who are now employed, as nearly as circumstances will admit, in the manner which we suggest they should be on public works in various localities, on or shortly previous to their discharge or licence, or otherwise. This locality, although the best which we can at present command, is not altogether suitable for the objects which we have in view, inasmuch as being in a comparatively remote position, the convicts subjected to this probation are not thrown into the world as much as we could wish, and therefore are not placed under circumstances which present sufficient trials to afford altogether satisfactory tests of the extent to which confidence may be placed in their future good conduct, and the reality and stability of their reformation; but their employment here will afford opportunities of testing, in a considerable degree, their good intentions, and of judging their fitness to be trusted under circumstances presenting all the temptations of ordinary life. We propose, therefore, even when we obtain works more suitable for the objects we have in view, to draft the selected convicts from Spike Island to this post in the first instance before trusting them under circumstances of great exposure, which will enable us the better to sift the really deserving from those who do not give much fair promise.

The works which will be required at Lusk Common, preparatory to its occupation as a juvenile penal reformatory, for which purpose we hope it will be shortly appropriated, will present one good field for the further trial of the scheme proposed. Here selected convicts employed on the works will be more thrown in the haunts of man, and the sincerity of their reformation and good intentions will be fully, fairly, and publicly tested.

The convicts thus selected will, of course, be compelled to work, at least, the ordinary hours required of free labourers; and we expect that their labour will more than cover the cost of their maintenance and supervision.

Schooling and general instruction will be confined to the evenings, during the same hours which they might, if free, devote to similar purposes.

We trust that other public works may be found on which the labour of this class of convicts may be profitably employed.

Selected convicts have as yet been tried to a very limited extent; but so far as they have been placed under less than the ordinary restraints of the prison discipline, as at Fort Camden, and in the boat service of the prison, &c., their conduct has been almost uniformly unexceptionable, which, at least, gives encouragement for their being further tried.

The ticket-of-licence system has not as yet been brought into actual operation in this country ; so large a number of convicts having remained in the various prisons who, according to the present state of the law, might be considered as entitled to their *free discharge*, on the ground having served *with good conduct* the *full period* under a state of penal servitude established in lieu of their respective sentences of transportation, that it has not heretofore been deemed safe or expedient to add to this number by discharging still more on tickets-of-licence. This class of convicts had accumulated in this country to an extent quite unknown in England, owing partly to the want of system which existed formerly in the selection of convicts for deportation, and partly from their physical *unfitness* for transportation, which, until lately, existed among so large a portion of the Irish Convicts. Subsequent to the appointment of the Commission of Convict Inquiry in 1853, (that is, since 20th April, 1854, when prisoners, who had more than completed the proper equivalents of their sentences of transportation, were first discharged), there have been 920 released. The class of prisoners who have served over the period of penal servitude established by law, as the equivalent for their sentences of transportation, has been disposed of, and it has become necessary that the system of release on licence should now be brought into operation, which we believe, with due care, may be commenced without giving rise to any serious evils to society.

We foresee that a great difficulty will arise in the disposal of convicts sent home from Bermuda, from time to time in large numbers, with a view to being discharged on tickets-of-licence ; we cannot feel justified in pursuing any different course, with regard to recommending them for this indulgence, than what we follow in our own prisons, under the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant. The conduct of several of these prisoners on their passage home, and since their arrival in this country, appears to render them fitter subjects for a course of separate imprisonment, than discharge on licence. We trust that in future, only those whose conduct throughout their imprisonment warrants such an indulgence, will be sent home with that view.

The *Reports* and labors of the Directors are well known to our readers, and to all who feel interested in their work we feel sure that the *Report* now before us will prove most cheering and satisfactory. We would, however, suggest, that in all future Reports the Chaplains of each Prison should be required to give tabulated returns of the religious knowledge possessed by each prisoner on his admission ; excellent *forms* for this purpose can be found in any one of the Rev. Mr. Clay's Reports on the Preston House of Correction. The Doctor tabulates his returns, so the school-master, so the Governor, yet the most important of all the returns is that of the Chaplain. All who are acquainted with the subject of Prison Discipline, know that the Chaplain's Report is that to which the informed reader first



turns, and finding it but a record of the Chaplain's opinions, unsupported by facts, he is unable to form any useful opinion on its merit or its weight.

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Our present QUARTERLY RECORD is one of quotation, rather than of suggestion or of argument; but in fact there is little new matter to record, as the publications of Reformatory School Reports are annual, and this is not the season of their issue.

We have had, however, during the three last weeks of May, ample opportunities of personally investigating the condition of the chief Reformatories of France, England, and Scotland, and we have no hesitation in declaring that the PRINCIPLE was never more fully proved than now.

Doubtless, Sir Stafford Northcote's Bill, when debated in the House of Commons, did develope some most extraordinary ideas: we had the mingled satisfaction and dissatisfaction to hear that debate, and a more woful exhibition, in many respects, we never witnessed. Every body talked, it was just like the Dublin Corporation Debate on the Irish Reformatory Bill, and those who knew least talked, as we say, "the bouldest."

We do not object to all joining in a discussion on this subject, but we do object to a course of argument which hands over, in England, the whole management of these Institutions to Government. Why should Mr. Baker, Mr. Adderley, Miss Carpenter, Mr. Wright, and the Abbot of Mount St. Bernard, give up the results of time, thought, devotion, anxiety and zeal, because 5s. or 7s. per head may be paid for each juvenile committed to their schools; yet this is a very pressing danger, because our over zealous, and not over well informed friends, confound Government Inspection with Government Management.

There is, however, one Society to which we look, confidently

and fearlessly, for a full, honest, and enlightened support of all the *true* phases of this Reformatory Principle—The National Reformatory Union. What the Union is ; how, why, and whence it sprung, the readers of our last RECORD know, and in every week of the quarter we now record, it has been more than steadfast to its principles.

In our last RECORD we gave a detailed history of the rise, progress, and position of the Smithfield Institution for Exemplary Prisoners, and in our present RECORD we place before the reader the opinions expressed by the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, on the most important points of Gradual Liberation, Patrimage Societies, and Tickets-of-leave. We are happy, most happy, to find that our Prison Authorities have met the vast difficulties of these questions ; we have before us letters from six of the most distinguished writers on Prison Discipline in England, men not less esteemed for zeal than for good sense, and all declare that in Ireland the best and safest means to secure, and complete, Reformation have been adopted.

Let us now have a Reformatory School Bill for Ireland, protecting the faith of our "City Arabs," and we shall have no more most just complaints that Ragged Schools in Ireland are but the seed-plots of proselytism. Neither Dr. Cullen, nor one who has written in *The Freeman's Journal*, under the signature "Tennis," expresses an opinion too strong or too indignant upon this topic : *their facts are facts*, and they furnish arguments of a most convincing kind, to drive the Chief Secretary into the abandonment of his proposed Reformatory Bill for Ireland. We consider that the Irish members of Parliament are bound to place the *true* phases of Irish opinion on these points before the House ; we know that nothing can be expected to arise from this task, save the approbation of the few who study the question ; but if such wild statements as were placed upon the minute books of the Commons by the

Hon. Member for Mayo, "that Ireland does not need a Reformatory Act," be taken as the exposition of Irish opinion, all will go wrong. Mr. Maguire has taken considerable pains to obtain a fair Reformatory Bill for Scotland; Mr. Stephen De Vere is a member of the National Reformatory Union—why should not each turn his labours to the advantage of his own country, and to secure the faith of each Irish juvenile criminal?

From *The Philanthropist* of June 1st, we take the following:—

#### SHIP REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

Some very useful suggestions on the propriety of establishing Ship Reformatory Schools have been communicated to the National Reformatory Union by Mr. Frederick Nelson Watkins, sheriff's officer, Bristol. After speaking hopefully of the efforts made by philanthropists, the writer says:—

I beg respectfully to suggest the adoption of Ship Reformatory Schools, being firmly of opinion that such schools, if established at each of the principal sea-port towns, would confer a greater benefit upon the class for whom they are intended than any other yet proposed.

The trades now taught on land could be taught on shipboard—tailoring, shoemaking, matmaking, sailmaking, &c., &c.; and thus while the scholars receive a proper education and learning a trade, he may also have the advantage of becoming a good sailor.

Take a given number of boys, from twelve to sixteen years of age, on shipboard, with kind and proper treatment; let them be well instructed in the use of the ropes and boat exercise for two hours daily, and they will be found, after twelve months' training, fit, and able to serve in the Royal Navy, or the merchant and coasting trade, and would be readily received by master mariners. By these means they would have a much better opportunity of becoming independent and earning an honest living, than by any other.

The sailor finds a home in every country and climate, and under every flag. There is no calling that can possibly be given to boys with greater advantage; none so easily obtained, and with the addition of some other useful trade or calling, these unfortunate lads may become useful members of society at home, or, as emigrants, they would become valuable acquisitions to our colonies, instead of being marked down by the police and others, as many are stated to be at the present moment.

When boys leave the Reformatory Schools, as shoemakers, tailors, or labourers only, they may probably have great difficulty in obtaining immediate employment, even in the parish where they are known—a village may support two or three shoemakers and the

same number of tailors—then many are sent adrift, and may very possibly be tempted to return to that high road of crime for subsistence, from which it had been fondly hoped the Reformatory School had effectually withdrawn them ; or, it may be, that, taking a more favourable view of the case, they may be compelled to resort to the parish work-houses for relief, where, be it observed, seamen are never burthensome.

“ But there is a continual demand for sailors, while a great number of boys would prefer that calling to any other. Had any of the ticket-of-leave men been brought up to the sea, they would no doubt most willingly have gone from port to port, and, though penniless, could have worked a passage—as such a privilege is seldom if ever refused by one sailor to another—and thus obtained a livelihood, instead of being driven to those hardships and crimes as described by them at the meeting called by Mr. Henry Mayhew.

In most seaport towns there are a very great number of poor unfortunate boys, who have neither home nor friends to advise or protect them, and, having no knowledge of marine pursuits, cannot get a vessel ; for this reason it is very desirable that the admission to the Ship School should not be confined to convicted children alone, but extended to such destitute boys as may be desirous to learn the maritime art. It is notorious that if a boy run away from an inland town, he immediately seeks the seaport in the hope of obtaining a vessel ; on his arrival, having none to recommend him, he fails in his object, falls a prey to hunger, and then to theft. I have known of many who have been so situated, and of others, who by stowing themselves away in outward-bound vessels, or by the means of friends, have been more fortunate, but never knew one who afterwards came to crime or want ; on the contrary, in several instances they have not only done well for themselves, but have been enabled to give assistance to their parents when needed.

The Government and country would realise great saving by the adoption of the Ship Schools, when compared with the expenditure attending apprehensions, conviction upon conviction, &c., and afterwards sending the convict upon the world ten times deeper stained in guilt, deprived of every means of supporting his existence except by dishonest practices.

Having been a public officer for twenty-five years, a large number of thieves, guilty of almost every crime, have, during that period, been apprehended by me ; yet of this number not more than three or four were sailors.

The letter then gives some statistics on this question, and goes on to say :

This report shows very much in favour of training boys to the seas ; and more particularly so when taken into consideration that some of these prisoners may have described themselves as mariners, although merely boatmen—a class of men very numerous in Bristol. One of the old Government hulks would be well suited for the purposes of the school, which could be managed principally by pensioners under the direction of a small committee, and conducted on total abstinence principles.

It is distressing to witness the number of unfortunate lads wandering about the quays of Bristol during the winter months, in a state bordering on starvation, without shoe or stocking, or rags sufficient to cover them; seeking shelter under some warehouse doorway, or huddled together on the lee side of a building, while waiting their opportunity to pilfer any article whereby they may be enabled to appease the cravings of hunger. They know no other way to prolong their miserable existence, and if apprehended and convicted, the shelter of the prison is preferable to the open shed by day and the limekiln by night. Is it not here, then, that the work of reformation should begin, not by an imposition of the silent system, but rather by teaching the boy how he may live honestly, and furnishing him with the means of leaving his old haunts of vice and misery? Other nations have made convict labour profitable, but in this country the experiment has not been tried.

The idea of ship Reformatory Schools is not a new one. It has been acted on in Liverpool. Mr. James Brougham has communicated a letter to the National Reformatory Union, in which he states, "Mr. Watkins appears to be ignorant of the fact that in Liverpool such an establishment already exists in the School Frigate "Akbar," certified as a Reformatory within the meaning of the Act, 17 & 18 Vic. c. 86."

As one of the secretaries of that institution, I would wish, through your Journal, to give such of your readers as are interested in these matters some information as to the progress we have already made in our Reformatory School Ship.

In July last the Lords of the Admiralty placed at the disposal of the Liverpool Juvenile Reformatory Association the Akbar Hulk until she should again be required for her Majesty's service. The committee immediately proceeded to have her fitted up for the reception of boys, and also had her rigged in such a way as to enable them thoroughly to teach the boys their duties as seamen; and in all our arrangements the man-of-war system and discipline, modified and adapted to a School Ship, has as much as possible been kept in view.

The ship is moored in the middle of the great float at Birkenhead—a large sheet of water. Our staff consists of a superintendent, schoolmaster, boatswain, cook, carpenter, and three seamen. About three months ago the first two boys were received on board, and we have been gradually increasing our number until we have now forty-three boys.

Our arrangements at present are for 152 boys, who are to be divided into two divisions—the port and starboard watch—each watch being divided into five subdivisions, viz:—

Forecastle, containing	14	boys.
Foretopmen	14	"
Maintopmen	14	"
Mizentopmen	14	"
Afterguard	20	"

Each subdivision has a captain selected for conduct and ability from among the leading and most trustworthy boys; and each sub-

division sleep, mess, and are instructed and employed in the duties of the ship together, so as to form a separate little company or family in itself. Their nautical exercises are reefing and furling topsails, reeving and unreeving running gear, knotting and splicing, sailmaking, heaving the lead, rowing in the boats, &c. At present we have one jolly boat and two cutters, one pulling ten and the other eight oars. During their play-hours the boys have books to read, a music class, mending clothes, &c., and they amuse themselves with a variety of games. It is during these times that new boys begin going aloft, and by degrees gain confidence, no boy being obliged to go aloft until he has perfect confidence.

From an almost daily experience of the working of this School Ship, I have a firm persuasion that it is admirably adapted for the reformation of juvenile criminals; an idea, however, seems to prevail in some quarters that they may be established and carried on at a much less cost than Land Reformatories. Now, it will be found that when a hulk has been granted, it is a mere shell, and a considerable sum is required to be expended in fitting her up for the reception of boys—masts, rigging, sails, boats, &c., have to be provided, not only that the boys may have variety of occupation, but to teach them thoroughly their duties as seamen. A large staff of superintendence is also requisite, because of the limited space in which a large number of boys are confined, making the friction on board ship so much greater than in a farm school, where boys can be sent out into the fields to work.

While there are some difficulties peculiar to itself in carrying on such an institution, there are also many advantages, especially in the variety and nature of the instructions being such as have a great interest and charm to boys. A strict discipline and methodical arrangement are also necessary for the well being of such an institution; this may be rather irksome at first to some of the boys, but the good effects of it are very speedily seen, more especially in those accustomed to a vagrant life. The boys all appear healthy, happy, and cheerful; they are dressed as seamen, in blue pilot trousers, with "Akbar" embroidered on the breasts of their blue serge shirts. We have boys on board from different parts of the country; and our wish is to make an exchange of Liverpool boys with as many other Reformatories as possible, so as to avoid as much as we can too many boys from the same locality getting together; and we have a very confident hope that we shall shortly turn out some very valuable, honest, and efficient seamen.

Other letters have been communicated to the National Reformatory Union on this interesting subject, some of which have appeared in *The Law Amendment Journal*. Now the question is fairly mooted, and is drawing the consideration of practical philanthropists, it will, no doubt, issue into useful results.

A meeting was held in London on the 29th of May, at the rooms of the Society for Promoting the Amendment of the Law, Lord Lovaine in the Chair, for the purpose of presenting an address to M. Demetz on the occasion of his visit to

England. The meeting was not a formal one, as the health of the noble-hearted Frenchman was too delicate to permit his joining in any very fatiguing business, but he attended, accompanied by M. Paul Verdier, and was most warmly received. In reply to a series of questions, M. Demetz gave the results of his experience in the management of Mettray, and entered at some length into the consideration of the topics, Teachers, Schools, Patronage Societies, and Punishments. On the latter topic M. Demetz's opinion may be shortly expressed in these words, Many Rewards Make Few Punishments.

It was most satisfactory to see persons of all religions present at this meeting; it was open to all; one of the chief rules of the National Reformatory Union, (the promoters of the meeting) being, that all creeds may join in the work of Reformation. Indeed to contend for any other principle is simply nonsense, when Roman Catholics and Unitarians are amongst the most zealous and successful advocates of the principle of Reformation. It is to judge not by our own light, but by our own twilight; it is to adopt the Christianity of the Sunday School scholar, who thought that the happiness of Heaven would consist in "singin' the praises of the Lord, an' lookin' at the bad 'uns aburnin'." It exposes a Society to the absurdity of asking a Jew Lord Mayor to preside at a meeting to collect funds for Schools, of which funds his School, were he to found one, could not claim one farthing; a piece of folly which, by a slight change, Tennyson's lines aptly describe—

"But the jingling of the guinea helps the hurt Religion feels,  
And the godly do but murmur, snarling at each other's heels."

We beg attention to the following letter:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PHILANTHROPIST.

MY DEAR SIR,—I can hardly wonder that some persons who have looked—only very superficially—at the question between the two Reformatory Unions, should be hastily disposed to take it for granted, that as we objected to the introduction of the words, "the teaching of the Holy Scriptures," we might also object to the fact of teaching them.

Yet surely, any people who remain long in this error must be very determined to refuse all evidence contrary to their first impressions. So far as I remember, even amongst all of us who were driven to opposing the words, there was hardly one who did not, at the

very time, maintain that the teaching of religion, as based upon a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, must be the foundation of all true reformation.

So far there was, in fact, no difference of opinion between us. Why, then, it may be asked, did we separate? Simply because, though there was in reality no questions on the teaching of the Scripture, there was a question whether we should aid the Roman Catholics in their endeavours to reform the erring of their own persuasion.

Many of us thought that it would be right to aid their endeavours, others thought it would be wrong to do so. The words upon which the division took place were believed to be introduced for the purpose of excluding Roman Catholics; and, after much discussion, one of the committee, who had framed the rules, fairly allowed that they had been introduced for that purpose.

Ask me not why a resolution "that the Holy Scriptures should be taught," should offend or exclude any Christian. That is no affair of mine. Suffice it that the proneness of man to take offense and quarrel with his neighbour, has somehow converted these words into a party watchword, and a *lapis offensiois*.

Now, had the question been, "whether in each school the managers and masters should teach the Bible to the best of their ability," I will venture to say, not only that every one would have agreed, but that I do not believe that any manager of our English Reformatory Schools, then present or absent, would have accepted the charge of a school on any other terms. I believe that I am tolerably intimately acquainted with nearly all who did vote or (a far larger number) who would have voted with us on that occasion; and I think I will undertake to say, that not one of them would have accepted the charge of any school in which the Bible was not taught.

It was only to the use of the words, as a party watchword (supposed to be so by several of us, and honestly admitted to be so used by one of those who drew up the rule), that any objection was made; and though, perhaps, it was hardly quite fair to frame the resolution in such a way as to compel us to object to what would *primâ facie* appear not only unobjectionable, but of the highest importance; yet, on the other hand, we must be thankful for the candid allowance that the question really at issue was, whether we should or should not afford help to Roman Catholics endeavouring to reform the criminal children of their own Church.

I remain, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

T. B. LI. BAKER.

Hardwicke-court, Gloucester,

April 26, 1856.

Patronage Societies are now very well known to all readers of our Records, but we think it right to insert here some portion of the report of the meeting held in Birmingham last April, to form a local establishment for the relief and employment of Discharged Criminals:—



The Recorder moved the adoption of the report. One fact, he said, gave at the outset a hope of stability and an expectation of ultimate success. The promoters of the plan were the three principal officers of the Gaol. This fact of itself would be an answer by anticipation to all fears that the ex-prisoners would be treated in a spirit of romantic sentiment, or that extravagant expectations would be entertained as to their future well doing. To the Governor, the Chaplain, and the Surgeon, the prisoner must be thoroughly known. They look upon him as he is, appreciating him at his just value, whatever that may be. They know that his reformation is a work of labour and of difficulty; they know that to retain him when at liberty in the good resolutions which he may have formed while in confinement, is a work of even greater difficulty, but they know also that though difficult it is not in the majority of instances impossible. [Hear.] So that while on the one hand they are protected by their experience from over sanguine expectations, on the other hand they are preserved from the worse danger of falling into scepticism as to the possibility of criminals becoming permanently reformed, a prejudice which has for so many years impeded those Christian labours which cannot be omitted without neglecting one of the most imperative duties enjoined by the founder of our religion. We have been receiving some humiliating but most wholesome lessons. We have been awakening to the truth that we are not quite so superior in every particular to all the world as we had fondly imagined. Whether we look upon ourselves as warriors, manufacturers, or philanthropists, we find that we have not monopolised all the virtue and sagacity of mankind, and imprisoned it within the narrow limits of our island. What we are met this evening to establish has been long in operation in many other countries, both in Europe and in America. As regards the working of these establishments, the results, so far as he had been enabled to acquaint himself with them, were encouraging in the very highest degree. It was a natural objection to arise in the mind of any thoughtful person, having no practical acquaintance with the class whose interests they were contemplating, that whatever advantages the benevolent furnished to the discharged prisoner would operate, if not as an incentive to crime, at all events to weaken the deterrent force of example. But those who, like the valuable officers to whom the meeting owed the proposal to establish the Institution, were practically acquainted with the habits and modes of thought prevalent among the criminal class, knew perfectly well that they were the creatures of impulse: and these gentlemen would smile at the notion of the prisoners having taken up crime on a calculation of profit and loss. The criminal knows just as well as we do, that criminal courses must ultimately bring him into a state of misery, which, if he could feel that he would to a certainty be plunged into it immediately on committing an offence, might have a strongly deterrent effect upon him, but that suffering being in the future, and uncertain as to its date, although certain enough to fall upon him sooner or later, the terror of punishment produces little impression on his frivolous and unreflecting mind, and that little quickly passes away. We must all plead guilty to giving the present moment and

the present life too much weight in the government of our actions, but the criminal is emphatically the slave of his immediate desires, and his future lot no more troubles him than if it were the lot of another individual. And hence it was that he, (the Recorder,) could appeal with the most perfect confidence to those who thoroughly knew the criminal class, to support him in pronouncing fallacious all arguments, however plausible, which had been directed to show that amelioration in the condition of a criminal which he reaches through his endeavours to amend his conduct, have had the effect of inducing men, women, or even children, to become criminals themselves. If there were any exceptions to this rule (and he knew of none) they would be found on examination to be only apparent exceptions, and to be caused by some great error in the application of the bounty of the benevolent. Doubtless mischief would be wrought by pampering the appetites of criminals, or by any other ill considered indulgence of their failings. But the practical officers of the Gaol were not likely to commit such a mistake. And after all, though he had spoken of bounty, the principal requisites for success must not be sought in extensive pecuniary means. It was kindness under the guidance of sober sense, but nevertheless ardent and unclouded, which was the first want of the outcast—that Christian superintendence which may lead the poor creature to feel that he has some friend to whom he can look up with respect and gratitude, that some one whose encouragement is a favour and a blessing cares for him, will be made happy by his welfare, and will suffer pain and mortification if he should relapse into crime. Here then the wanderer would find a guide, here he may ask advice, which will not be given in pride, or in that species of condescension which is only pride under a mask easily penetrated. On the contrary, his friend will speak with him as fellow man to fellow man, as Christian to Christian, as sinner to sinner. But the aid will not be confined to words; if it were, indeed the criminal who by experience of his former associates and by the lessons of his youth is suspicious, would believe he was the object of nothing more than lip-sympathy and ostentatious professions. Nevertheless, the aid afforded must as little as possible consist in furnishing him with money or money's worth. It should mainly consist in taking pains to find the prisoner a home and honest employment, thus bringing him back to his place in society, and giving him another chance of enrolling himself among the honest portion of mankind. He would now, he said, call their attention to what had been done on the continent. The French had many years ago founded Institutions similar in their objects to that which this meeting was assembled to establish. These they call *Sociétés de Patronage*, which were now in action all over France, but, as might be expected, more especially in Paris, whence they had their origin. He was enabled by personal examination, by reading reports of these institutions, and by the information he had obtained from his friend M. Demets, to assure himself that the results were highly satisfactory. During a tour in Italy which he made four years ago, he found similar Institutions in Florence and other parts of Tuscany. They were working well and

were giving perfect satisfaction to those who employed their time and money in establishing them. He had obtained documentary evidence of their success, and he had also been favoured with a personal interview with one of the ministers of the Tuscan Government, who was at the head of these Societies, which are nevertheless voluntary Institutions.

In Bavaria, the whole kingdom is reticulated, so to speak, with Patronage Societies; a principal establishment in each province, with sub-societies in each district. By the Bavarian law, every prisoner is sent on his discharge (not simply directed to go, but conveyed, as it were) to his parish, which takes charge of him until the Societies can find him employment. In cases where the Directors think that further probation is desirable, the ex-prisoner is sent to a Refuge for a time by way of fitting him more completely for being placed out to work. The meeting might rely on this information, as he obtained it through Sir John Milbanke, our envoy at Munich, who was so kind as to transmit the Recorder's questions on the subject to the Bavarian Minister of the Interior, with a request that he would obtain answers, by which means much valuable information connected with the prisons of Bavaria came into the Recorder's possession. It was to be observed that in every case of success the voluntary principle was adopted, and very sedulously observed, even under despotic governments. And as regarded the United States of America, the voluntary principle was, as might be expected, in flourishing action, with results corresponding to the hopes of those who were cognizant of its marvellous efficacy. In all the countries to which he had referred, those two things, the voluntary principle, and success, were found co-existent. But in Austria, where such societies had been established by the government, success was wanting, and the same government which had set them up, found itself obliged to let them fall. (Hear.) In our own country, we have not hitherto done much; but a most valuable commencement was made many years ago. The society to which he referred was established by Mrs. Fry, and its operation, he believed, was limited to female prisoners, and to those who had been committed to Newgate. From his own experience he could testify to the value of their labours. Nineteen years ago, the society recommended to his service, as nurse, a young woman who had been convicted of a serious theft. His wife made very careful enquiry respecting her conduct, both before and after her offence; and they paused for some time before they ventured on the step of taking her into their household. But eventually she was not only received, but an infant, in very delicate health, was committed to her care, by day and by night. It was thought necessary to place her under somewhat severe restrictions, to which she submitted without a murmur. He was able to state that the experiment was quite successful. A more tender and watchful nurse, or a more faithful domestic, it had never been his fortune to engage. The meeting would be glad to learn, that, after a long probation, she rejoined her husband, and although the Recorder's family remained in communication with her for years, they had no reason even to suspect that she forfeited, or deserved to

forfeit, the position which she had thus regained. (Hear ) Similar societies had been formed at Bath and Worcester, both of which he believed had been productive of great good, although he could not speak of them with particularity ; and there were other associations with which, however, he was too slightly acquainted to be able to speak at all. Referring to the suggestion which had fallen from the Mayor, that their operations should be at first withdrawn from the public eye, the Recorder said he did not see how they could make even a beginning without the aid of the press, as not only would they require the public sympathy to obtain the requisite funds,—for some money they should want, though not so much as at first sight appear necessary ; but they must impress the minds, and awaken the kind feelings of employers, or they would be unable to obtain places for their wards. And in addition to the consent of employers, it would be necessary to gain the co-operation of working men, who very naturally felt disinclined to admit the discharged prisoner into their body. Some had thought this objection insuperable, but he who for seventeen years had witnessed, not without admiration, the willingness of that class to receive back prisoners who had wronged them into their houses, when he, (the Recorder,) felt himself able to remit the punishment which the convict had incurred, and could deliver him up to these kind hearted persons, had no such fears. If injured parties showed so much of charity and longsuffering, he could not believe that the body of which they were members would refuse to lend a helping hand to a fallen brother, on that reasonable assurance, which would be given to them ; that extreme care would be taken to guard against the privilege being abused which they were asked to concede to him. He desired to take this opportunity of impressing on every one who might read the proceedings of the evening, that those whose pecuniary means did not admit of their joining the society, might nevertheless be of essential utility by communicating with the agent who would be employed, as to opportunities for setting the prisoners to work ; and he would add, that the humblest and the poorest honest man or woman, had in that honesty, and the character which it gave to them, a treasure which enabled them to confer a precious boon upon the outcast. They could give him kind words of consolation and advice. They might let him feel the gratification of knowing that he had a friend, who would not scorn or reproach him, and yet who would not lead him into temptation, but as far as possible protect him from it. The Recorder then adverted to the eminent services of Thomas Wright, of Manchester. This exemplary man was the father of a very large family of children ; the Recorder was afraid to mention the number. He had heard it amounted to nineteen. His circumstances in life were far from opulent. He was the foreman of a foundry. Many years ago he was led to visit the prison at Salford, the adjoining borough. Sunday being his day of leisure, was the time chosen, and without neglecting his own religious duties, or the care of his family, he spent hours every Sunday with the captives. He thus acquired an intimate knowledge of the character of each prisoner ; and on their discharge, he exerted himself with untiring energy, and

with eminent success, to obtain places of work for such as he considered hopeful. Sometimes he was obliged to become surety for the good conduct of his protégé; but he represents himself to have lost but little money by incurring this obligation. The number of his fellow creatures, whom he has permanently rescued, amounts to several hundreds. [Hear.] The people of Manchester, wealthy and generous, have raised a sum adequate to provide for the maintenance of this good man for the remainder of his life, and have withdrawn him from the foundry, thus bestowing upon him the most acceptable reward they could have offered—the power of devoting his whole time to his noble mission.

The Recorder spoke also of Sarah Martin, the poor dress maker of Yarmouth, who began her labours early in the present century. Feeling a strong desire to be of use to the prisoners in the gaol of her native town, she was urgent in her entreaties to be admitted to them. But so little was this form of charity understood or appreciated, and so obscure was her social position, that it was not until after the lapse of a considerable period that she accomplished her object of being permitted to enter the gaol. She, like Thomas Wright, gave up her Sundays to the task of teaching and exhorting the inmates. By great self denial, she managed so to eke out the little pittance earned by her labours as, after fulfilling the duty of providing for the wants of her grandmother, to be able to pass a whole week day in addition to the Sunday with the prisoners. Like Mr. Wright, though not to the same extent, she employed herself in obtaining occupation for the discharged. Her strong and pure spirit was lodged in a frail tenement, and the middle of life was scarcely reached before she died, worn out with her labor of love. (Hear.)

Mr. Joseph Sturge seconded the motion. He could appeal, he said, to the experience of gentlemen in that room, that many of those who broke the laws of their country were more to be pitied than condemned. [Hear.] How many of those he addressed could dare to say that if they had been placed in similar circumstances, they would not have given way to temptation? He believed there would be no difficulty in raising money. The chief difficulty would be to find persons who would be willing to do as the Recorder had done—trust a convicted thief with the care of either child or property.

A motion enlarging the committee was proposed by Mr. Barlow, seconded by Mr. RATCLIFFE, and supported by the Rev. Mr. Burt. The latter remarked, that he could not have sustained the moral pressure of acting as chaplain, and seeing men, women and children, turned adrift into the town, from the gaol, had it not been for the hope of seeing steps taken for establishing a permanent system of relief. The plan which he ventured to recommend was not to establish a large institution for all the prisoners requiring assistance, but to engage single lodgings for them in the cottages of poor persons of good character. If it was found necessary, a few small houses might be rented, and re-let to respectable tenants, who would receive the parties sent to them. The prisoner might in some cases be allowed to occupy the lodgings without payment for a few days,

while he sought for employment; but as soon as he procured work, he would be required to pay a fair rent. Upon this plan there would be as little deviation as possible from the accustomed social condition of the persons relieved; and he believed it to be a safe rule, in all charitable efforts, that the less we depart from the ordinary arrangements of society, the greater amount of good we accomplish. He would not hold out the hope of doing much by the proposed measure, but he had no doubt that some little might be done, and however little we can effect, it was our duty to do what we can. He felt that to teach a man religion in prison, and to tell him to be honest, and then to send him out into the world under circumstances in which it was morally impossible for him to earn an honest livelihood, was mocking him.

The Belvidere Crescent Reformatory and Ragged Factory, managed by Mr. Driver, has been frequently referred to in this Review, and a friend who visited it the day after the Rejoicings for Peace, thus writes to us of it:—

*London, June 2nd, 1856.*

I visited Mr. Driver's Reformatory on Friday, and found it, and him, all I had expected. He has now twenty boys at work, making paper boxes for the various shops who use these articles, and he sells about fifty pounds worth per month. He is a most long-headed, energetic man, and pounces on his work and does it, and in all he is more than aided by his wife.

"I am sometimes here for hours, alone with the boys," said she, "and we get along quite well. I have seldom to punish them, and my chief terror for them is sending some body, very bad, to bed."

Fancy a quiet mannered, young, and slightly formed woman, managing twenty City Arabs, the hall door being on the latch, and the whole world of St. Giles's or the New Cut within musket shot.

"But," she added, "they are very fond of my baby, and I think he gives me some power over them. I sometimes have to wash his face six times in the day, they kiss him so; and if they get him at meals time they try to make him taste what they have before them, and occasionally they deluge him with coffee, poor little chap!"

"How did you manage about the fire works last night," said I; "oh!" she replied, "we had a large van, and we went off all through the chief streets; I sat at the door and Mr. Driver sat at the top of the van, and we went everywhere, and the boys were as good as any boys, any where could be; the oddest thing of all was that one boy slept all the way from Hungerford till we got home at one o'clock."

Mr. Driver shewed me the entire system of works, but his specimens are capital, and his management of the boys wonderful; he is the Arnold of the Ragged School Managers; and I had rather see his photographs of pupils in different phases of reformation, from the "raw material" to the six months boy, than any thing in the Royal

Academy. Tell all our friends, of all religions, to call on Mr. Driver, and no one, with heart, or head, or faith, can leave the Refuge without feeling possibly, smaller, but certainly wiser.

To every word of the above quoted passages we fully subscribe; and to Mr. Driver, and the Rev. H. Whitehead, the Reformatory advocates are deeply indebted. To our own Prison and Workhouse authorities we would repeat here an observation made to us some short time since by Mr. Driver—“We have now got a room devoted to prayer alone; I cannot tell you how much I feel the usefulness of it; we had to pray in the workshops formerly, and there we were praying in a room used for other purposes, and just cleared away for the occasion; a spot of paste, or a dab of glue, or some mark of the ordinary day's work, came before us at prayers, and then we wandered away from the work of prayer time to the work of work time, and so half our prayer was but mechanical!” We quote these observations for the benefit of our Prison and Poor Law authorities, many of whom fancy that any place is good enough to pray in, even though it may be usually devoted to the most opposite uses.

In the *Thirty-fourth Report of the Inspectors General on the General State of the Prisons of Ireland*, 1855, and just published, we have the usual able and lucid statements of the conditions of the various Prisons under the inspection of Messrs. Connellan and Hervey.

From these reports it is plain that the County authorities are as stupid and absurdly short-sighted as ever; that separation is a principle of slow growth in the mind of the bucolic J. P.; that any future cost is to be despised for a present saving; that Kilkenny City gaol is a disgrace, as we have before stated, to the country, and, shortly, the whole report just proves what Frederic Hill has written, and what we have often quoted—“That most effectually to carry out the objects of imprisonment, and that at the least cost to the country, and with the nearest approach to justice in the apportionment of the cost, it is requisite that the whole power and duty of providing and regulating prisons be placed in the hands of Government.” \*

The suggestions in this Report are most admirable, and exhibit an amount of care and close consideration on the part of

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\* See “Crime, its Amount, Causes and Remedies.”—By Frederic Hill, Barrister at Law, late Inspector of Prisons. London: Murray, 1853, p. 368.

the Inspectors General, most admirable and noteworthy, careful as their Reports usually are.

These observations, shewing our satisfaction at all before us as in this Report, do not, however, apply to the County authorities, particularly to that portion who take upon themselves the visiting the Bridewells: of these establishments there are 113, "exhibiting for the most part, defects of the gravest character, both material and moral."

There is *insufficient accommodation*, it being sometimes necessary to confine three persons in one cell: oral communication between prisoners of each sex being impossible of prevention, and the sleeping rooms of one sex having to be passed through to arrive at those of the other.

*Want of water and imperfect sewerage.* No water is procurable on the premises of fifty-five bridewells; 16 of the 18 situated in the county of Cork alone, being thus circumstanced; all these things being opposed to the 7 Geo. IV., chap. 74.

*Insufficient Bedding*, particularly in Cork and Kerry.

*Want of Security*, from low and badly built walls—26 Bridewells at least being reported as thus unsafe.

*Inadequacy of Staff.* One Officer or Keeper must guard the Bridewell, and he must engage in no other employment or trade whatsoever, yet in no less than twenty-three Bridewells, the salaries range from £15 per annum, at the highest, to £9 4s. 8d., a fraction above 6d. per day at the lowest, and this low rate of payment leads to various abuses detailed in the Report.

*Defective Inspection* is another fault complained of, and its many great evils are pointed out, and, as we think, the remedy is indicated, by the Inspectors General.

With regard to Juvenile Offenders we have the following valuable tables and analyses in the report.

#### JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

In our detailed tables under this head are included all ages up to twenty years, but in the subjoined summaries we have taken sixteen as the maximum age at which an offender can justly be styled a juvenile, more especially as the ranks of the Militia have been largely recruited from the ages varying from sixteen to twenty, amongst which, consequently, military offences form a large item in the list of crimes. We this year drew up a new form of Juvenile Return, which enables us to separate distinctly the vagrants from the criminals, and also gives a correct sub-classification of Workhouse offences. In former years these offences, from a misconception on the part of those who filled up the returns, appear in many cases to have



been reckoned twice over—first, amongst the larcenies and misdemeanors, and secondly as a separate denomination of crime; and therefore the number of juveniles in years preceding 1855 has been somewhat overstated: but, nevertheless, although from this cause the real decrease is probably not so great as the figures indicate, yet a considerable and gratifying reduction has taken place. We have also much amended the Return of Parentage, to which we invite particular attention; and deeming juvenile crime to be a subject peculiarly interesting at the present moment, we have, for facilities of reference, separated the juvenile from the general criminal statistics.

OFFENCES OF JUVENILES CLASSIFIED.

	10 Years and under,		16 Years and above 10.		Total Males and Females.		Gross Total Males & Females in 1865.	Gross Total Males & Females in 1854.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Felons convicted, .	3	1	375	13	378	114	492	674
Misdemeanants do. .	123	27	2,730	573	2,853	600	3,453	4,015
Vagrants do. .	186	139	1,666	426	1,852	565	2,417	4,074
Felons acquitted .	3	1	95	39	98	40	138	
Misdemeanants do. .	1		91	21	92	21	113	2023
For farther examination	30	20	338	87	368	107	475	
	346	188	5,295	1,259	5,641	1,447	7,088	10,786

WORKHOUSE OFFENDERS.—1855.

	10 Years and under.		16 Years and under.		Total.			Total in 1854.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.	
Workhouse offenders,	18	.	388	36	406	36	452	638
On leaving Workhouse,	3	.	134	11	137	11	148	414
	21	.	522	47	543	47	590	1,052

RE-COMMITTALS OF JUVENILES.—1855, 1854.

	10 Years and under.		16 Years and above 10.		Total, 1855.			Total 1854.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.	M. & F.
Re-committed once, .	24	13	438	119	462	132	594	914
„ twice, .	4	5	226	56	230	61	291	459
„ thrice, .	2	2	111	25	113	27	140	229
„ four times and upwards,	6	19	227	99	233	118	351	429
	36	39	1,002	299	1,138	338	1,376	2,031

## RE-COMMITTALS OF JUVENILES—1854, 1855.

	10 Years old and under.				11 to 16 Years of age.				Total.				Gross Total, 1854.	Gross Total, 1855.
	Criminals.		Vagrants		Criminals.		Vagrants		Criminals.		Vagrants			
Re-committed once, -	M. 10	F. 4	M. 14	F. 9	M. 311	F. 74	M. 137	F. 46	M. 411	F. 78	M. 141	F. 44	1884	214
" twice, -	M. 1	F. 2	M. 3	F. 3	M. 151	F. 31	M. 75	F. 25	M. 152	F. 23	M. 78	F. 28	231	459
" three times, -	M. .	F. .	M. 2	F. 2	M. 69	F. 18	M. 42	F. 7	M. 69	F. 18	M. 44	F. 9	140	229
" four times and upwards, -	M. .	F. .	M. 6	F. 19	M. 108	F. 26	M. 119	F. 64	M. 108	F. 35	M. 125	F. 83	351	489
	M. 11	F. 6	M. 25	F. 33	M. 639	F. 158	M. 363	F. 141	M. 650	F. 164	M. 388	F. 174		
	17		58		797		504		814		563			
	75				1301				1376					
Gross Total, Criminals and Vagrants, -													1276	2001

In the committals the females are 20·41 per cent., or *one-fifth* of the whole; in the recommittals they are 24·56 per cent., or *one-fourth*; so that, in round numbers, it may be said that there have been *four boys for each girl* in prison during 1855.

EXTRACT from the RETURNS of the DUBLIN METROPOLITAN POLICE, from 1849 to 1855.

Years	Committed for Trial.				Summarily Convicted.				Discharged by Magistrates.				Total.	Gross Total Males and Females
	Under 10 Years of Age.		10 Years and under 15		Under 10 Years of Age		10 Years and under 15.		Under 10 Years of Age		10 Years and under 15.			
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1849	—	1	55	13	371	438	1745	549	92	78	722	163	2985	1242
1850	—	—	48	10	640	588	2356	727	155	23	749	199	3950	1547
1851	—	—	53	11	743	682	2891	1133	210	138	724	225	4621	2189
1852	—	—	35	9	724	955	1957	1302	155	102	722	233	3600	2601
1853	2	2	56	18	479	466	1865	746	103	67	646	183	3151	1484
1854	2	—	62	11	393	383	1885	630	122	100	631	206	3095	1330
1855	1	—	29	14	264	208	1662	361	91	84	611	157	2658	824

Thus, in 1855, as compared with 1854, there has been a decrease in *male* offences of 2,553, and in *female* of 1,145; in all 3,698, or at a per centage of 30·1 in the *males*, 44·17 in the *females*, 34·28 in the total of both sexes. In 1854 the vagrants were 37·77 per cent. of the whole, in 1855 only 34·09; so that the decrease in vagrancy has more than kept pace with that in other offences. In the general re-committals, also, there is a reduction exactly proportionate to that in the committals; but whereas in the *committals* of juveniles

the vagrants are only 34.09 per cent. of the whole, in the *re-committals* they are no less than 60.04 per cent. of the total number of re-current offenders.

SENTENCES of Penal Servitude of Juveniles.

		16 Years and above 10.	
		Males.	Females.
Six Years,	.	11	1
Four Years,	.	53	5
		64	6
TOTAL		70	

No juveniles were sentenced to transportation, and none under eleven years to penal servitude.

SENTENCES of Juveniles for Unlimited or Indefinite Terms of Imprisonment.

10 Years and under.		16 Years and above 10.		Total.	
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
2	—	46	8	48	8
TOTAL,		56			

SENTENCES of JUVENILES for all Definite Terms of Imprisonment.

	10 Years and under.				16 Years and above 10.				Totals.	
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.			
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
2 Years and above 18 months,	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	7	—
18 Months and above 12,	—	—	—	—	15	1	—	—	15	1
12 Months and above 9,	—	—	—	—	61	9	—	—	61	9
9 Months and above 6,	—	1	—	—	16	6	—	—	18	7
6 Months and above 3,	3	—	—	—	95	35	2	—	100	35
3 Months and above 2,	10	3	—	—	311	81	2	1	323	85
2 Months and above 1,	13	3	—	—	400	126	1	—	414	129
1 Month and above 14 days,	38	7	69	44	956	164	594	158	1557	378
14 Days and above 7,	13	9	89	78	433	98	851	226	1386	411
7 Days and above 48 hours,	31	5	22	15	366	100	177	31	596	151
48 Hours,	6	1	3	2	187	28	14	4	210	35
24 Hours,	12	—	1	—	159	11	24	12	185	24
	126	29	184	139	3008	659	1665	432		
	155		323		3667		2097		4982	1260
	478				5764				6242	

SENTENCES of JUVENILES for Short Terms of Imprisonment.

	Males.	Females.	Total.	No. of Days of 24 hours represented.
1 Month and above 14 days, . . . . .	1,657	373	2,030	56,840
14 Days and above 7, . . . . .	1,386	411	1,797	25,158
7 Days and above 48 hours, . . . . .	596	151	747	5,229
48 Hours, . . . . .	210	35	245	490
24 Hours, . . . . .	195	24	219	219
	4,044	994	5,038	87,936

It thus appears, that of the total number of juveniles sentenced to ordinary terms of imprisonment, only 938 males and 266 females, in all 1,204, were sentenced for longer periods than *one month*; but that 4,044 males, and 994 females, in all 5,038, or upwards of *four-fifths* of the whole 6,262, were under sentences ranging from *twenty-four hours to one month*; and that the average length of imprisonment after sentence, for *each* of these 5,038 juveniles, taking the maximum of time mentioned under each heading, was only *seventeen days and ten hours*.

PARENTAGE of JUVENILES.

	10 Years and under.				16 Years and above 10.				Totals.	
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.			
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Having both parents living,	60	23	51	62	1428	274	307	121	1846	480
Having both parents dead,	40	9	46	16	885	210	975	173	1946	408
Having father dead,	42	15	67	54	857	234	251	91	1217	394
Having mother dead,	19	2	21	7	457	108	135	48	632	165
	161	49	185	139	3627	826	1668	433	5641	1447
	210		324		4453		2101		7088	

SUB-CLASSIFICATION.

	10 Years and under.				16 Years and above 10.				Totals.	
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.			
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Having stepfather, . . . . .	17	3	2	2	132	40	37	21	188	66
Having stepmother, . . . . .	3	1	2	-	87	44	28	11	120	56
Abandoned by parents, . . . . .	21	2	11	1	162	46	110	5	304	54
Absconded from parents, . . . . .	15	1	11	2	175	48	139	32	340	83
Illegitimate, . . . . .	2	1	1	-	49	18	12	12	64	31

STATE OF EDUCATION ON COMMITTAL.

	10 Years and under.				16 Years and above 10.				Totals.	
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.			
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Read and write, .	12	—	7	1	774	65	467	86	1260	152
Read imperfectly .	40	4	24	4	774	172	275	146	1113	326
Know spelling, .	18	5	26	9	397	92	299	22	740	128
Know alphabet, .	15	1	10	1	192	42	45	6	262	50
Wholly illiterate, .	76	39	118	124	1490	455	582	173	2266	791
	161	49	185	139	3627	820	1668	433	5641	1447
	210		324		4453		2101		7088	

RELIGION.

	10 Years and under.				16 Years and above 10.				Totals.	
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.			
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Protestant,	19	6	2	—	257	68	38	20	316	94
Presbyterian,	—	1	—	—	46	13	2	1	48	15
Roman Catholic,	142	42	183	139	3324	745	1628	412	5277	1338
	161	49	185	139	3627	820	1668	433	5641	1447
	210		324		4453		2101		7088	

RESIDENCE OF JUVENILES Previous to Committal.

	10 Years and under.				16 Years and above 10.				Totals.	
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.			
County or borough to which gaol belongs, Other localities,	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
	147	38	108	84	2819	636	654	248	3728	1008
	14	11	77	55	608	188	1014	185	1913	439
	161	49	185	139	3627	826	1668	438	5641	1447
	210		324		4453		2101		7088	

The analysis of the foregoing tables is as follows:—

Firstly.—Parentage—32·81 per cent., or *one-third*, had both parents living; 33·21 per cent., or *one-third*, had both parents dead; 22·72 per cent. had lost their fathers, and 11·24 per cent. had lost their mothers, making together *one third* who were orphans of one parent; 6·06 per cent. were stepchildren, 5·05 per cent. had been abandoned by their parents, 5·96 per cent. had absconded from their parents, and only 1·34 per cent. were illegitimate.

Secondly.—Education—19·92 per cent., or *one-fifth*, could read and write; 20·3 per cent., or *one-fifth*, could read imperfectly; 12·24 per cent. could spell, and 4·4 per cent. knew their alphabet, comprising about *one-sixth*; and 43·12 per cent., or rather more than *two-fifths*, were wholly illiterate.

Thirdly.—Religion—5·78 per cent., or little more than *one-twentieth*, were of the Established Church; only 0·88 per cent. were Presbyterians; and 93·32 per cent. were Roman Catholics.

Fourthly.—Residence—66·81 per cent., or *two-thirds*, came from the town or county in which the gaol to which they were committed is situated; but 33·18 per cent., or no less than *one-third*, were strangers.

There appears to have been some slight improvement in the state of education in the juvenile offenders during the past year; but neither in this respect nor under the other headings has 1855 differed so much from 1854 as to require any particular notice. In the last General Report the question of the expediency of establishing juvenile reformatories was so fully discussed, that we do not consider it necessary to restate the arguments in favour of such establishments. We would merely point to the figures and analysis which we have given, as showing, that although the numbers are diminished, yet that no less than 7,088 children were committed to prison during the past year; that a large proportion of them were wholly illiterate, whilst many others had barely acquired the first rudiments of education; that the terms of imprisonment were too short to render it possible to impart any real educational instruction to the great majority of them; that many, especially vagrants, continue to use the gaol as their home, and to return to it in the evening of the very day on which they have been set at liberty; and that unless youthful offenders can be kept under restraint sufficiently long to enable instruction and reformation to take deep root, it is idle to expect much—if any—improvement in this class of the criminal population.

JAMES CORRY CONNELLAN.  
FELTON F. W. HERVEY.

A Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Transportation, is now sitting, and amongst the most important witnesses examined before it, are Colonel Jebb, Captain Walter Crofton, Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, and Mr. M. D. Hill, the Recorder of Birmingham.

That the Ticket-of-Leave system has not given satisfaction

in England is beyond all question. *Punch* has poked fun at it; Mr. Mayhew has held meetings of convicts about it; magistrates have shaken their heads at it, and the newspapers have written very sound sense and very plain nonsense about it.

But how stands the fact—the system has not had a fair trial, and this is proved by Captain Crofton and by Mr. Recorder Hill. Why the system has been untried, we are told, by the latter; how it could be made useful is made patent by the former.

Colonel Jebb tells the Committee that only about 8 per cent. of re-committals of Ticket-of-Leave men are before him—but how does he know Ticket-of-Leave men from other criminals? How can he account for the fact that, by a return presented to the House of Lords, it appears that the cost of conveying re-committed Ticket-of-Leave men to the various convict establishments amounted to £820 : 5 : 0? And why did he, on the second day of his examination, throw the Committee and all hearers into the most profound astonishment by declaring that, notwithstanding all the wonderful results of the system, as detailed in his first day's evidence, yet that he was prepared to see the system changed or abolished?

Our readers are aware that the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland have endeavoured to render the prisoners under their control not alone good prisoners, but also good men. They have abstained from issuing Tickets-of-Leave because they had no sufficient means of judging the real characters of the prisoners, and until they should have INDIVIDUALIZED they did not consider themselves entitled to liberate. Impressed by these opinions, Captain Crofton opened the Smithfield Institution for Exemplary Prisoners, of which we have, in the RECORD of our last number (pages xxxvii to xlv) given the history.

Captain Crofton gave to the Committee the results of his experience gathered from the returns of this Institution. These experiences proved that the gradual liberation offered by Smithfield was not alone useful to the man, but was also the means of developing the first germs of a Patronage Society, of which every employer in the kingdom might become advantageously a member. Twelve or fourteen of the men are employed in Dublin, and they visit the Institution once every fortnight, just as the colons visit Mettray when they need advice, or desire to speak to their old guardians. "I send one of the

men, a carpenter, still in the Institution, to work every day in the Mountjoy Prison," said Captain Crofton, "and he returns after work hours regularly and sober." "What," exclaimed a member of the Committee, "do you mean to say you trust one of the men out, and he does not run away?" "You forget," was the answer, "that having made a character he has a character to lose."

Whilst referring to this portion of Captain Crofton's evidence, it is right to state that the Earl of Carlisle has visited the Institution at least once every week during the past three months, and has brought with him the most distinguished of those who have been his guests during that period. The interest thus manifested in them, and particularly in their mental improvement, by the Lord Lieutenant, has had a most beneficial effect on the men, and has also had no slight effect on the general body of prison officials. We refer to these visits of the Lord Lieutenant, as, being private, they are not recorded in the newspapers, and they are as creditable to his heart as his pertinent questions and suggestions when in the Institution are clear evidences of his knowledge of human nature, and of his tact in dealing with a class of men of whom he can have little experience.

To continue Captain Crofton's evidence. He was of opinion that the present system of telling a convict that, although he is sentenced for some fixed number of years, yet that he can, as a matter of right, shorten that term by good conduct, was wrong, as it gave a premium to hypocrisy: and he was further of opinion that the emigration of well conducted convicts to West Australia should be encouraged, and that it would be advantageous to both mother country and colony; he would, in fact, make transportation a reward in place of a punishment, and would keep the badly conducted, or irreclaimable convict, at home.

These were suggestions very startling to some of the Committee, but very satisfactory to many of those who have studied all the bearings of the subject, and our chief regret is that we have been unable to report, in full, the valuable evidence of Captain Crofton; however, the omission shall be supplied in our next RECORD, as it is likely that by that time the Evidence and Report will have appeared.

The evidence of the Recorder of Birmingham is particularly interesting; and we are enabled to print it here, having had it specially reported. Mr. Hill said:—



I have held the office of Recorder of Birmingham, since the year 1839. I have during that time tried a considerable number of prisoners. My attention has been directed to the provisions of the act 16th and 17th of Victoria. It became my duty upon the passing of that act to consider its provisions very carefully. I am of opinion that that act has worked well; indeed much better than I expected it would. I have heard its operation spoken of unfavourably, but I have never been able to ascertain that that opinion was based upon a good ground. The necessity which the operation of the act occasioned of discharging in this country criminals who formerly were sent abroad, was felt by the public to be an inconvenience, and that inconvenience was attributed, although I think erroneously, to the system of granting tickets-of-leave; I say erroneously, because it is not easy to understand how a license revocable, although not revoked, can operate injuriously with respect to the public. If the system of granting those tickets-of-leave has any effect I think it must be to operate as a check to the disposition upon the part of the discharged criminal to return to his evil courses, inasmuch as, by one stroke of the minister's pen, he may, without any reason being assigned, be sent back to penal servitude, and although I am of opinion that, as a general rule, deterrents are over estimated as to their effect upon the criminal, yet I must say, that suppose the power of the minister to revoke the ticket-of-leave be exercised duly, it furnishes a deterrent of peculiar strength, inasmuch as, in the ticket-of-leave man, detection is easy and punishment may follow immediately upon that detection. I say detection is easy, because from the indorsement upon the back of his ticket-of-leave, it is not necessary for the revocation of his license, that he should commit a new crime; his having no visible means of subsistence, or consorting with persons of bad character, being sufficient to justify such revocation. I may add, with respect to the indorsement at present upon the ticket-of-leave, that I do not think it susceptible of any improvement, except in so far as it would be desirable to give its terms greater efficacy by carrying more strictly into effect the threat which they imply. I make this statement because we learn from the evidence of Colonel Jebb, that except in very few instances, tickets-of-leave have never been revoked until the convict had been charged with the commission of a new crime. The threat of revocation, therefore, has hitherto been a mere matter of form, but if carried strictly into effect, I conceive that its tendency would be to produce very favourable results. The public impression against tickets-of-leave as having an injurious tendency I do not well understand. It is possible that that impression may arise from the belief that if the person to whom a ticket-of-leave had been granted did not possess one, he would at that moment be in prison, but that is not so; for reverting to the former practice, we find that it was not the usage to keep one under sentence of transportation in confinement for the full term of his sentence; but to liberate him much about the same time as is now done under the operation of the ticket-of-leave system, without that check, however, which a ticket-of-leave unquestionably affords. I may also state that I think the good results of the ticket-of-leave system have been erroneously magnified, because I am of opinion that the percentage of persons enjoying the privilege of ticket-of-leave, who have been subsequently re-convicted is a piece of statistical information, likely to lead to very incorrect inferences. It is said, for instance, that the number of re-convictions does not amount to more than eight per cent. of the number convicted and discharged with tickets-of-leave; but it is quite clear that before that inference can be fairly drawn it must be ascertained that ticket-of-leave men can always be identified. From my

own observation and from inquiries which I have made, I am very strongly of opinion, that not only are ticket-of-leave men not always identified, but that a very large number escape identification, and the probability is, that a very considerable number of ticket-of-leave men are convicted who are not known as having been convicted for a previous offence. I will give to the committee some facts in proof of the justice of this view. I have closely questioned the police of Birmingham as to whether they had any means of identifying ticket-of-leave men. They assured me that they had not in all instances. In the month of November last, I asked them to make a list of all the ticket-of-leave men in Birmingham; to watch carefully the conduct of those men, and to report to me with respect to the matter. They did so, having first told each of those ticket-of-leave men whom they knew that his conduct would be watched, but that he would not be interfered with if he only behaved himself well. The report was made at the end of six weeks, and I found from that report that there were in Birmingham only nineteen persons whom they considered to be ticket-of-leave men. Now that struck me as being a very small number for the town of Birmingham, and having entered into the statistics of the matter, upon the principle upon which Colonel Jebb proceeded, I came to the conclusion that the proportion of ticket-of-leave men in Birmingham ought to be eighty. I questioned the police afterwards upon the matter, and they informed me that they had reason to believe—although they could not state so positively—that there were about forty ticket-of-leave men in Birmingham. But let me suppose that to be the case, only half the number would be accounted for which statistical research would lead one to conjecture. The experience derived from a place such as Birmingham, justifies me I think in stating, that the identification of ticket-of-leave men is a subject attended with some difficulty as well as uncertainty. I may say that information which I have received with respect to Bristol, also tends to lead me to the same conclusion. I have proceeded upon the assumption that Ticket-of-Leave men remain in those towns in which they are discharged, or if they do not, that Ticket-of-Leave men from other quarters of the country come to supply their places. I think that a very fair assumption in the cases of Birmingham and Bristol, because, being of considerable extent, they afford desirable harbours for bad characters, and it is therefore probable, that instead of having a less they contain a larger proportion of such characters in the ratio of their population, than smaller towns do. I do not think it is easy for the police, under the present system of police surveillance, to identify those Ticket-of-Leave men; but I may add that I do not think the want of the necessary surveillance upon the part of the police is the real difficulty in the matter. For the purpose of greater clearness, I shall compare this country with France. The criminal statistics of France are very full and very accurate, whereas ours are anything but full, and anything but accurate. In France they have had for many years a very perfect registration of births; the name of the new-born child is not only registered, but also the names of its father and mother. It is therefore practically impossible, for that child to make use of any other name than the proper one to any great extent as an *alias*. If he should be apprehended for any crime, there is no difficulty in ascertaining who he is. Upon his apprehension he is asked his name. If he answers correctly, the proper authorities, by writing to the place of his birth, obtain a very valuable clue to his character and proceedings. If he deceive the authorities by giving a false name, he is detained in custody, but not placed upon his trial until they ascertain who he really is. Having

ascertained who he is, they then write to Paris where the criminal statistics of the realm are collected as it were into a *focus*, and are thus enabled to obtain information relative to his antecedents. In England, however, our system of statistics is not of that perfect character, and the requisite information with respect to the antecedents of a criminal, is not therefore so easily, or so accurately acquired. I have suggested an expedient which has not been acted upon, but which, if acted upon, would I think be found to work very advantageously in this particular. It is of this nature:—Captain Gardiner, the governor of Bristol jail, possesses a photographic apparatus with which he takes the likenesses of those prisoners under his charge, whom he imagines have embarked in a course of crime as a calling. He says he can produce a copy of each of these likenesses at the rate of six pence a piece. Now with the exception of London, fourteen, or say twenty, of those copies would be sufficient to send to the police in the various large towns throughout the country; so that in the case of each prisoner the expense of those likenesses would not amount to more than ten shillings. Those portraits would not fail to be multiplied, and you would by that means have succeeded in baffling any *aliases* which a criminal may assume, and have procured an instrument by which you may know whether he was or was not an old offender. I may add that my experience on the bench leads me to believe that many old offenders pass off as if they had been convicted for the first time. There is a great deal of trouble attendant upon obtaining evidence of a previous conviction; because you must not only have a certificate of such conviction, but you must procure witnesses to identify the criminal, and to prove that he is the person to whom the certificate applies. The police of Birmingham are in my opinion a trustworthy and intelligent body of men, and I do not think they persecute either Ticket-of-Leave men, or those offenders who are completely discharged. The police tell me that they pass those men by in the streets, and take care not to recognise them, unless they know them to be engaged in evil courses. Ticket-of-Leave men, generally speaking, take great pains to hide themselves. It is very difficult to say whether they change their ground; but it must be admitted that there seems to be a disposition in the criminal to return to the spot whence he came, notwithstanding that that might appear to be the worst and most dangerous place to which he could go. The circumstance, I apprehend, arises from the fact that the criminal happens to leave friends in that locality, and the means perhaps of pursuing his career of crime, should he return, with facilities, which in a locality where he was a total stranger he would not possess. According to my own observation I may say that, since the establishment of railways, the thief is a much more locomotive character than he was. He rushes from place to place, with great rapidity, and is often in consequence able to do a great deal of mischief. Railways unhappily, too, afford considerable facilities for disposing of stolen goods. A receiver of such goods at Aberdeen, for instance, establishes an agency at Dundee. The stolen goods are sent from the former to the latter place by train with rapidity, and are there disposed of without that chance of identification which without these facilities to which I alluded would not be the case. I am of opinion that the hostility in the minds of the public towards discharged criminals and Ticket-of-Leave men is less than it used to be, and that it is every day diminishing. I am of opinion that the belief in the possibility of the reformation of a criminal is not only gradually but rapidly gaining ground. I give this opinion more emphatically with respect to juveniles than with regard to adults. It is to be inferred from

the statistical information which assumes that only eight per cent. of the Ticket-of-Leave men have been re-convicted, that the remainder are doing well; but my belief is that a very considerable number of Ticket-of-Leave men will be re-convicted, who now enjoy a season of impunity, but who will drop in by-and-by. I find from a table upon the subject that the proportion of those re-convictions is gradually becoming augmented at the rate of about one one-fifth per cent. per annum. I am aware of the system which is pursued at Mettray, by which young persons upon their discharge are placed under the care of patrons. About fifteen years ago I commenced at Birmingham a course of proceeding in which I have persevered, namely, when a young person was convicted whom I did not think hardened in the ways of crime, I either had him placed under the control of some respectable relative, or having passed some nominal sentence upon him, I committed him to the care of a guardian who entered his name and place of abode upon a book kept for the purpose, in order that inquiry might, from time to time, be made into the conduct of his ward. The offenders so disposed of I divided into three classes, those who were doing well; those who were getting on badly, and those whom after sometime I lost sight of. The experiment I consider to have been upon the whole successful. Mettray is altogether a place for juveniles, and my opinion is that youthful criminals disposed of in accordance with the principle which is there adopted, are reformed in greater numbers, than if they were sent at once to prison. It is of the greatest advantage that offenders should be sent into a *real* family. The more a family is imitated in those cases the greater the chance of reformation. The family of one's relation, therefore, is always better than the care of a guardian, for the purposes of which I have just been speaking, because a guardian has not the home power over the juvenile offender, nor is he in all cases to be trusted. The results of the system have been favourable in the case of juveniles; favourable also in the case of adults, but the experiment has not been so extensively carried out in reference to the latter class as to justify me in drawing any positive general inference from it.

My opinion is, under all the circumstances of the case, that the measure of 1863 has worked well, and is working well in England. That opinion is founded on a considerable number of facts. The principle of the measure I regard as being a sound and a good one. That principle I take to be two-fold:—Firstly, the enabling the convict to shorten the period of his sentence by good conduct; secondly, his liberation from prison upon a principle not absolute, but qualified, such qualification not rendering it necessary that he should commit any new offence before his return to confinement, if he forfeits that confidence in his reformation which forms the ground-work upon which his license was originally granted. With respect to the manner in which these principles have been embodied in the Act, I may say that I think it is susceptible of great improvement. I think that all reason for shortening the term of penal servitude as a substitute for a longer term of transportation has ceased to exist, now that the principle of granting Tickets-of-Leave has been adopted in the one case as well as the other. I should therefore suggest, that the fourth section of the present bill should be struck out, the effect of which would be to render the terms of penal servitude as long as the terms of transportation, for which they are now substituted. I may also add that I deem it to be pernicious rather than the contrary, that the time over which a Ticket-of-Leave is used to hold a partially discharged convict in check should be at all shortened. That is another reason why I should suggest that the penal servitude should be as long as the period of transportation, inasmuch as a larger time would be

afforded after the convict became entitled to a Ticket-of-Leave, to see whether there was good ground for believing that he had really become a reformed character. If he should not give evidence of reformation, I am prepared to face the alternative that he should be confined for the entire of that longer period of penal servitude which I propose should be resorted to instead of the shorter period which has been substituted for transportation, and that he should be kept in confinement until his sentence should have expired, or until he had given pretty good proofs that he was disposed to amend his mode of life. I also think it would be desirable to adopt the word, "transportation" in lieu of "penal servitude," and I fully and heartily concur in the belief that if our colonies were willing to permit our reformed criminals to be absorbed into their population, great advantage would be the result, both to them and to the mother country. I should extend the operation of the Ticket-of-Leave—I mean the liberty of the person possessing it to go where he pleased—to every part of the United Kingdom, nor, I may add, do I see any reason why it should be confined within that limit, or why it should not be extended to our colonies. I am, however, of opinion that we should not permit the Ticket-of-Leave man to go into another country; because then we should lose that hold over him, which it is desirable we should possess. I may state upon this subject also, that it seems to me to be demanded by national justice that a convict should be permitted to shew cause why his license should not be revoked, and I should therefore propose that he should be afforded the means of meeting his accuser, and that he should not, as it is at present the case, be liable to have his license taken back without having an opportunity of demonstrating the injustice of the proceeding in his case; if indeed injustice there should be. The license now is revoked before the person holding it hears whether any charge has or has not been made against him, but what I should suggest is—not that a power of appeal should be given to the Ticket-of-Leave holder after the revocation of his license—but that previous to that revocation, he should be at liberty to "shew cause" why he should not be deprived of the privilege which he enjoys.

I do not think the power of revocation could be better placed than in the hands of the Secretary of State; but as he might not, owing to pressure of business, have sufficient leisure to conduct any investigation into the convict's conduct, I think such investigation might be very advantageously entrusted to the hands of a magistrate. I may add that in order to enable the Secretary of State, or the magistrate to conduct the inquiry with facility, I would give him the power, which he does not possess, under the bill, of examining parties upon oath. With respect to the administration of the act, I should suggest that I believe it to be of the greatest possible importance to hold out to the convict the stimulus of hope. I also think it desirable, nay, absolutely necessary, for the due administration of justice, that there should be full and free communication between the home-office and the judges, recorders and magistrates, throughout the land. The home-office, under the present system, is sometimes called upon to make regulations of which the magistrates and judges know nothing; a state of things which is productive of great disadvantage. As an illustration of that disadvantage I may state that I myself, until two years after the passing of the Act of 1853, was not aware that any difference was to be made between persons sentenced to penal servitude, and persons sentenced to transportation, with reference to their claim to obtain Tickets-of-Leave, and the consequence was, that when passing sentence of penal servitude, I have constantly said to the prisoner, "Now you may remain in confinement for the full term of

your sentence; but that will be your own fault, because if you conduct yourself well you will be discharged from prison long before the end of that period." Great was my surprise, however, to learn from a letter signed by Colonel Jebb, which appeared in the *Times*, that he was of a contrary opinion, an opinion which upon subsequent communication with the Home-office I found to be correct. The result was, that I felt it to be my duty to call for a mitigation of sentence in the case of one hundred and fifty-nine criminals; and by one stroke of the minister's pen those one hundred and fifty-nine sentences were mitigated, by one-third of the period of their original duration, a circumstance which I believe has never taken place in our own judicial history, or as far as I know, in the judicial history of any other country on the face of the globe. My appeal to the Home-office in the case was the result of my having sentenced—entertaining the impressions with respect to the intention of the legislature to which I have just alluded—one hundred and fifty-nine persons to a longer period of penal servitude than under other circumstances would have been the case. I am of opinion that short periods of imprisonment in the case of persons embarking in dishonest courses are injurious, inasmuch as there is not time afforded for carrying properly into effect the system of reformatory action in their regard, while an education in the ways of crime is commenced. At the last Birmingham sessions there were one hundred and thirty-eight prisoners, and I find that out of that number fifty-eight had been previously convicted, and if I were to put the number of times together, I should find that in the case of those fifty-eight persons there were upwards of two hundred convictions altogether; while I may state that in the case of one youth the number of convictions had been nine. Short periods of imprisonment operate injuriously in this way:—They do not cause that wholesome dread of crime which acts as a deterrent to any great degree, while the prisoner is initiated into the ways of guilt without deriving any benefit from reformatory action. I may also say that I do not think any present scale of punishments is very deterring. I think the fear of deterrents as a check upon crime is over-estimated. The uncertainty which hangs around detection is the main reason why I think such to be the case. I am of opinion that it would be extremely desirable that the criminal should be enabled to leave this country for one in which there would be fewer temptations in his way, and better means of obtaining an honest livelihood. I consider the principle involved in constituting a number of stages, as it were, in the good-conduct of the prisoner as a most excellent one. Under the operation of that principle he will feel himself, as it were, getting better and better every day, and an immediate motive for conducting himself well is thus presented, which will act powerfully in aid of the motive derived from the circumstance that he may hope in the course of some time to obtain a Ticket-of-Leave. I consider the period after his discharge as the most critical moment in the convict's career. There is danger then of relapse into crime. I think the plan of giving a prisoner leave of absence for a short time, as detailed in the evidence of Captain Crofton, allowing him for instance to leave the prison in the morning and to come back in the evening, is a plan which forms an excellent introduction to his complete discharge. I believe the *Société de Patronage* works most successfully in France. The principle upon which it is conducted is that when prisoners are discharged whose case is considered as hopeful, every effort is made to obtain for them employment. That system also prevails in Bavaria, Tuscany, and to some extent in Switzerland. Those *Sociétés de Patronage* are composed of private individuals in all those countries,

and are maintained upon the voluntary principle. In Austria, where they were established in connexion with the state, they failed. I think those institutions are about seventeen years old in France. The earliest attempt made to establish a similar institution in England was that made by Mrs. Fry, who established a society for female prisoners, a society which I believe still continues to exist. There is now one at Worcester for the aid of discharged prisoners. We had a meeting in Birmingham in April last, with the view to the establishment of an institution of this character. Our plan is to have several houses in the town, and in the neighbouring county, to which the prisoner upon his discharge may go, and we hope that he may be able while there, so far to redeem his character as to enable him to obtain employment. I consider that such a society will remove many difficulties in the way of procuring employment. I have myself shewn my confidence in such societies by taking a young woman into my service from Mrs. Fry's institution. She had been convicted of stealing plate in a house where she was engaged as char-woman. She and her husband were at the time of the theft in great destitution. She subsequently expressed great regret for her crime. I may add that having had her for a considerable time in my service, I should never desire to have a better or more faithful domestic.

In reply to Mr. Baines, the learned gentlemen said:—There are a few points with respect to which I wish to offer a few observations to the committee in addition to the evidence which I gave on Monday last. I upon that occasion alluded to the institutions called *Sociétés de Patronage* in France, in terms so general as to lead the committee to suppose that such institutions were established in that country for adults. Having, however, communicated with M. Demetz and M. Beranger upon the subject, I find that *Sociétés de Patronage* for adults do not exist in France, although from the experience of their good results in the case of juveniles, those gentlemen are desirous that adults also should enjoy the advantages which institutions of this description are calculated to confer, and actually do confer in Bavaria, and some other countries in which adults are not excluded from their operation. The difficulty which exists in the way of the establishment of *Sociétés de Patronage* in France, has I understand, its foundation in the circumstance that it would tend to diminish to some extent the grace of a free pardon upon the part of the Emperor; a difficulty I may add which would have no place in this country. M. Demetz has had some experience of the working of such institutions, in the case of adults who have been acquitted of the offence with which they happened to be charged. It appears from the report of that gentleman, as well as from the information which I have received in other quarters, that there prevails in France a strong prejudice against every person who has been once imprisoned; a prejudice which is not obviated even by the fact that he has been acquitted of the offence for which he had been imprisoned; nor by the fact that the judge may have expressed it to be his opinion that he was innocent. Now M. Demetz founded a society for obtaining employment for prisoners of that description, subsequent to their acquittal, upon the receipt of a certificate from the judge before whom their case had come, that there was no ground for believing them to be otherwise than innocent. That society is still in existence and the good results which have attended its working, have caused M. Demetz to be extremely desirous that

the principle upon which it is based should be extended, and he has requested me to present to the committee in his name a work in which his opinions with reference to the subject, and certain facts in connexion with it, are set forth.

(Document handed in.)

I may perhaps mention one fact to which M. Demetz alludes. It is that a large manufacturer in Paris observed to him that he did not like to take into his employment persons who had been imprisoned for some offence, and absolutely pardoned, inasmuch as he could not exercise over such persons the requisite amount of control; "but if you can obtain," observed the manufacturer to M. Demetz, "a law which will enable me to employ persons provisionally pardoned, I should be disposed to employ a great number of them, because I should have it in my power to exercise over them a certain amount of control."

There is another point upon which I now wish to offer a few observations to the committee:—I find that the principle upon which Tickets-of-Leave are granted is this—that the prisoner should have served a given time, and that such time-service is a qualification defeasible if his conduct be bad. Under the operation of that principle very few indeed have disenthralled themselves to the privilege of obtaining a Ticket-of-Leave, because by the observance of ordinary good conduct they have been considered to have so far redeemed their characters after a short period of detention, as to deserve a Ticket-of-Leave. Now, let me suppose that the principle of making a man work himself as it were out of prison, were adopted, it is quite clear that under the operation of that principle, men would obtain their Tickets-of-Leave at the expiration of periods, most various in point of duration, whereas under the existing system they are turned out with Tickets-of-Leave in batches. To illustrate my meaning let me suppose that a *minimum* of time to elapse before a Ticket-of-Leave can be granted is fixed, then you would find under the operation of a principle such as that of which I am now speaking, that while one man by marked good conduct and industry would have worked himself out of prison at the expiration of the *minimum* time, another man would, in consequence of his good conduct not having been so marked, be obliged to remain somewhat longer in prison; another longer still, and so on. That is a principle which I consider would be calculated to work very advantageously. In stating that there were in France no *Sociétés de Patronage* for adults, I did not mean to state expressly that there were no such institutions for female adults. That is a point upon which I cannot speak with accuracy. My conversation with Mon. Demetz related to adults generally, as distinguished from juveniles. I do not consider that provisional discharges should form an essential feature in the constitution of *Sociétés de Patronage*, although they may form a very useful adjunct. I am of opinion that the operation of such institutions ought to extend beyond the period of the expiration of the *Ticket-of-Leave*, but I do not think that that operation ought to be postponed until after the expiration of the license. Perhaps the very best time when the prisoner could come under the superintendence of such institutions would be imme-



diately upon his being discharged from confinement. The institution about to be established in Birmingham, will extend as well to those who may be discharged from prison absolutely, as to those who are discharged merely provisionally. The former, as the law now stands, must always constitute the greater number, because the principle of the law applies practically to offenders only in whose case penal servitude has been substituted for transportation.

Mr. Hill's evidence concluded : any other observations which he had to offer being, he said, embraced in a more concise form in the charge which he delivered at Birmingham in autumn last, than they could possibly assume in the shape of oral testimony.

Charge put in.

We have been informed that M. Demetz has been requested to state his views to the Committee in writing, and all our friends will learn with satisfaction that he has consented to do so.

Amongst the topics of general interest to our readers, we may record the following :—

The Committee of the Reformatory and Refuge Union offer Prizes of £15, £10, and £5, for the best Three Essays on "The Practical Management of Reformatories and Refuges, with respect to Food, Labour, and Best;" to be written by Governors, Masters, Matrons, or Assistants, in any of the Institutions on the List of the Union. The Rev. Sidney Turner, of Redhill, Alexander Thomson, Esq., of Banchoory, Aberdeen, and Mr. J. G. Gent, of the Ragged School Union, have kindly consented to act as the adjudicators. Any further information may be obtained from the Secretary, 118, Pall-mall.

*The Philanthropist* of June 1st states :—

The *soirée* to be held at Willis's Rooms on the 19th of this month, will afford an excellent opportunity for a review of the operations of the institutions of Great Britain, and especially of their several modes of employing industrial occupation as a most powerful training for habits of honest labour. Articles manufactured by boys and girls, as well as by adult inmates of all the institutions, are to be there laid out for inspection, and as the exhibition is to be limited to such things, there will be, of course, none of that distraction caused by mixing with the plainer objects of this kind the more *bizarre* minutiae which generally overshadow them at Reformatory fancy sales. Here we may fairly expect to find a general assemblage of all who desire to be intimately acquainted with the different materials employed in industrial classes, and the various methods of using them for training the young and older inmates to work ; while it is desirable also that the products of their labour should be so displayed, as to show at a glance the pecuniary aspects of industrial employment in general.

We understand that boys, girls, and adults, from each of the me-

Provincial institutions will be present to point to their several manufactures, their bundles of chopped wood, packets of picked bristles, piles of boots and shoes, or of coats and trousers, the boxes of shoe-blacks, the chairs, forms, tables, and dressers, from the carpenter's shops, books and pamphlets printed and bound, and the more elaborate ornaments turned at the lathe, or hammered on the anvil. Others will exhibit the fruits of the earth cultivated by their hands, as well as the mats and ropes, and models and pictures, evidencing their perseverance or their more ambitious attempts at design. In several instances the actual work will be carried on in one of the rooms set apart for this purpose.

The needle-work to be exhibited by the girls, will be of equal interest, but we confess that in criticising such matters, it will be absolutely requisite to have the help of the experienced ladies who will, doubtless, be present on this occasion. Already there are many busy hands at work for this exhibition, and we even hear of one or two friends who intend to appear dressed entirely in clothes manufactured in the institutions.

In our last RECORD (page xxiv.) we inserted the prospectus of a society for establishing a Refuge for Roman Catholic Females Discharged from Prison, and we rejoice to state that the Refuge, on a small scale, is now open at Golden Bridge, under the care of the Sisters of Mercy. To Doctor Cullen the very deepest gratitude is due for the prompt manner in which he aided the project of the Refuge; and we understand, from gentlemen officially connected with the Prisons' Department, that the ladies who superintend are proceeding carefully, cautiously, and most successfully. The establishment is quite "un-grand" enough to win the approval of Mr. Baker or Mr. Wright; whilst the zeal of all concerned would please even Miss Carpenter.

The Sisters possess a most important influence for Reformation in the fact, well known to all the inmates, that all is done, all labor and care undertaken, without pay, or pecuniary recompence of any kind; this gratuitous devotion, some of our readers will remember, was the great secret of Sarah Martin's success.\*

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\*This admirable woman was a poor dress-maker, and devoted all her time to the care of the prisoners in Yarmouth Gaol. She had a small income, about twelve pounds per annum, and having lost her business through her care of the prisoners, she subsisted upon this small sum, and upon the charitable kindness of those who approved her exertions. The Corporation of Yarmouth wished her to accept some stipend, she refused to do so, and thus explains her reasons, in a letter to the wife of a Magistrate who had entreated her to take the money. "Here lies the objection which oppresses me: *I have found voluntary instruction,*

About seven acres of ground are attached to the Refuge, and thus an opportunity is afforded of teaching the common branches of dairy work and washing, so far as they are required about an ordinary farm house. We were much amused, and indeed interested, in learning that an old woman who had been a notorious fowl-stealer, is now a most anxious and careful guardian of the hen house; and pointing to a large collection of fine young chickens, she is accustomed to exclaim, "Look at thim, I'll rayer *every one* of thim." We presume she is quite astounded at the possibility of being able to keep her hand from their necks, and is consequently proud of her reformation. We hope to be able in next RECORD to report fully on this excellent and most admirable institution.

The erection of the Juvenile Convict Prison at Lusk is at length commenced, and about 300 men will soon be huffed on the Common, and at work.

The Female Convict Prison, at Mountjoy, is in a very advanced stage of completion.

In a former part of this RECORD we referred to the meeting of the National Reformatory Union in honor of M. Demetz; we now insert the Report of that meeting as it appears in *The Law Amendment Journal* of June 1st:—

*Special Meeting of the National Reformatory Union—  
Thursday, May 29th, 1856.*

Lord Lovaine, M.P., took the chair at three o'clock.

Mons. Demetz attended the meeting, in accordance with the invitation which had been forwarded to him; Mons. Verdier accompanied him.

Among the others present were—Lord Robert Cecil, M.P.; Hon. H. G. Liddell, M.P.; Dean of Salisbury; Sir S. H. Northcote, Bart., M.P.; Sir T. Winnington, Bart., M.P.; Sir E. Kerrison,

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on my part, to have been attended with great advantage; and I am apprehensive, that in receiving payment my labours may be less acceptable. I fear, also, that my mind would be fettered by pecuniary payment, and the whole work upset. To try the experiment, which might injure the thing I live and breathe for, seems like applying a knife to your child's throat, to know if it will cut." She was only induced to accede to the offer of the Corporation, when they told her—"If we permit you to visit the prison, you must submit to our terms"—and they gave her—*twelve pounds per annum*!! and this after twenty-three years of devoted care. She commenced to visit the prisons in the year 1819, being then twenty-eight years old, and the chief support of her mother; she received the *twelve pounds* but for two years; it was granted in 1841, and she died on the 10th of October, 1843.

Bart., M.P.; Mr. M. Milnes, M.P.; Captain Stuart, M.P.; Mr. Serjeant Manning, Mr. M. D. Hill, Q.C.; Mr. D. Power, Rev. Sydney Turner, Mr. R. Hall, Mr. E. Webster, Mr. C. Batchiff, Mr. G. W. Hastings, Mr. T. H. Bastard, Mr. J. Perry, Mr. A. Hill, Rev. L. Lewis, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. P. J. Murray, Captain Crofton, Mr. E. B. Wheatley, Mr. M'Clelland, Mr. H. G. Wright, Rev. T. Jackson, Mr. Halswell, Mr. Lyall, Mr. Bowyer, and a considerable number of ladies.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The Chairman said that they now had the pleasure of seeing at a meeting of the Society one whom they regarded as a great benefactor to his race, who had first rescued from misery and crime those for whom no one before had cared—one who had thereby conferred great and lasting benefits on humanity. It afforded them all the greatest gratification to see Mons. Demetz among them; and they trusted to derive much information from the words which he might address to them that day. They had already elected him an honorary member of the Society, and he (the Chairman) would now read the following Address:—

“TO M. M. DEMETZ, ETC. ETC.”

“Sir,—I have the pleasure, as Chairman of the Reformatory Union, to express to you the deep gratification which its members feel in enrolling you amongst them as an honorary member, and in seeing you on this occasion.

The Reformatory Union has been formed with the special aim of placing the corrective treatment of youthful offenders upon a right foundation. They seek to procure such amendments in the laws relating to juvenile crime as shall ensure a just discrimination between the old and the young—the man and the child—the hardened and the still comparatively harmless—the offender of depraved will and purpose, and the offender from neglected training, orphanage, and destitution.

“The Union seeks to stimulate and assist the noble efforts of individual benevolence to provide Asylums and Reformatory Schools, in which the young offender may find the moral restraint, the industrial occupation, and the better influence, of which he stands in need. The Union labours for this, by collecting the various results of experience and inquiry in England and other countries on the different branches of the Reformatory question; by bringing into closer intercourse and more friendly relations all, of whatever creed or party, who have devoted themselves to the good work of reclaiming the youthful offender; and by enlisting and organising such branch societies as may provide for the guardianship and oversight of the young persons trained in Reformatory Schools, upon their discharge and return into the world.

“These, Sir, are the chief objects of our Union. They are objects essentially connected with that noble cause to which you have devoted the ripest years of your life, with a sacrifice of personal interests and selfish objects which cannot be too highly honoured. They are objects which you have not only laboured for, but have

attained to a remarkable extent, and which it is your teaching and your example that have mainly led this association itself to value and to seek for.

"I feel sure that the slight expression of their deep respect and homage, which the members of the Reformatory Union desire this day to offer to you, will be welcome to you. Their feelings are, indeed, the sentiments of all to whom your name and your work are known. They trust that the good providence of God may yet continue your health and vigour through many years of usefulness and honour, giving you ever-increasing influence and success in the mission you have undertaken, and assuring to you that reward which never fails the real benefactors of their fellow men.

"Signed on behalf of the members of the Reformatory Union,

"LOVAINX."

After concluding the address, the Chairman put to the meeting, that it should be now signed by himself, and he presented to Mons. Demetz on behalf of the meeting.

This was assented to with acclamation.

Mons. Demetz said (speaking in French), "I beg to thank you for the honour you have done me in presenting me with the address which your chairman has read. In it you have been pleased to speak more highly than they merit of the exertions which I have made in the cause you have equally with myself at heart. By your sympathy you sustain me in the efforts which I made in that cause. Let me assure you, on my part, that the remainder of my life will be consecrated to it, and that under all circumstances you may count on me."

The Chairman then said, that in proceeding to the real object of the meeting, that of obtaining as much practical information as possible from Mons. Demetz, they must remember the ill-health of their visitor, and must endeavour to be as short as possible. The General Committee had framed some questions on points of interest, and he would now proceed to put them to Mons. Demetz, always remembering that we were not bound to follow him as servile imitators, though most ready to listen to his advice. The first question was as to the period during which children should be detained in Reformatories, and the age at which they should be sent there.

Mons. Demetz said that in France a child might remain in a *Colonie Agricole* until 20 years of age, according to the 66th article of the Penal Code. The theory of the law was, that as children do wrong without knowledge, they should be educated, improved, and rendered good—not condemned to be punished. But before the establishment of Mettray this 66th Article was to all intents and purposes a dead letter; for the children, though acquitted, were sent to the *maisons de reclusion*, where there was no distinction made between the children who had sinned in ignorance, and those who were steeped in crime. The consequence was that the poor creatures came out finished students in wickedness—they had taken a high degree in the university of crime. He said that in these matters he spoke from experience, for he was for four years *juge de police correctionnel*. His colleagues regarded this duty as a *curvée*, but he

considered it as a great blessing ; for it led him to do whatever he had been able to accomplish towards the education and elevation of the poor lads brought before his tribunal. Many of these children (without exaggeration) were obliged to be placed on a chair, in order to be raised on a level with his desk. They declared that they thieved in order to satisfy the cravings of hunger, which their parents either could not or would not supply. To punish them was impossible ; to restore them to their parents, was only to consign them to the state of starvation which had brought them before the tribunal ; and to send them to the *maison de reclusion*, was only to condemn them to learn iniquity. Unable to bear this any longer, he gave up his office, and determined to establish an institution which should remedy this sad state of things. Mettray was founded ; and the 66th article was no longer an illusion—it became a fact. But magistrates for some time liked to retain the former state of things, and still sent lads to prison, or sent them to Mettray only for a short time ; and it would be found that the greater proportion of the *recidivists* were those children who could not stay a sufficient time to be educated, and to be enabled to gain their living honestly. He thought that the boys should not quit the Reformatory School until they were skilled workmen, and not mere apprentices. In France the condition of apprentices was not comfortable, they were much in the power of their masters, while the well-taught workmen were valuable to their employers, and were consequently well treated. He considered the army as the most appropriate mode of life for the boys leaving Mettray ; the discipline in both was much alike, and he had found it the best educational means. He thought that the removal of the youths from Mettray directly into the world was too rapid a transition, and compared it to a horse ridden for some time with a tight rein in the hands of a firm rider, and then suddenly let loose. Liberty men must have, especially in England, but the liberty of these youths ought to be very carefully superintended.

He then adverted to the English Juvenile Offenders' Act, and said, that though a boy might under it be occasionally kept till he was 21, yet the greater proportion were dismissed before they could have acquired the steadiness of a man. He thought they should remain in a Reformatory until they had attained an age at which there is at least a likelihood of their having that command over their passions which was not often possessed in very early youth. As to the age at which children should enter Reformatories, he thought that the earlier children came the better ; the younger they were the more easy it was to teach them, to eradicate their bad tendencies, and to impart good aspirations. Of course very little children were not of much use in cultivating the ground ; but as the object of Reformatory Schools was not so much to make the land profitable as to reform the children, they should enter these schools at a time when their dispositions could be easily moulded ; and it required much less skill to teach children at seven or eight, than at fourteen or fifteen. We should deal with these children as a physician would treat a disease, which may be easy to cure if taken at the beginning, but not if allowed to spread its baneful influence over the whole frame.

The Chairman said, that the second question to be asked was, as to the education of assistant teachers, and the mode in which the government of Mettray was carried on.

Mons. Demetz said, he thought the teachers should be selected when young—never when more than 18—before they had acquired the tastes which would make them wish to take a place in the busy world. Many came to Mettray who had been intended for priests, but who found the rigours of the clerical profession, and the necessary seclusion from all family ties, more than they could bear. The life of a teacher at Mettray, however, was one of great self-denial and devotion—one requiring a considerable amount of enthusiasm to face the many difficulties and trials of the path. The teachers then first entered the normal school, where they generally remained two years, and then they gradually rose through the different grades of officers until they become *chefs de famille*. They required great experience: they began by being monitors in the class-room, then they became *sous chefs*, and afterwards *chefs de famille*. But it was necessary that they should rise gradually to the more responsible offices: they would fail if placed too soon in important positions.

As to the mode of education at Mettray, Mons. Demetz said that it was carried on by dividing the boys into families. It must be remembered that the children who required to be placed in Reformatory Schools were chiefly those who have become criminal through the neglect of their parents; they have never experienced the benefits of living in a respectable family; and the means of raising them to the position from which they have fallen are to be found in restoring to them, as far as possible, the training of a family. The boys were therefore divided into families of forty—not that he thought this was the best number, for it was too large, but that these institutions must be carried out as cheaply as possible; if they cost too much, the public would begin to grumble. He thought that twenty-five would be the best number; that of course exceeds the number of a real family; but he considered that these children had not the tie of affection which exists between real brothers and sisters; and that if there were only the natural number of a family, there would not be that emulation among them which was necessary to their progress. The children were classified, partly by age, and partly by disposition. Up to eight years of age he thought the different dispositions of little consequence; after that time he mingled the heavy character of the Breton with the gay disposition of the Gascon. France having a share in so many races, gives him the power of mingling all sorts of different dispositions; and he kept the ages of the members of the different families as near as he could. He thought it very important that the commencement of all charitable institutions should be small, and that they should increase gradually. The managers of such institutions learn as they go on; the make mistakes which can be easily repaired in a small establishment, but which ruin a large one; and when a great sum of money has been spent upon an institution, it must be used—it has then cost too much to be thrown aside. We said that 500,000 francs had been spent on a prison for boys at Paris, and that it was so inconvenient and so thoroughly ill-constructed,

that it would have been cheaper to have pulled it down at once than have used it for the poor creatures there incarcerated. Mons. Demetz further said that he experienced great difficulty in finding moral trade instructors for the boys. Unfortunately these men were apt to relate their adventures on the Sunday to the boys whom they taught on the Monday. To remedy this defect he was about to establish a branch in his normal school, in which trades will be taught; and into this department he intends to admit youths of respectable birth, whose parents would not like them to enter a common *atelier*.

Mr. M. Milnes asked whether it were possible for the boys at Mettray to become teachers.

Mons. Demetz said that it was possible, but very rare. Of course if he professed to reform youths completely and entirely, he must allow them possibly to become teachers, but that in practice he very seldom did it. There were a few young men who had been boys at Mettray whom he admitted to his table, and whom he would trust in everything. This showed that the thing is possible; but if it were easy for a boy to become a teacher, the other teachers would be offended who had always led respectable lives. He added, that the education of the *agents* fitted them for other paths in life than that of a teacher in Mettray. They could go into commerce, and sometimes did so, when they became tired of the very strict mode of life they must lead as *agents*. He never wished them to stay an hour after they had changed their minds, and therefore never bound them by any contract, but let them go when they pleased.

The Chairman said, that the third question was, as to the system of rewards and punishments pursued at Mettray.

Mons. Demetz said that the strictest discipline was observed at Mettray, accompanied, however, with the greatest personal kindness and even tenderness. Infractions of the laws were as far as possible prevented; and the boy was made to feel that if he broke the laws he was sure to be punished, and that if he fulfilled his duty he was sure to be rewarded. It was evident that where boys were not in prison, but, as at Mettray, in the open fields, there must be a power that would prevent them from absconding. An officer of the government had exclaimed, concerning Mettray, "what a singular prison, where you have no keys but the *clef des champs*." In 1848, when France was plunged into revolution, when several of the government schools were in a state of rebellion, when even private schools had had their own *éméutes*, at Mettray there was no infraction of the laws. The youths behaved very respectfully towards their teachers; this respect is strictly inculcated; and as the *agents* behave towards the boys so as to inspire respect, it is always readily yielded to them. The punishments were formerly—being condemned to eat dry bread; imprisonment in a light or dark cell; erasure from the tablet of honour; and for very bad offences, dismissal from Mettray, and return to prison. The punishment of dry bread had now been changed to a blow on the hand with a ferule, it being found that dry bread had an ill effect on the boys who underwent it. For this punishment had been inflicted chiefly for idleness; and as a boy who was idle in



one part of his duties was generally idle in others, the same person was continually undergoing the punishment; and as the boys at Mettray had not more to eat than was absolutely necessary, the punishment which was designed to cure idleness, ended by making them unfit for the labour which they were required to pursue. He had a great objection to corporal punishment, and the ferule was not inflicted on the elder boys; it was not considered as a disgrace; and it did not, like many other punishments, entail an erasure from the tablet of honour. These punishments, perhaps, might seem numerous, but it was necessary to have certain penalties which the boys knew were inevitable unless they obeyed the laws of the place. But he said that he preferred rewards to punishments, and that in increasing rewards he negatively increased punishments. He often made the deprivation of a reward a punishment; for instance, the boys learned to swim as a means of saving their fellow-creatures when drowning, and it was a punishment to be prevented from taking the swimming lesson. He considered that one of the most elevating things which a youth could do, was to do good to his fellow-creatures; a good action once accomplished raised a man for ever; and he therefore inculcated the doing good to their fellow-creatures, and gave them instruction which would fit them to assist their neighbours.

He said he wished that the institution of Mettray should be considered as the parent of the boys, and he therefore never allowed any boys who had left to go when ill to an hospital, because a real father would not permit it; and when any youth was out of employment he might always return to his home. He also said, that when anything occurred in which he did not see his way clearly, he always considered what a father or a mother would do in such a case.

The three principles on which he acted were—first, religion, as the basis of all; secondly, *esprit de famille* as the bond to unite them together; and thirdly, military discipline as the means of organization. He must explain, that by military discipline he did not mean a military spirit; this discipline was necessary for large numbers to keep up order and to spare time; but no individuality was sacrificed.

He also explained the nature of his superintendence of the youths after their leaving Mettray. His friend, Mons. Verdier, took devoted care of all who went to Paris; and in other parts of France there were people who kindly watched over these youths. When any one visited Mettray, an endeavour was made to enlist their sympathies, and then, if any youth was going into their neighbourhood, he asked them to be his patrons. Mons. Demetz said, in conclusion, that he always endeavoured to obtain the help of women in this cause.

At the termination of Mons. Demetz's interesting remarks, which were listened to throughout with the deepest attention,

Mr. Gladstone moved a vote of thanks to him and to Mons. Verdier, for their kindness in attending the meeting.

Mr. Liddell seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. M. D. Hill moved the thanks of the meeting to Lord Lovaine, for the ability with which he had filled the chair and conducted the

business of the day. Mr. Hill took the opportunity to observe, that nothing would be so disastrous to the Society as any attempt to confine it to a particular set of persons ; and that its chief hopes of success must rest on the amount of support it could obtain from the public.

The motion having been unanimously carried, and Lord Lovaine having acknowledged the compliment, the meeting separated.

## NOTE ON THE JUVENILE OFFENDERS' (IRELAND) BILL.

[*As Amended in Committee.*]

Most of our readers are doubtless aware that a *Juvenile Offenders' Bill* for Ireland is now before Parliament, and in a form as "*Amended in Committee.*" The Bill was most objectionable when introduced ; now, as amended, it is more dangerous and objectionable than ever.

By the original Bill justices were empowered to commit to Reformatories, no provision being made that the young offenders so committed should be sent to Reformatories managed by persons of the religion of the juvenile's parents. This section was at once opposed by the Roman Catholic members, and by the Bishops of that Church. The Chief Secretary expressed his anxiety to act fairly by all religions, and now, what is the result, as we have it in the Amended Bill? By the Third Section the Judge or Justice is to commit to a school managed by those of the religion of the young offender, or to such Reformatory "*as the Parents, or Guardians, or near Relatives of such Offender may select.*"

It must be kept clearly in mind that, by the Fourth Section of the Amended Bill, "*any House of Refuge for Juvenile Offenders, or any Industrial School, or other similar Institution,*" may, if the managers or directors shall desire it, be certified as a Reformatory. Further, it must be also kept in mind that, by the Seventh Section of the Amended Bill, the parents of any offender committed to a Reformatory shall be liable to contribute, if of sufficient ability, a sum not exceeding five shillings per week towards his support ; but any two Justices may, "*upon consideration of all the circumstances of the case,*" if they think fit, order any lesser sum as that which the parent shall be bound to pay to the Reformatory in which his child, or *step-child*, shall be confined.

We give very great credit to the ingenious concoctor of this Amended Bill, but we do not give great credit to the Roman Catholic Attorney General who allowed his name to appear indorsed upon it, for the Bill is nothing more than an attempt to legalize proselytism, hypocrisy, and falsehood.

By the third Section the juvenile may be sent to such Reformatory as his parent, guardian, or near relatives may select, *step-parents* being included; by the Fourth Section, any of our Ragged Schools, or other "similar Institutes" can be certified as Reformatories; and by the Seventh Section any "two justices" may name the sum to be paid by the parents, or step-parents, or guardians, or near relatives of the juvenile, to the Reformatory.

No man in Ireland can conceal from himself that this is but a clever attempt to give a legislative help to that system of proselytism supported in our Irish Ragged Schools by the money of English and Irish fanatics; a system of corruption of which Dr. Cullen, in a Pastoral read in all his Churches on Sunday, June 8th, thus writes:—

"But our enemies are not satisfied with heaping insult and contumely on us: they have resource to bribes and gifts to obtain the perversion of the poor and destitute, and especially of children. Unfortunately, the late famine, and the ruthless anxiety of many landlords to clear their estates of the poor peasantry, have filled this city with misery and want. Thousands of these victims of want or oppression crowd our streets. Bigotry and fanaticism have determined to traffic on their misery; and with that view, ragged schools have been opened, or put in greater activity, in several parts of the city. Lurgan-street, Townsend-street, the Coombe, and Rutland-street, are the seat of schools of this description, which are met with also in other parts of the city on a smaller scale, and there are agents sent through the streets, to seize on poor neglected children, and to seduce them, oftentimes against the will of their parents, into those schools.

"These ragged schools are purely aggressive, instituted for the purpose of depriving poor Catholic children of their faith. If any family be in distress, the agents of those schools make a regular contract with its members. They say to the parents: 'send your child to the proselytising school, and we will provide both for his and your wants—all we require is, that you allow us to imbue his mind with heresy.' The parents are thus tempted to sacrifice their own souls, and to immolate their child to Baal, by the hope of some temporal relief. If they reject the proffered boon, then the pretended charity of the proselytizer leaves them to pine in misery, and to witness the starvation of the child. When a father dies, leaving an unprovided family, similar offers are made to the widow: her children will be protected, but only on the condition that they renounce their faith,

"Can anything, dearly beloved brethren, be more degrading or more unworthy, than thus to trample on Christian charity under the pretence of promoting religion? And what fruits are to be expected from a system so perverse and antichristian? Nothing but hypocrisy and lying, scepticism and unbelief; and these are the only results obtained by a most profligate expenditure."

What is there to prevent all or any of these schools from being certified under this Bill if it became law? All are within the spirit and letter of the Fourth Section. Parents or relatives have the power of selection, and though Justice may frown, yet justices will,

"on consideration of all the circumstances of the case," use that power which the law would give them, of making the weekly payments greater or lesser as the parent, step-parent, guardian, or near relative, should prove steadfast or elastic in conscience, and in faith,

That there is every danger of this kind in Ireland none can deny ; whilst we know, from the very best authority, that although 200 Roman Catholic juveniles have been sentenced to Reformatories within the past three months in the London district, only twelve of this number have been sent to Roman Catholic Schools. Thus the act is abused in England, but how much more would it not be abused in Ireland ?

We do not write at length upon this Amended Bill now, we merely draw attention to its covert and dangerous tendencies ; but if it be "shelved" for the session, as is not unlikely, we shall have an opportunity of again referring to it in our September number.

The Bill makes no provision that if juveniles are sentenced to fourteen days imprisonment previous to committal to a Reformatory, they shall pass these fourteen days in separation.

There is no effort made to render the Poor Law Guardians more careful of the young paupers, by charging the Union with the support of juvenile offenders when the parents are unable to pay the sum directed by the Bill.\*

In fact the Bill appears to have been drawn up by one who knows nothing of Ireland, and little of the Reformatory system ; it appears to have been amended by one who cared little for securing public confidence in the measure, provided proselytism were made easy, and that the justices were enabled to take the place of the tract distributor and the Scripture reader. This is not right ; it will, as it ought, have the effect of destroying public confidence, and without this confidence there is no chance whatever of the successful working of the Reformatory Principle.

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\*See "Reformatory Schools for Ireland," By P. J. Murray. Dublin : Kelly, Grafton-street.

## QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY SCHOOLS AND OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

Through the kind attention of Mr. G. H. Bengough, a gentleman well known as the fellow laborer with Mr. Baker, in the Hardwicke Court Reformatory, and one of The Honorary Secretaries of THE NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION, we have been favored with the following admirable paper for insertion in this Quarter's RECORD :—

### EXPERIENCE IN REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

In the Summer of 1853, having then partially relinquished the charge of the Hardwicke Reformatory School, of which for the fifteen months previous, through Mr. Baker's kindness, I had had nearly the entire management, I commenced a short Record of the results of my experience during that period, which I have since added to and corrected as further acquaintance with the working of that and other Schools, has enabled me to do.

When I first entered upon this work, I possessed little or nothing of any special qualification for it ; my only practical acquaintance with boys having been acquired in an occasional experiment at teaching in a village Sunday School. As must have been expected, therefore, I made not a few blunders at starting. The greatest of which perhaps was that in undertaking to be practically the master, as well as the manager of the School, I undertook more than I had the time or power to perform. But such was my utopian idea of what was required and what I could do, that I at one time contemplated dispensing with the assistance of a Bailiff, or any assistance at all. The evil results of this error were two-fold. In the first place, though I was as much as possible on the spot myself, taking usually the main part of the labour of teaching in the School at night, and latterly also of superintending the boys at their meals, still, owing to my frequent absence on magisterial or other business, a larger proportion of attention and labor fell upon the Bailiff than he was well able to bear.

He thus became jaded and harassed in body and mind, and in consequence morbidly irritable; a striking contrast to the state of things at present in the School, the commencement of which speedily followed the appointment of a Master, who took the greater part of the indoor superintendence, as that of the meals, the dormitory, the clothing, &c., and taught in the School. For, (though he was not himself a very efficient man), both officers were then allowed sufficient quiet to recover the tone of their minds if wearied with the attention of the day ; and the regularity of routine and discipline which was not interrupted as before, was one cause of there being much less difficulty and labour in every part of the administration, than existed when this routine was often broken by my own irregular attendance.

I consider also, that the offices of framer and administrator of the Laws are both difficult and undesirable to combine, in the same person, as I was obliged to have them, in my own—except that I still think that, in regard to the heavier punishments particularly, a greater solemnity is imparted to them and the managers authority upheld by having their infliction and duration referred in all cases to his express sanction.

I should therefore most strongly urge it, as of primary importance, to secure in the staff such a division of labour as will relieve all those engaged from the strain of a too constant attention to what is undeniably a very harassing and laborious task, the supervision and control of children of this peculiar class. But another, and as I consider it, an evil result, from my having thus undertaken more than I was able to perform, was that the Bailiff became practically, and (always of course under Mr. Baker) still is the head of the Hardwicke Schools. Now, however important the formation of a habit of industry may be, and deprecating as one must over dosing children, especially of such a class, with direct religious teaching, it is most essential that some one habitually with them should be able to awaken their attention and interest in religious truth, and daily under the Divine blessing send it by a few forcible words home to their hearts. Of the influence which a habit and power of teaching such as this and a well trained mind had on the general tone of the School, we had ample evidence with our second master, a young man from Kneller-Hall, who unfortunately remained with us only a short time. Now, as it seems to me, a man qualified as I have described must be out of place if in any way subordinated to one of inferior mental training to his own. And the Bailiff, with many important qualifications for his work, is not able, and indeed never undertook, to supply the directly educational element, which is yet the most important in the system of a Reformatory School. To the qualifications which he does possess for his position as director of the labor of the boys, and the general management of the School and the Farm, (which all who have seen it have admitted to be most admirably worked) I am anxious to bear most ample testimony: the School indeed owes very much to his sound, practical, common sense which, though perhaps erring a little on the other side, was a useful antidote, and one not uncalled for to the want of energy and decision, and the attempted seductiveness of my own management at first. I have dwelt the more on this topic because it is one of the very few points of difference of opinion which exist on this whole subject, between my valued friend Mr. Baker and myself. He would place the Bailiff as the chief in importance as an agent in Reformation, if not in authority in the School; while I have always strongly felt, and where I had the opportunity pressed my conviction, that the *first* point to be secured (next of course to a right *Heart*) is an educated mind, and that the agent in the industrial portion of the system will be then a secondary consideration, and a want not difficult to supply.

Here too arises several questions, on which I experimented, not always successfully, in my own person, as to the position and inter-

course of the master of School, with the boys, as carrying out the theory of the family system. My hope was at first that the Bailiff would naturally take the position of head of the family, and that he and his family and the boys would live in common—taking their meals and and so forth together. Into this arrangement, however, he did not seem disposed to fall, and for a considerable time the boys dined by themselves, perfect silence being observed, and the meal-time being any thing but what in a family it should be, a time of orderly social intercourse. I then adopted quite a different system and dined myself at the head of the table, having the meat and cheese or whatever it might be, put on the table instead of being cut up outside, and carving myself. I encouraged the boys (they were very shy at first) to talk quietly among themselves and to me, and on the whole I had reason to be satisfied with the greater civilizing effect it had upon them; (as a matter of economy it was not successful, but I had not adopted it with that view.) The great obstacle, however, to its perfect success was the difficulty of keeping the talking to a subdued tone and preventing its degenerating into noise. The master who took my place found it necessary to return to the rule of silence; which his successor, however, judiciously rendered less stiff by reading some interesting book aloud. This family theory and its full development from the first engaged my earnest attention, and I have since thought much upon the subject, and I really cannot help coming to the conclusion that it is a mistake, and a mistake which has partially originated, in our adoption of the word family into our language upon this subject, as an equivalent of the French "famille." The infusion of a home feeling towards the Reformatory or Refuge is not necessarily dependent on the boys holding a filial relation in any real sense to the master of the School. As a School and (so far as a school is so), as a "household" is the true practical aspect in which (it seems to me), it should be regarded. The relation of a teacher to his scholar, the master to his disciple, does not preclude in fact calls eminently for the display of love, and in some sort a paternal interest on the one side, and a respectful but not in ordinary cases, a filial attachment on the other. If circumstances would allow of the subdivision of numbers to such an extent, as that one head should have charge of from ten to fifteen children only, as is the case in one at least of the foreign Reformatories, there would still be no true counter part of the family as we understand the word. For ten children of one family would never be found of ages so nearly the same, so that the relation of each to each would be wanting, even if that of each to the head could be realised, where, as is the case with us, so many of the children have parents over-indulgent rather than the reverse at their real home. To regard the Reformatory then, as a School, it seems to me will make one's treatment more systematic and consistent, and more really practical than to aim at giving it in one or two particulars a complexion which can never be thoroughly carried out. The disadvantageousness of very large numbers will still stand upon considerations of another kind, the difficulty, namely, of finding one man capable of sufficiently individualising a very large number of children, and the necessity of calling

in the aid of an assistant in such cases, who can scarcely stand in the same position to them as the real head. Perhaps, however, a system analogous to that of the tutors in some of our public Schools might be found to attain the desired end, where the arrangements of the building, as is the case with that of Kingswood, with which I am now more particularly connected, should render such a mode of dealing with considerable numbers collected under one roof most convenient.

But to return to the faults of my first management.

Commencing with an exaggerated idea of the power of kindness to do alone what is only to be brought about by firmness in requiring obedience and maintaining respect, I committed, at starting, the great error of treating my boys *not* with too much kindness, but with too little strictness and regularity of discipline. In seeking to win their confidence I encouraged them to be so unreserved as often to overstep the barrier of due respect; and both these errors have been subsequently the cause of much otherwise needless trouble. Not that I altogether regret this, however, or would advocate any approach to the other as the less dangerous extreme. On the contrary, I owe to them, to the latter at least, a more thorough insight into the boys' character, than I should have been otherwise able to obtain. I cannot again tax myself with giving any undue indulgence in the way of personal comforts, at least at starting, where my mistake in the way of kindness lay, was in the endeavor to win them to *like* work in school or in the field, in making it too little of a decided duty to be decidedly, and energetically fulfilled, and in trusting too sanguinely to the effects of a mere verbal rebuke, where a decisive and sufficient, if a mild punishment should have been inflicted at once as inevitable. I allowed myself to think, too, that it was needless to exact such observance of order and discipline, when I had only three or four boys to deal with, as I felt would be necessary when there were more; and this caused me many a difficulty, which I should have otherwise completely avoided. For I always found, that any change in the system once acted on, was productive of much more dissatisfaction and disturbance than would have existed under a far stricter system advisedly adopted, and steadily acted up to from the first. One of the first things therefore which I say, when my advice is asked on the plan of commencing such an institution as ours, is that however few the number of boys at first received, the system and rules should be as strict, if not stricter, than those which it is contemplated with a full school to adopt.

We commenced with three boys, who, before the school was quite completed, were accommodated by the Bailiffs at their residence; and this also interfered with the adoption of a settled system from the first. The three boys were all from London: very good specimens of a class which is to be met with only in London and large towns; and as far as my experience has gone, superior in every respect, not only in knowledge of evil, but in capabilities for good to the youthful criminals of a country district such as ours. There can be no question at the present stage of knowledge of the



Reformatory system, that to commence with a very small number of boys is the foundation of success. But it admits, I think, of a question, whether we acted judiciously in commencing with boys of so difficult a description to deal with, and it was almost unquestionably unwise to have them all from the same place. Our object in this was to preclude the possibility of any new comer introducing into the school a knowledge of evil, and taking up a position as a knowing lad and a leader in mischief upon that ground, by securing previously to the side of good order these three thorough adepts in crime, I conceive there would have been much less trouble in thoroughly influencing some of our country lads, judiciously chosen, that they would have had no inclination for this knowledge, and been indifferent to this false fame, and formed a check upon even the cleverest newly caught London thief. One great difficulty which I suppose nearly always exists with small numbers especially, but which in our case was aggravated by the boys' previous acquaintance with each other, was the incessant quarrels which took place, and which only ended when the number in the school had increased to six or seven.

As I have stated above, I began with so lax a discipline, and such indecision in the infliction of even a mild punishment, that the Bailiff was, perhaps, driven, long before I inflicted any punishment at all, to resort to personal correction to enforce obedience to his commands; the result of which was, that when I did try it, my own system, being a less sensible mode of correction, and less decisively evidencing the fact that I was in earnest in requiring to be obeyed, failed to produce much effect. I regret, I confess, that any such necessity should have arisen; and I feel quite sure that firmness and resolution to be obeyed, evinced *from the first* by all concerned, would have obviated any necessity for resorting to less temperate measures, except in extreme and exceptional cases. The cases where it is employed now, are, I believe, few; and the correction very slight, which makes it the more probable that it might have been altogether dispensed with; and as a check upon its frequent employment, I soon adopted the system of requiring, that in every instance, even the slightest, it should be entered accurately in the report kept of the boys' general conduct, which I examined every week.

The system of punishments and rewards which I had looked to as likely to prove, under ordinary circumstances, a sufficient stimulus to good conduct, and deterrent from bad, was, with a few slight differences in detail, that which I had seen so admirably working at the Philanthropic Society's Farm School at Redhill, and of which, Mr. Sydney Turner has spoken as the key of the whole system there.

I allowed, to well-conducted boys, a small sum weekly, in proportion to their skill and diligence in work, awarded generally at the discretion of the Bailiff; as I could not succeed, from various causes, in getting the much better system of piece-work fairly carried out. I never, however, heard any discontent expressed at his awards; a maximum being prescribed, and general rules made known, by which they were made.

Of this weekly reward a certain proportion was deducted for each given offence, omitting fractions; thus dishonesty forfeited the whole; lying, three-fourths, and so on. At one time I allowed them these sums in money, but I found, by experience, that this practice gave rise to an almost irrepressible amount of gambling, and tended also to encourage and somewhat facilitate attempts to abscond from the school. I therefore had the sum entered to their credit, till they wished to purchase sweets, on which they were only allowed to spend a portion, or any other articles with it, or perhaps additional luxuries at meals. One part, however, of the Redhill system I did not put in practice, viz.: that of reading out the week's list of offences before the school, as is (or at least was) done there after dinner every Monday. I tried, for a short time, indeed, a plan which involved this, that of making them walk to church and sit at meals in order, according to the number of bad marks they had each got during the week, but abandoned it as the publicity thus given to their disgrace, which was often occasioned by very slight offences, was too severely felt to be good.

To render such a system as this efficient, demands great faith in its eventual success, and consequent perseverance in it on the part of the officers, and on the part of the boys depends on that which is not the growth of a day or even of a few weeks, a satisfactory moral tone generally in the School. In setting it in operation at first, it will have usually to be backed up by a ready appeal to more sensible modes of correction, where its influence is not sufficient, but always with a return to it, and a trial of it again and again, until, as it eventually will, it succeeds. The fines too must be made sufficiently heavy to entail, as a tolerably near prospect, a curtailment of food or other indulgence. By a somewhat extraordinary application of this their consequence in one case, I made their influence more appreciated at the Hardwicke School. I had occasion to give a mark to one of the boys there, an impassible, idle, easy-tempered simpleton, when he derisively asked for 100. I accordingly took him at his word, and the 100 marks gave him bread and water three days in the week for a period of six weeks. It put a stop to such remarks for the future. Of course, however, cases occurred in which punishment by fine was inadequate. On two occasions we had recourse to the ultima ratio of a public flogging, inflicted either by, or in the presence of Mr. Baker, and myself, and with all the solemnity of form and circumstance with which we could invest it. I have once before publicly recorded my conviction that inflicted in this way, it is calculated to exert a sound moral influence on the sufferer and the other boys; The offences in these two instances were a fifth attempt to abscond, and offering personal violence to the School-master in the School. For other bad, though less serious offences, we resorted to confinement in a light cell; occasionally, but very rarely extending to as much as three or four days; (and then usually, principally for safe custody, when a boy had attempted to abscond,) for twenty-four hours is ordinarily found sufficient to reduce the most refractory to order.

In the infliction of the other severer punishments from time to time required, I endeavored, as far as possible, to establish a moral relation between the punishment and the offence. Thus one punishment, and one which I found very sensibly felt, was confinement to the walk in front of the School-room, and the offices, sometimes strictly to the School-room itself at all times but the hours of work : and this was generally inflicted on boys who attempted to abscond, or were guilty of any act of dishonesty ; and I endeavored to impress upon all the boys the moral necessity of it, as the delinquents had proved that they could no longer be trusted out of sight.

When not subjected as a punishment to this restraint, they enjoyed a considerable amount of liberty. In fact, at one time, I can hardly say that they had strictly any bounds at all, except that they were not allowed to cross the canal, which is about 200 yards below the School to the east, and were required, as a general rule, not to wander to any great distance from the School, for which in fact, they had no time. The situation of the Institution, being so entirely in the country, and the small number of boys there at first, rendered this amount of liberty possible, without much danger of its abuse. But with increasing numbers it became necessary considerably to curtail it. On Sunday afternoon, too, some of them, those in whom I could place sufficient confidence, were allowed to extend their rambles much further ; the rest being taken for a walk by the Bailiff or School-master in turn. Indeed when the School was smaller, all had the same liberty as I afterwards conceded to the best alone, and even then I very seldom found it abused. In fact the only occasion on which advantage was taken of it by any boy to attempt to abscond was in the case of a boy who made the attempt five times, and who presented the most unsatisfactory material for any moral impression of any inmate of the School. I should not, however, advocate the general adoption, even if possible, of such a liberty as this, nor adopt it myself again, even if circumstances were again to become similar with me.

Now they are occasionally permitted to watch a cricket match, perhaps in Mr. Baker's park, to join a coursing party, or to endeavor to catch a few rabbits, when it is necessary that they should be destroyed ; and when the Royal Agricultural Society's Exhibition was held at Gloucester, I took them all with the Bailiff and School-master to the show-yards, where they conducted themselves very well.

I encouraged in most instances their acquisition of property, and the appropriation of their working tools. At first I had grievous complaints of their pilfering from one another, (especially in regard to the produce of some gardens, with which I endeavored to interest them, not however very successfully ;) but being quite unable to remedy this, I not unwillingly left it to redress itself, as it soon did ; endeavoring to deduce from it how unbearable would be the state to which society must come in time, if dishonesty were not repressed by law. For thieving in an ordinary way there was of course but little temptation or opportunity in such a School as ours ; but surrounded as it is by a number

of orchards, and allowed as the boys were a great deal of liberty, especially on Sunday afternoons, it might have been expected that we should have had many cases of pilfering apples to punish. But though we certainly had some, yet on the whole they were very few; and from a large pear tree, on the lowest part of which was their favorite seat, a good crop of pears was secured; though, not to make their virtue too great, it must be added that it was in sight of the Bailiff's house. I fear that they have little sense of the moral delinquency of theft, at least in this regard; for though I made apparently a considerable impression on the first occasion, when three boys, who had been detected, *voluntarily* confessed, (i.e. before I had heard from the Bailiff,) and appeared moved even to tears by what I said to them upon the occasion, I had reason subsequently to suspect that they had anticipated by this demonstration of feeling escaping any punishment, which, however, I did not think it right that they should do; and I certainly discovered that the boy who was most demonstrative in his contrition upon that occasion, possessed a marvellous aptitude for calling up sobs and tears at will.

But accurate as one's general principles and well arranged as one's system may possibly be, it is by no means an easy matter to act up to them in the various cases and with the various tempers and dispositions, with which in a school of many boys one must have to deal. Thus even the very promptitude of punishment which in most cases is so salutary, is in a few instances better exchanged for more winning and patient treatment.

I have had a very remarkable instance of this, in the case of one boy, while another, I am inclined to think, would have been benefited by the adoption from the very first of a far stricter and more uncompromising discipline than I unfortunately did employ. The case of the first, is briefly as follows:—My meeting with him at all was, so to speak, the merest chance. I happened to be paying a visit to an establishment in London, from which I was to get two boys, the day after he was brought there, (an elder brother having been received there some time before.) The manager of the Institution asked whether I could receive him too, as he could not for his age be kept there. His history was so touching a one that I could not refuse.

His only surviving parent was a step-mother, whom his father had married shortly after the death of the boy's own mother, the father himself dying before he was much more than a baby. While he lived he seems to have taken some pains to send the boy to school, but after his death the step-mother seems to have entirely neglected him, and left him to go his own way. He was first taught the art of thievery by a brother, a few years older than himself, his only real brother, who afterwards being confined in the house of detention, Westminster, committed suicide by leaping from the mast in the yard there. This brother, and his fate afterwards, seemed to have had a great influence on his mind, at first for anything but good, but as I shall have to state, it became the occasion of one of the most interesting conversations I ever had with him or any of the other boys.

He has told me that he was very much frightened the first time, (he was then only nine years old), that his brother took him with him.

They used to get into houses at night and steal from under people's pillows while they slept, and his brother used to make him carry the things they had taken to "harden" him to it. He had been in prison, as nearly as I could make out, eight or ten times, principally for picking pockets, at which he seems to have been most adroit, occasionally substituting for a heavy sum of gold he may have taken from the pocket of a person coming from the Bank, where he used to lie in wait, an equal weight of stone that she (women were his usual prey) might not miss it till she got home.

In prison he seems to have been most refractory and insolent, his experience of it having taught him only this, that in every instance a boy comes out of it, especially after his first committal, "harder" than he went in; and he was only kept at the Institution to which he was taken by careful watching against his escape.

I got him therefore thoroughly untamed; and from his own confession he planned his escape the day after he came down. He never really attempted it, however, but once, in company with three more, when they were all brought back in a few hours. I had little or no trouble with him for some time. The first serious difficulty that occurred being about four months after the opening of the school, and it was in some conversation I had with him in connection with the punishment I was then obliged to inflict, that I was led to believe that he was most likely to be won by patience and a system of treatment more of a moral than of a physical nature. There seemed to be a depth and an openness of character in him beyond what I could ever see in any of the rest, who were almost of necessity, from want of any thought or earnest desire to do right, kept in order by the certainty that disobedience would be visited by a prompt punishment. My patience, however, was I admit severely taxed; and I was sometimes driven to confine him, which I found the best punishment as it gave him opportunity to think; and as often his evident penitence and anxiety to do well gave me encouragement to bear with him again. When he came to me he was absolutely ignorant of the merest principles of Christian truth, though I knew that he was taught, or the attempt at least was made to teach him, in prison, but I suppose having never given his mind to it at all, he had never apprehended what was taught. Under me he made considerable progress in the facts of Old and New Testament History, and I was therefore surprised to find at last how little he seemed really to have taken in intelligently some of those facts, with which I had supposed he was well acquainted. I had other difficulties also to struggle against in the evil influence which one or two of his school-fellows exercised, especially over his religious feelings, by persuading him of that which they had picked up from among the grown-up criminals of London—that religion was a mere invention of men to keep the world quiet, an idea which, when he was in one of his disturbed moods, he would openly broach with a bold profanity which was beyond everything alarming and disheartening, and yet with an inconsistency, of which he was quite unconscious, he would at the same time declare that he never wished to be good, that he might go when he died to that place of torment where he said he was sure his brother had.

gone before. It was on this subject that the conversation began which seemed to open his eyes to the reality and practical bearing of those truths which before had never reached his real understanding.

He came into my room one night and asked me, in connection with something which had passed in the School-room before, if I thought his brother was in hell, and if he should see him if he went there himself when he died, for he wanted to see him again. I told him of course, at first, that we could not possibly know anything about this, that God was merciful, and his brother had never had the means which others had had, of hearing what was right. In the long conversation which followed, I had to combat his theoretical disbelief in Religion, or the very existence of a God, supported upon the commonest shallow theories of the chance origin of all things. I was led indeed to give, as it might have been, to an untought heathen, (so new did it all seem to him when presented as a reality) a short outline of the plan of salvation set forth in the Gospel, with the final account which all men must give in their bodies, on the last day. It was something indeed in this last idea, which seemed to strike him as a reality for the first time. I was amazed, and beyond words, thankful to see the vivid impression which this made on his mind, and with what hope he seemed to seize upon the belief, that, in that judgment, God will not remember the evil deeds of those who truly believe in Christ Jesus, and, being sorry for their sins, evince their sorrow by earnest endeavors to avoid them for the time to come. He really seemed then to *feel* what he had often heard from me, with the rest, on these subjects; they had at last become to him more than mere words.

From that night I felt that by God's help, I had rescued this one at least of my little flock from sin and death. For many weeks the influence of these newly awakened principles was plain; remarked even by the other boys; he was never heard to swear, was obedient and attentive to all that was said to him, even where it was the hardest trial to him, in the lessons in school. One more trait in his character I will mention, as possibly interesting to others as well as to myself. His half brother was about to leave the Institution in London, whence he had come to me, for Australia. I had promised, if possible, to let him see him before he went. One night, (this was some time before the conversation to which I have alluded above) he said he wished to speak to me about going home. He had been for some time previously, in a very restless and intractable state, so that I felt it would be impossible with anything like safety to allow him to go then. However, I thought it might do him good to talk to him, so I had him into my room and asked him what he wanted—to go home for good, or merely to see his brother? He confessed openly, that if I let him go, he never meant to come back again, but to return to his old ways. For more than an hour did I argue and plead with his better nature; it was long before I could get him to listen to me, but I had met that in him, and prevailed at last before; so I persevered, and at last, by God's help (for I should be impious not to acknowledge it in this case) I prevailed this time also, so much so, that I parted with him in a few days, for London, fully confident

that, his word being pledged to it, he would, and he did, return before Christmas day : and though I know that he again became very restless while in London, and must confess it was an experiment which was too hazardous ever to be tried again, I am fully convinced that he felt, when he left me, the sacredness of his word, and was inspired by the hope of better things, really to have determined to do what I had exhorted him to do, come and give us another trial, I having pledged myself that I would be as patient and forbearing with him after, as I had been before. When I relinquished my former close connection with the School, I received him into my own service ; while there, he had strength to withstand the temptation of a sudden meeting with one of his old companions, which he told us of as soon as it had occurred, and for some time his conduct was perfectly satisfactory. At last, however, owing to his not having quite sufficient employment, and a change in the house, he became restless and not satisfactory in his conduct, and at his own desire I dispatched him to Melbourne in Australia, with every hope from his demeanor at parting with him, that he would do well, a hope which I have not relinquished, though (from his not being able to read or write well, I suppose) nothing has been heard of him. To return then to what I said at first ; here was a case in which a very peculiar, and with most boys an impracticable method of treatment, proved at last eminently successful.

With another class of mind, it proved entirely the reverse.—One of the other London boys was a nice quiet looking, well mannered and well spoken boy, apparently fond of learning, and more particularly of books of a religious character ; I may mention, as an instance, that he asked me for some sermons that I used to preach to the boys on Sunday evenings, in winter. This boy prepossessed me, not unnaturally (from my inexperience) by the quiet and orderly regularity of his conduct, and his apparent determination to leave his old way of life. His story too, that he was turned out of doors by his step-father, and after trying to get work, or admission into the Union, in vain, was driven into crime for his bread, tended to confirm that impression. But I have now very considerable doubts, whether a great portion of that story was not false. From his own accounts afterwards, I know that he was at one time in good employment, at a stationer's in London ; and that *while he lived at home* he was in the habit of picking pockets ; as he related to the Bailiff one day, how he had picked the pocket of some woman in the fair, and when he came home, found his mother had had her own pocket picked, and was so vexed about it, that he burst into tears. But, however this may have been, his conduct during the greater part of the time he spent at school, was outwardly most exemplary.

In fact for nearly a year I had not to punish him on more than one occasion and then only slightly ; though I certainly passed over, on account of his general good conduct, some things which I should have punished in other and worse behaved boys. The Bailiff indeed, who necessarily saw more of him than I did, early suspected him of duplicity to a great amount, and had discovered him, though unable to prove it, in telling a number of lies. On only one or two occa-

sions, however, could I detect any of that really passionate and determined temper which he subsequently proved that he possessed.—It was some time before I began to suspect its existence, so complete a command had he generally over his temper, so plausible were his explanations, so cool and deliberate his denials of any charges made against him. The first occasion, then, in which I fairly convicted him of a deliberate falsehood, was a great surprise and disappointment to me, though it failed to open my eyes to what I fear now was his true character; the assurance of this indeed only came gradually into my mind, though other circumstances little noticed at the time serve now to confirm it—I only gradually became persuaded that he was acting a part. The other circumstances were the fact I learned in the conversation with the boy above detailed, that he and another had been the means of instilling those infidel doubts into his mind, still I only came gradually to perceive that I had never seen to the bottom of his mind, and to desire to break up that tranquil surface which had concealed it so long and so well. But the time came at last, he began to be discontented at my not doing what I had given him some hopes of, but was unable to do, in apprenticing him to a carpenter which was his great desire, and also at the other boy above mentioned, certainly far less exemplary in his conduct, having been provided with a situation before him. I hope I am not judging him now too harshly if I say, it seemed as if he began to despair of getting anything by an appearance of goodness, and so let his real nature appear; at all events he became more outwardly troublesome, took less pains to conceal his instigations of others in breaking rules, making a disturbance, &c., which he had before so cleverly done as to have escaped in my mind, though not in the Bailiffs, even suspicion, much more detection and punishment. At last he broke out into open rebellion and insolence to myself, for which I found it necessary to inflict a very severe punishment, rendered more severe by the great obstinacy he exhibited throughout. After this he seemed again to return to his former quietness; at his mother's express request I sent him home for a holiday, during which he regularly paid a visit every day to the manager of the institution from whom I had him, and whom he had also managed to deceive, and returned of his own accord to school. How long this would have gone on I cannot tell, if he had found it as easy to deceive me now as he had before; but I had again to punish him, though slightly, for instigating other boys to play in school. Shortly after I engaged with a new master to assist me, who soon detected him in the same offence, and for resistance to whose orders and insolence on the first occasion I had again to punish him myself, and on another occasion he punished him, though slightly, with two or three strokes with the cane (which, as I said, I have found necessary for the very refractory in school.) Whether he then found out that he could not hope to escape, if he behaved badly, undetected and unpunished, as I must believe, or whether anything else led him on, I cannot certainly say, but the next day he managed to effect his escape, and we have never since been able to learn anything positive about him. He carried off with him another boy, a thorough specimen of a child quite spoiled by the ill-judging weakness



of a mother—who had baffled all my efforts—who had made previously four attempts to escape—whom from the first I had looked upon, from the extreme shallowness of his mind, as one of the least hopeful of any whom I had in charge. As a confirmation of the generally acknowledged fact of the debasing moral effect which an impure life has upon the whole moral nature, I may remark that in both these cases, and also in another somewhat similar whom I also lost, I found that the boys had become prematurely initiated into and familiarised with the company of the worst of the other sex—and the last especially manifested an extraordinary delight in associations and language of the most disgusting character.

I venture to add further that I think this fact bears somewhat upon the question of limiting the age of admission into Reformatory Schools below the ordinary age of adolescence—I base this upon the conviction that in connection with the physical change which takes place at that period, a material change of mind and character occurs, which soon puts the individual above the class of and beyond the methods adapted for dealing with boys—united with the fact, as above stated, of the premature manliness of the three boys to whom I refer. At all events, whether I am correct or not in tracing the connection which I here suppose, I feel no hesitation in deprecating as the result of my experience, any extension of the limit in age which is now fixed, unless it be such an extension, say up to nineteen, as will include a large class who are now excluded, not on any definite principle, from the benefits of Reformatory Institutions aided by the state, and will compel the foundation of Institutions with such modifications as will be suitable for the reception of older inmates—and to which inmates found too old for the present existing schools might be transferred.

In addition to these and some other boys who regularly absconded from the school, others were lost by being removed by, or allowed to return to their friends at request, there not being then, as there is now, any direct legal power of detention over them. The first boy who was permitted, under more favorable circumstances, to leave for his own home, without any *definite* provision for his immediate employment having been made, had nearly been added to the list of failures. I had allowed him to return home under the impression that the great improvement which certainly did appear in him was sufficiently permanent to prevent his again willingly returning to his former life: but his idle habits were not, as it proved, overcome; and though he never returned to the extreme state of degradation from which his admission into the school had rescued him, he got into bad company, and bad habits, and finally into prison, when I prevailed on him to return to the school again.

In the two first cases, besides that of the boy I had taken into my own service, in which a decidedly successful result was produced, the boys left this country altogether, as emigrants. But a fair average success has attended the plan originated by Mr. Baker, of apprenticing boys to farmers or unskilled trades without a premium, and on such terms that a small but yearly-increasing weekly payment is made by the master to a savings' bank, the accumulation to be for the *boy's* benefit, if he leaves at the end of his term with a

good character ; for the school, if he is discharged or returned to the school with a bad one. The employer is always requested to return the boy to the school, if he becomes troublesome, or himself becomes unable, from any cause, to keep him ; and as this is looked upon by the boys as a great punishment, if it were always acted upon, and known to be so, it would afford a great security for the boys' good behaviour.

The master, however, has not always either the will to take the trouble or the power to fulfil this part of the covenant, when boys are actually dismissed the school on entering his service, so that I have been inclined very frequently to wish that "provisional liberation," which, as it appears in substance in the Scotch Reformatory Acts, is not unknown to our law, should be introduced into the English Legislation on this question, in the shape of an enactment, that boys might be discharged from schools provisionally, for a time, on the undertaking of any competent person in sureties, to a certain amount ; the recognisance not to be estreated by the boy's absconding, unless it were shown that the boy had previously misbehaved, and the surety had failed to return him to the school. The penalty of absconding to be cancelling of any period of time spent in service, and reversion to the original sentence of detention ; the remainder of the sentence due on the day of provisional liberation to be counted as still due, if, at any period within the time specified in the terms of such liberation, the boy absconds or misconducts himself so as to be sent back to the school, with a period of imprisonment for the offence besides.

The early age at which, under the existing general practice with regard to sentences, the periods of detention must usually terminate, make a provision of a description similar to the one here proposed an almost essential sequel to the present law. To dismiss a boy indeed, at thirteen or fourteen, who was sent to you at ten or eleven, especially if he be one of those easily impressible subjects, on whom a permanent influence is the most difficult thing in the world to produce, would be, in but too many cases, to throw away the labor of the past three years. There are certainly cases where the strength of character which is sometimes exhibited even at that age, would afford good hopes of a boy's retaining the impression which he had received, if ordinary care were taken as to the position in which he were placed on leaving the school. But these cases are rare, and there really does seem a serious question, as to the chances which await many of our present scholars, on their leaving, so prematurely, our schools.

The rarer cases to which I alluded above will be readily recognised by the managers of all Reformatory Schools, as presenting at first the most difficult and intractable material on which they have to work, characterised by their violent temper, and obstinate energy of will, under their first treatment. It is such who, when they are subdued and won by patient pains, that are the most hopeful in the end ; while the majority, the passionless, easy-going boys, who are neither bad nor good, and still more the very tractable and exemplary, as a rule, are the least hopeful of all. Of course, it will hap-

pen that a boy received into the school as a refuge, presents the outward characteristics of these last, with inwardly a steady inclination to good; but such form usually an exception to the rule. And as the outward quietude and ordinary tractability of a boy when first admitted to the school, is no true index of his real character, so his demeanor, while in prison, is as little an index of what he will exhibit when transferred from the prison to the school: indeed those who have been the quietest and best behaved in prison, are often the most violent and intractable in the school.

But there is one particular which marks peculiarly the criminal class of boys (as I have been told the same is found among the inmates of our Female Penitentiaries), in which they are all nearly alike, and with which, it is, in nearly all cases, equally difficult to deal—an inveterate habit of lying; as one of them once told me, any one of them would tell a lie if they thought they could get anything by it; and even where there was no apparent advantage to be gained, it seemed almost more natural for them to say what was untrue, than what was true; and the ingenuity and plausibility of the tales which some of the most uninventive looking boys have told me, has occasioned me no little surprise. It is a great thing gained, indeed, when one can induce them, even if it be not always from the most disinterested motives, to disclose, in answer to enquiries, the name of an offender among them; much more when one can secure the habit regarded as a duty, of their making known any attempted or contemplated infraction of a rule, or endeavor to escape. The love of power, importance, and influence with the master among the bigger boys, and the hope of the latter among the lesser ones, of course will, in almost all such cases, have, perhaps, a more than legitimate influence; while, on the other side, the certainty of punishment, if they are discovered to have been accessaries before the fact, I have found to be very useful in producing the same result. Failing, however, to arrive at the knowledge of the offenders through confession elicited by such means as these, I occasionally suspended the whole school from reward, with the same result. Though in some cases, I believe, where only a few were concerned, the partially innocent has submitted to punishment rather than break his notion of honor, by confessing the name of the real culprit.

I have already adverted to the decided difference that appears between the boys from larger towns, especially London, and those from country districts. There is an intensity about the former, which characterizes them in a very marked manner. In the country indeed, one does not find those large associations of thieves of all ages, and many of them men of considerable talent, that exist in our largest towns, and therefore, among other points of difference, the intellect, in the one class of our young criminals, is much more active and more educated than in the other. It is not surprising, therefore, that among the regular practised thieves from London, I discovered what I had not anticipated, the existence of a systematic and theoretical, as well as practical infidelity, which they had picked up from their elder associates. My experience has not shewn me any approach to a similar evil in the simpler, but

perhaps equally mischievous boys, coming from the country or country towns. On the contrary, strong sectarian prejudices, especially as Protestants or Roman Catholics, many of them rather amusingly, because very ignorantly, display. Of the general outlines of religious truth, I have found very few indeed, comparatively, wholly ignorant at the age at which they came to me. But having learned it as a task at School, it is very hard indeed to interest them in such teaching at all; the least difficulty existing where they do come, devoid of religious instruction altogether. The time for teaching indeed generally is to most of them, the most trying period of the day. The enforced stillness, their utter distaste to which, by inducing very many of them to play truant, originally led them into crime, the call upon them to fix their attention and the irksomeness of beginning the rudiments of reading, under the ordinary system, especially to the older ones, all oppose great obstacles to doing much in this way. Some things, especially, when orally taught, I found they are quick enough to apprehend; more than boys of their average age in our common schools. But the ordinary reading books suitable from the shortness of the words in which they are written, to their reading powers, are miserably behind the requirements of their minds. A set of reading books adapted to Ragged and Reformatory Schools, is a want which I long to see supplied. I think I have now touched upon most of the points, which attracted my attention during the time of my first experiment at Hardwicke, and which have been confirmed, and in a few particulars added to by the experience which I have been privileged to gain elsewhere. There is indeed one very important point, on which, however, I do not feel competent to speak, the results of the boys' labor in contributing to their support; my own opinion, adopted after I had been about two years at Hardwicke, was, that a boy is incapable of performing under any circumstances, sufficient amount of agricultural labor to provide himself with food. With grown men it is different; that they can do so, has been abundantly proved. But when one considers the necessary deductions from the working time of a boy at one of these Schools, and the necessity for finding work not always remunerative all the year round, I am at present little sanguine of a success of an approach to which I have only in one instance heard. So here I think my experiences must end, and in conclusion I can have no better wish, for this simple narrative of ideas and actions, than that it may be of some use to those who are engaged in a similar undertaking, or if I could anticipate that it might induce any one, who, like myself may be blessed with leisure and means, to enter upon a work, anxious indeed at times, but with many a bright light between, in which at least, he may be able in all humility to feel that he is endeavoring to offer an acceptable thank-offering to God the Father of all mercies, for all that he has received at His hands, by devoting himself to His service, in striving after the salvation of some poor little ones of those for whom His Son died.

The following interesting letter, shews the position of the Roman Catholic Reformatory Schools in England :—

Dear Sir Robert Throckmorton—I cannot do better than address you as Chairman of the meeting held last winter at Birmingham for founding a Catholic Reformatory at Mount St. Bernard, and over which you so ably presided, in order to make a few observations upon the progress of the undertaking, and the prospect of its speedy success.

Three weeks ago I had the opportunity of seeing the Colonie Agricole of Mettray, in France, the first, I believe, of this kind of Institution which was founded; and I also had the pleasure of seeing its founder, Mons. De Metz, from whom I obtained a great deal of information about the system on which the Colony of Mettray was founded and conducted with the most undeniable beneficial results. The success of the system is clearly expressed by the significant fact that out of every 100 boys sent to Mettray 90 are reformed. Mons. De Metz has been in England since then, and I have had further opportunity of conversation with him with especial reference to the Mount St. Bernard Reformatory, and I am desirous that the opinion he expressed in its favour should be generally known.

In my humble opinion a very wise step has been taken in discarding the name of Reformatory School, and substituting for it that of Agricultural Colony, a title which was entirely approved of by the Home Secretary, at the suggestion of the Government Inspector, Mr. Perry; and it is accordingly styled, in the paper of certification, "The Agricultural Colony at the Abbey of Mount St. Bernard." There is something grating to the feelings in the title Reformatory, while, on the other hand, that of Agricultural Colony will not preserve in the minds of the boys any idea of being sent there as criminals, but will rather stir up a sentiment of honourable pride and interest in the Institution which they will never lose.

The reasons assigned by Mons. De Metz for his warm approbation of a Colony undertaken by the Cistercian Monks, and for his sanguine expectation of its success under their superintendence, are principally three :—

1st.—That religion was the basis, for without it no human power can work out the reform of criminals. It has been well observed that without religion the reform of *prisons* may be effected, but without religion we shall never arrive at the reform of *prisoners*.

2.—That the teachers, instructors, and masters of trades, were themselves brothers (of the third order), receiving no stipend, but serving as unpaid volunteers in this noble work, for the glory of God and the love of souls, desirous to devote themselves wholly to the active work of reforming others.

3.—That the *example* of the Monks cannot fail to exercise a great influence over the boys, who will see that they derive no gain whatever from the Colony, but are themselves daily employed in the cultivation of their own lands, working harder and faring poorer than even the colonists themselves, who will soon learn to love and respect those who have sacrificed themselves for their benefit.

A fourth reason which Mons. De. Metz pointed out is, that under the care of Religious, who receive no remuneration, but perform the laborious task for the love of God and their neighbour, a colony can be established and maintained at a much less cost than one which is conducted by paid superintendents and teachers, which is a matter of some consideration.

Another great advantage in favour of the Colony at Mount St. Bernard is its *locality*. This is a point on which Mons. De Metz lays considerable stress, considering it to be highly conducive to the success of these Institutions that they should be placed in the country, in a retired situation, to avoid, as much as possible, communication with towns, which is not likely to prove of any benefit to them, and because in the country there is more freedom and less need of restraint, and fewer temptations to boys who are, as it were, prisoners on parole. Moreover, there is no doubt that the health of the boys would be better in the open country, employed in agricultural labour, than in the confined precincts of a town school.

All these advantages are remarkably well combined at Mount St. Bernard, where the Colony is placed in a retired position, with a great extent of uncultivated land around, distant from towns, apart from villages, in the very picturesque district of Charnwood Forest. The soil is sufficiently easy to work (which is very important for boys), and the climate is particularly healthy. I regret that Mons. De Metz was unable to visit the Colony during his stay in England, or I am sure he would have approved very highly of its situation. He had fixed a day for going to visit it, but was prevented by indisposition.

With so many important elements of success, and such favourable means already existing to work them, it may justly be hoped that the Mount St. Bernard Colony may become one of the first in England. A staff of ten brothers has been organized, and the Institution has been certified by the Government. The first colonist was sent there yesterday, I believe by the magistrates of Birmingham, and official notice has been received that several other boys will be sent very shortly. All that is wanted is the help and support of the public to provide the requisite funds.

At the meeting held at Birmingham last December—one of the most well-conducted, business-like meetings I ever attended—for which we were greatly indebted to your able presidency—it was resolved to purchase fifty acres of land adjoining the Abbey Farm, and for this purpose, as also for building and other initiatory expenses, to raise a sum of 4,000*l*. The land has been bought for 2700*l*., for which a deposit of 200*l*. was paid when the contract was entered into at the wish of the Committee of the Catholic Association at Birmingham, and the remaining 2500*l*. will have to be paid by the 1st of November next. The building is rapidly advancing, and part is even now ready. The Abbot has done all that is possible to expedite it, even, I believe, to the extent of advancing some of the Monastery funds; and it now remains for those who organized that meeting, and promoted the foundation of the Colony, to use their exertions to complete the sum of 4,000*l*. which they voted should be raised.

Up to the present moment I am informed that not 1000*l.* has yet been paid, and as it is important that the whole should be obtained before next November, I understand the Bishops of the four Midland dioceses—Birmingham, Northampton, Nottingham, and Shrewsbury—have requested Father John Jackson to proceed as soon as possible to the midland counties for the purpose of collecting donations and subscriptions.

The Colony has received the warm approbation of those Bishops who gave their active concurrence at the meeting, and no doubt will be equally supported by the cordial generosity and liberality of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, and all classes of the people.

Believe me to remain, dear Sir Robert Throckmorton,

Your's faithfully,

London, June 10, 1856.

CAMPDEN.

In our last RECORD we referred to the proposed plan of holding an exhibition of the various industrial products of the Reformatory Schools of the United Kingdoms. We subjoin an account of the exhibition, which we condense from *The Philanthropist*, of July 1st:—

The Industrial Exhibition, to which we called attention in our last number, was held at Willis's Rooms, on the 19th and 20th of June last. It was a happy thought on the part of the Reformatory and Refuge Union, to have an exhibition of the articles made by the inmates of some of the principal Reformatories and refuges of the country; and by carrying this thought out, they enabled the metropolitan public to judge of the progress the reformatory movement was making. Though we knew that many trades were being taught and many useful arts cultivated in several institutions, we were not prepared to see such results as were exhibited at Willis's rooms. The large room contained thirty stalls, on which was arranged various articles of human use, which had been made by the boys and girls of the following institutions: The Refuge for the Destitute, Royal Female Philanthropic, School of Discipline, Grotto Passage, Albert-street Refuge, London Reformatory, Brook-street Refuge, Maida Hill Refuge, Elizabeth Fry's Refuge, Training Refuge for Girls, Industrial Home, Bryan-street Refuge, Ragged School Shoe-black Society, Field-lane Night Refuge, Female Refuge and Cripples' Home, North West London Reformatory, Boys' Home, Wandsworth, St. Giles' and St. George's Refuges, Home in the East, Home for Female Children, Dolphin Court Girls' Refuge, Metropolitan Industrial Reformatory, Belvedere Crescent Ragged Factory, Britannia-court Refuge, Boys' Refuge, School for the Destitute, Paddington Home, East London Shoe-black Society, South London Shoe-black Society, Westminster Industrial School.

These institutions not only exhibited specimens of their manufacturers, but some of them sent specimens of their inmates, who were

shown in different parts of the room, plying the different avocations they had been taught.

Prince Albert, who has thought over the subject of exhibitions as much as any man living, and who fully appreciates their industrial and moral advantages, visited the exhibition soon after it was opened. He examined minutely the various articles shown, and in several cases expressed his admiration. He took several things, such as mats, with him to Buckingham Palace, to be used by the Royal household. A goodly number of the nobility and gentry visited the exhibition during the two days it was opened. Many articles were sold, and more were ordered to be manufactured. We might mention, for instance, that Mr. Sidney Turner ordered one hundred iron bedsteads from the North-west London Reformatory.

One peculiarity of the exhibition was the variety of articles produced. The Redhill Farm School sent specimens of grass and crops now growing, also specimens of bread, butter, and cheese, produced on the farm. In another part of the room was a copy of Dr. Gill's Commentary, in six large volumes, which had been printed by youths. But perhaps one of the most encouraging things present was the copy of a religious newspaper, printed and edited in one of the cities of the United States by two young men, who, having passed through prisons, and afterwards through a well-known reformatory in London, subsequently crossed the Atlantic, and commenced business for themselves. The copy of the said newspaper, which was shown to us, was well printed, and exhibited encouraging signs of editorial ability. We have since seen a letter written by one of the young men themselves, addressed to a gentleman in London who formerly felt an interest in their welfare. The letter was full of gratitude and hope. It is almost impossible accurately to estimate the benefit which the reformation of these two young men may be instrumental in conferring on the world. They were first rescued from a life of crime in England, taught a useful trade, and what is of greater importance, they were deeply impressed with those solid and lasting obligations of duty and right which conserve human society, and those saving truths of the Gospel, which can alone fit them for citizenship in the kingdom of our Lord. They then crossed the Atlantic, and found a home in the new world, and new associations, where they are now encouraged by new aspirations, sustained by new resolves. They are now printers, proprietors, and editors of a journal, which advocates social progress and inculcates religious duties. A curious fact in relation to the exhibition is worth recording. Almost every article of dress which Mr M'Gregor wore on the day of the exhibition was made by the boys or girls of various refuges and reformatories in England, Scotland, and Ireland. His trousers were made by the boys of the Boys' Refuge, Whitechapel; his waistcoat by the boys of the Ragged School, Cork; his shirt by the girls of the School of Discipline, Chelsea; his neck-tie was made by the girls of the Training Refuge, Lisson-street, London; his pocket-handkerchief by the girls of the Industrial School, Aberdeen; one sock by the St. Giles's Refuge, the other sock by the girls of the House of Refuge, Glas-



gow ; his pocket-book by the boys of the Home in the East ; his shoes by the boys of the Metropolitan Reformatory, Brixton ; and his shoes were blacked by the boys of the Ragged School Shoe-black Society, Maiden-lane, London.

Perhaps we shall be promoting the interests of the reformatory movement in general and the various institutions in particular, by mentioning in detail some of the articles made at some of the reformatories and their prices. We have insufficient materials by us to do this in anything like a lengthened or elaborate manner ; but we turn to the best account the facts and information we possess.

It will be a hopeful day in the history of this country when all our reformatories and industrial schools will be self-supporting ; and to bring them as closely as possible to that culminating point should be the desire of all interested in the movement. The poet has said, " A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind." The directors of schools, knowing the difficulties with which they have to contend, may imagine the condition of kindred institutions. We therefore think that reformatory schools should mutually buy from and assist each other. In one school, it may be, bedsteads are manufactured, and in another boots, and if by any arrangements bedsteads may be exchanged for boots, a mutual advantage might be realised. Imagine another case. Let us suppose a new reformatory school is about to be established in some part of the country. Boots, clothes, bedsteads, and other articles, are by necessity wanted ; and if they could be obtained at advantageous terms from any institution or institutions where such things are manufactured, it is desirable that they should. In order to facilitate any arrangements of the kind, we have deemed it advisable to give the following facts, which we collected at the Industrial Exhibition :—

**THE CRIPPLES' HOME**, Hill-street, Dorset-square, supplies bonnets, from 1s. to 6s. ; window mats, 4s. to 16s. ; boys' hats, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. ; table mats, at 4s. 6d. per dozen ; fancy baskets, 1s. 6d. and 4s. ; soup ditto, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. ; small mats, at 1s. each ; carriage baskets, 4s. and 4s. 6d. each.

**THE REFUGE FOR HOMELESS AND DESTITUTE BOYS**, 17, Arthur-street, St Giles's, sent the following articles to the exhibition : 1 screw dining table, price 14l. ; 1 double desk, 1l. 15s. ; 6 forms, at 6s. 6d. each, 1l. 19s. ; fancy mats, at 5s. 4s. 3s. and 2s. a pair ; 6 pair of boots, at 7s. 6d. per pair, 2l. 5s. ; 8 suits of cord, at 25s. per suit, 10l. ; specimen firewood, at 5s. per 100.

**THE REFUGE FOR DESTITUTE BOYS**, Paddington-street, Marylebone, supplies Mats, from 2s. 6d. upwards ; Church hassocks, 7s. each ; ottomans, from 4s. each ; wood, 4s. per hundred ; Shoe-black boxes, 3s. 6d. ; fire aprons, 5s. ; hair picking, at three-farthings per pound.

**THE HOME IN THE EAST** produces scrubbing brushes from 3s. to 14s. per dozen ; stoves from 5s. to 10s. each ; cocoa sacks for exportation, 42 inches by 29½, at 9½d. each, with 2½ discount, and boys' clothing at manufacturers' prices.

**THE KILMARNOCK REFORMATORY SCHOOL** sent the following articles : Collars from 2s. to 4s. 6d. ; pairs of sleeves, from 3s. 6d. to 7s. ; collar and a pair of cuffs, at 6s. ; handkerchief at 7s. These

articles attracted great attention, and works of a similar character might have sold to a considerable amount.

**THE BIRMINGHAM FREE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL** sent the following: one silk bed quilt at 4/.; 1 twill ditto at 1/ 11s. 6d.; hotwater tins, and covers at 10s. 6d.; knitted ottomans at 12s.; Boys' shoes at 10s.; girls' ditto, 8s.; a suit of boy's clothes at 1/ 8s. 9d. Book marks at 1s. 6d.

**THE PERTH LADIES' HOUSE OF REFUGE** sent boys' shirts at 2s. 4d.; gentlemen's socks at 1s. 6d. per pair; small ditto at 1s.; children's socks at 9d.; ladies open stockings at 2s. 5d.; pin cushions at 2s. each; hemming for quilts at 8d. per yard, &c.

**THE RED LODGE** sent the following to the Exhibition; Patchwork counterpane, 12s.; girl's frock (worn at Red Lodge), 4s. 6d.; bonnet, 1s. 6d.; lady's night dress, 7s. 6d.; gentleman's shirt, 6s.; boy's Sunday shirt 3s.; striped shirt, 2s. 6d. (or 2s. 3d. each per dozen); unbleached shirt, 2s. (or 1s. 9d. each per dozen); pair worsted stockings, 1s. 10d.; two pair girl's cotton at 1s., 3s., 10d.; pair worsted socks, at 1s. 9d. and 1s. 1d.; samplers, 2s. 6d. each; Book-markers, 6d. each; crochet pincushion, 1s. 6d.; two knitted mats, at 1s., 3s., 6d.; two pair child's fine merino socks, at 1s. 2s.

**THE SCHOOL OF DISCIPLINE, QUEEN'S-ROAD, WEST OCHLSEA.—**

	Materials.		Making.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Long-cloth shirt, fancy front	-	-	5	6 ... 8 0
Ditto, plain front	-	-	5	6 ... 2 6
Night-gown, worked trimming	-	-	12	0 ... 3 6
Ditto, with edged frills	-	-	11	0 ... 8 0
Dressing-jacket, worked trimming	-	-	13	6 ... 3 6
Ditto, lace trimming	-	-	7	6 ... 3 6
Chemise, 12s. 6d. each	-	-	9	6 ... 3 0
Gentlemen's collars	-	-	0	6 ... 0 4
Baby's shirts	-	-	1	6 ... 0 6
Ditto blankets	-	-	4	7 ... 1 0
Ditto caps	-	-	1	6 ... 1 0

**PHILANTHROPIC FARM SCHOOL, RED HILL.—**List of articles exhibited:—

**Farm Produce**—One bundle Rye; one ditto rye-grass (Italian); two fleeces South Down wool; four lbs. butter; two cottage four pound loaves.

**Tailors' Shop**—School clothing, jacket, vest, trousers; emigration, coat, vest, trousers, ditto, working suit of fustian, jacket, vest, trousers.

**Shoemakers' Shop**—One pair strong water-tights; one pair ditto, with iron tread for digging; one pair light Bluchers; one pair light ditto, with iron tips and heels.

**Carpenters' Shop**—Two emigration boxes; two mallets; two carpenter's squares; two gauges: one panel gauge; one brick mould; one post and rail.

**Blacksmiths' Shop**—One hand hoe; one hay fork, nails, staples, holdfasts, chain and iron work.

**Brickmaking**—Four specimens of society bricks, unburnt state; four ditto, burnt in clamp.

**SALTLEY REFORMATORY.—Tailors' Shop**—Doeskin trousers, French fronts, at 1*l.* 2*s.*; superfine frock coat, 2*l.* 17*s.*; superfine doeskin trousers, 1*l.* 1*s.*; double-breasted cord jacket, 10*l.* 6*d.*; cord trousers, 6*s.* 6*d.*; cord waistcoat, 3*s.* 10*d.*; moleskin waistcoat, 3*s.* 6*d.*; grambone Oxonian jacket, 14*s.*—**Shoemakers' Shop**—Riding boots, at 1*l.* 15*s.*; Bordeaux calf Wellingtons, 1*l.*; English calf Wellingtons, 18*s.*; Balmeral shooting boots, 17*s.*; dress boots, 10*s.* 6*d.*; ladies' side springs, 10*s.*; boys' lace-ups, 8*s.* 6*d.*; police Wellington boots, 10*s.* 6*d.*; police Blucher boots, 7*s.*; morning slippers, 6*s.*; workhouse womens' boots, 7*s.*; workhouse girls' boots, 4*s.*; workhouse boys' boots, 5*s.*

**THE DUNDEE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.**—Door mats, from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 8*d.*; knee or housemaid mats, 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.*; onion nets, 6*d.* to 8*d.*; onion or cabbage nets, 10*d.*; garden net, 1*s.* to 2*s.* 8*d.*; salmon fishing net, 3*s.* 6*d.*; sheep net, 7*s.*; suit of boy's clothes, 10*s.*; pair of boy's boots, 6*s.*; girl's ditto, 6*s.*; packing boxes, 3*d.*; boy's shirts, 2*s.* 4*d.*; boy's shirtfronts, 10*d.*; cotton stockings, 10*d.* to 1*s.*; boy's socks, 1*s.*; cotton socks, 6*d.*

**BELVEDERE-CRESCENT RAGGED FACTORY.**—Parasol boxes of various kind, used by manufacturers to send their goods to retail dealers. Glove boxes for the same purpose. These are the staple articles manufactured, and the demand is constant. Fancy glove, handkerchief, envelope, and note-paper boxes, and ornamented boxes for the drawing-room, the prices ranging from 8*s.* 4*d.* to 3 guineas.

**WANDSWORTH.**—Boys' strong Blucher boots, from 6*s.* 6*d.*; men's Wellington boots from 13*s.*; lower ditto and clarence, from 8*s.*; ladies' leather boots, from 6*s.*; girls' leather boots, from 3*s.* 6*d.*; cloth goloshes, from 4*s.* 6*d.* **Tailoring**—Boy's cord suit, from 10*s.* 6*d.*; ditto fustian, from 9*s.*; men's cloth suit, from 30*s.*; gentlemen's plain cloth coats, from 30*s.*; frock coats, silk facings, from 30*s.*; over coats, from 23*s.*; waistcoats, from 7*s.*

**ROYAL FEMALE PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETY.**—Shirts, from 7*s.* to 12*s.*; chemise, 6*s.* to 10*s.*; invalid's sofa pockets, 5*s.* 6*d.*; gentlemen's collars, 8*s.* to 12*s.* per dozen; clergymen's bands and cases, 4*s.* 6*d.*; marked needlebooks, 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.*

**BOYS' REFUGE, Commercial-road, Whitechapel.—Carpentering**—Boxes of skittles, 4*s.* 6*d.*; boxes of bricks, polished, 6*s.*; shoeblack box, 9*s.*; boxes of letter clips (mahogany), 4*s.* 6*d.*; chest of drawers, 9*s.* 6*d.*; polished chairs, 13*s.*; plain ditto, 10*s.* 6*d.*; child's table, 8*s.*; glass stands, 5*s.* 6*d.* per dozen; reading desk, 8*s.* 6*d.*; shoemaker's stools, 8*s.* 6*d.*—**Tailoring**—Suits (best), at 17*s.* 6*d.*; suit, apprentices, at 82*s.* 9*d.*; suit of fustian, at 14*s.* 6*d.*—**Sailor's Outfit**—Jacket, 14*s.*; pair of duck trowsers, 2*s.* 9*d.*; pair of blue ditto, 6*s.*; serge shirt, 3*s.* 6*d.*—**Shoemaking**—Pair of gentlemen's shoes, 10*s.*; boys' Bluchers, 8*s.*; ladies' boots, 7*s.* 6*d.*; girls', 6*s.* 6*d.*

**MAIDA HILL REFUGE.**—Sailors' outfit, working men's clothes, paper bags for grocers, &c. Prices not attached.

**GLASGOW FEMALE REFUGE**—Shirts, from 2*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.*; socks, from 2*s.* upwards.

**GLASGOW MALE REFUGE.**—West of England doe trousers, 1*l.* 5*s.*;

embroidered vest, 12s. 6d.; twill grey Scotch tweed, 2l. 15s.; ditto shepherd tweed, 3l. 7s.; Highland dress sack, velvet, 1l. 18s. 6d.; boots and shoes of all kinds, from 5s. 6d. to 1l. 5s.; boys' Highland shoes, 8s.; boys' shoes, 8s. 6d.

**BROOK-STREET BAGGED SCHOOL, New-road.**—Open new and old hair, wool and cocoa-nut fibre, from  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 1d. They supply also bundles of wood.

**THE WESTMINSTER INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.**—Printers and paper bag makers. Per gross, from 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 1s. 4d. Printers' circulars, address cards, bill heads, &c., from 1s. per 100 to 5s. per 1,000.

**THE SALTLEY REFORMATORY, Birmingham,** sent a great variety of boots and shoes from 7s. up to 1l., and one pair of red morocco slippers was much admired by the Prince.

**THE WANDSWORTH REFORMATORY** sent a variety of tailoring and carpenter's work—the latter of which excited great admiration.

**THE BLOOMSBURY REFUGE** sent needlework of a variety of descriptions and various prices. The list of articles was too long for insertion in this number.

A conversazione was held at Willis's Rooms on the first evening of the Exhibition, at which the friends and members of the Reformatories and Refuge Union attended. The following passages from the report of the meeting are interesting:—

Mr. Macgregor then gave the following account of the metropolitan institutions: My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen, it was difficult, till lately, to ascertain the names of the metropolitan institutions. Those who had laboured for ten years in the cause, were unacquainted with the names of some of them. I have been told, and it really seems to have been true of these metropolitan Reformatories, that when vultures are not seen in a country where they live, you have only to put on the ground a leg of mutton, and go away, and you will soon see far-off specks upon the horizon—the scent of their prey has called forth the vultures. (Hear, hear). And so it was with these institutions. (Laughter). We did not know even the names of some of them; but we had no sooner announced that we had money to give away, than they all came forth. (Renewed laughter). There are four for adult males, with 217 inmates and room for 163 more; ten for boys, with 315 inmates and room for only two more; four for adult females, with 148 inmates and room for twenty-eight more; nine for girls, with twenty-five inmates and room for seventy-six more. Besides these, there are three Shoe Black Societies, which employ 135 boys, and the Westminster Refuge, which employs thirty, making a total of thirty-one metropolitan institutions, with 931 inmates and room for 359 more. (Loud cheers). The first three institutions in London were started for girls; but in 1852 alone, there were six refuges founded. The whole of these institutions, thirty-two in number, are described—each occupying a page—in the pamphlet which is now in the hands of most of you. These institutions are for all

classes; some of them are for those who have been long in crime, and others are to prevent those falling into it who are placed in the way of temptation. Some afford only temporary shelter and temporary employment. Some are for cripples, some are for the young, and some for the mature criminal, and one of these, I believe, even shelters two babies; but although distinguished from each other by so many differences, there are two points of similarity common to all of them; in the first place, they all of them teach the Bible to the inmates; and, in the second place, they are all disposed to receive a cheque upon Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smith. (Hear, hear, and laughter). We shall always encourage them in the one, and we intend, on this occasion, to gratify them in the other. (Hear, hear). There is one exception, however, and that is the Red Shoe Black Society, which is self-supporting. (Cheers). This meeting arises out of the meeting at the Mansion House, which we owe to the Brixton Reformatory, and the exertions of Mr. Robert Hanbury, Mr. Gurney Hoare, and two or three others. We have collected the sum of £2,600, of which £1,600 will be distributed this evening. The institutions whose inmates are chiefly adults, are less supported by the public than the new institutions for boys; we have thought it better, therefore, to assist them more liberally than we do the others. We shall, therefore, give to these institutions for every adult, male or female, £2, and for every boy or girl, £1 10s., and accommodation provided, but not occupied, will be taken into consideration. You will excuse me appearing in this morning costume, and allow me to inform you that the two separate articles of wearing apparel which I have now upon me, are respectively the produce of ten separate reformatory institutions. (Loud cheers). These institutions are spread over the country. (Hear, hear.) Let us endeavour to keep up these institutions; we have certainly received pleasure, profit, and instruction from them, and let us recollect that it is more blessed to give than to receive. (Applause.)

The Earl of Shaftesbury said: My worthy friend, Mr. Macgregor, has, I think, hardly made it sufficiently clear that he is 'figged out,' as the phrase goes—(laughter)—in ten articles of clothing, manufactured in ten different Reformatories, situate in ten different districts of Great Britain and Ireland. (Applause). We will now proceed to the distribution of the fund to the representatives of the various institutions. The list was as follows:—Refuge for the Destitute, Dalston, 160*l*.; Royal Female Philanthropic (Miss Nene), 92*l*.; School of Discipline (Mrs. Shaw), 69*l*.; Albert-street Refuge (Mr. Williams), 58*l*.; Maida Hill (Mr. Pearson), 18*l*.; Elizabeth Fry's Refuge, 35*l*.; Refuge for Destitute Girls, Lisson-street, 52*l*.; Industrial Home, Peckham, 18*l*.; Bryan-street Refuge (Mr. Worth), 34*l*.; Cripples' Home, 43*l*.; N. W. London Reformatory (Mr. Bowyer), 116*l*.; St. Giles' and St. Georges' Reformatory (Mr. Willis), 107*l*.; Home for Female Children, Dacre-street, 60*l*.; Home in the East, Old Ford, Bow, 61*l*.; Dolphin-court Refuge, 29*l*.; Metropolitan Refuge, Brixton, 114*l*.; Belvidere Crescent Refuge, 38*l*.; Britannia-court Refuge, 16*l*.; Boys' Refuge, White-chapel, 150*l*.; School for Destitute, Coburg-row, 18*l*.; Paddington

Home, 30l ; Grotto-passage Refuge, Paddington-street, 24l ; Brook-street Refuge, 24l ; Field-lane Night Refuge, 40l ; Westminster Industrial School, 20l ; South London Shoeblack Society, 20l ; East London Shoeblack Society, 20l ; London Refuge, 85l

The following important minute, of the Committee of Council on Education, will be read with interest, by all advocates of the Reformatory Principle :—

At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, on the 2nd of June, 1856, the Lords of the Committee on Education of Her Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council, resolved to continue the grants at present made in aid of field gardens and workshops annexed to common elementary day schools, but as regards "ragged or reformatory schools," to cancel all existing minutes, and to provide as follows (no school being admissible to aid under this minute, unless it be industrial in its character, and unless the scholars be taken exclusively from the criminal or abandoned classes) :—

1. To pay half the rent.
2. To pay one-third of the annual cost of tools and of raw material for labour.
3. To make grants towards the cost of books, maps, and apparatus, upon the same terms as to other schools.
4. In order to encourage the preparation of suitable schoolmasters for employment in such institutions, to grant the sum of £35 to the treasurer of any reformatory school, in respect of every person qualified as next undermentioned, who shall have been boarded, lodged, and trained, as a master in such reformatory school during a period of twelve months, viz. :
  - (a). All teachers of common elementary day schools holding certificates of merit, or registered.
  - (b). All teachers of workhouse schools holding certificates of efficiency.
  - (c). All students in normal colleges under inspection, who shall have resided therein not less than one year, and shall have successfully passed the examination at the end of the year before Her Majesty's inspectors of schools.

Their Lordships also resolved to reimburse to the said treasurer any sum not exceeding £6, which it may have been found necessary to advance for the purpose of travelling or personal expenses to such persons in training.

The conditions of all such grants to be :

- (a). That the reformatory contains at least forty inmates, and be sanctioned or certified by the Secretary of State, under the Acts 17 and 18 Vict., c. 74 and c. 86.
- (b). That Her Majesty's inspectors of schools recommend the school, from year to year, as a suitable place in its character and arrangements for receiving masters into training for reformatory schools.
- (c). That payment of the grant be made by quarterly instalments ; and that the same certificates of good conduct be required from the

principal of the institution on behalf of each person in training, as are now required in the case of Queen's scholars.

5. To grant half the salary agreed to be paid by the managers to every master and to every assistant master, in any ragged or reformatory school, in the following ratio:—

For any number of inmates not exceeding 25, 1 master; between 25 and 50, 1 master, 1 assistant.

An additional assistant to be allowable for every 25 additional inmates above 50; and an additional master (instead of an assistant) for the first 25 inmates after every 100; these allowances giving 1 master and three assistants as the ordinary staff for every 100 inmates.

Every master, if untrained, must be upwards of 25 years old, and every assistant upwards of 18 years old. Industrial instructors may be counted as assistants.

If the salary agreed by the managers to be paid to an assistant exceed half of that of a master in the same school, the excess will not be reckoned in calculating the sum to be reimbursed by the Committee of Council on Education.

Her Majesty's inspectors of schools must report favourably in each year for which the grant is paid, with especial reference to the following points:—

(a). That the ability and character of the schoolmaster and assistants are satisfactory.

(b). That habits of obedience, cleanliness, and order, are enforced in the school.

6. To grant as capitation, upon every child (according to the number in average attendance during the year preceding the annual inspection), who is not paid for by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury under the Act 17 and 18 Vict., c. 86, the sum of 50s. per annum, provided that such child be fed at the school.

On Thursday, June 26th, Mr. Miles, M.P., and Rev. Sydney Turner, as a deputation from the National Reformatory Union, had an interview with Sir George Grey, on the subject of these Minutes:

The Deputation represented that the preliminary qualifications of the candidate for training had been fixed too high, and that they were likely to exclude many who would be morally and religiously fit for the work. This was more especially the case as regards workhouse schools. It would be far better to allow candidates of all classes to offer themselves; and to test them before they were admitted to training by a specific examination, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they were qualified to give elementary instruction.

Sir George Grey said, in reply, that the Committee of Education were anxious to raise the intellectual standard of the Reformatory teachers; and that in allowing all persons who

satisfied the inspector of the school of their character and ability to be employed as master and assistant (as the fifth clause of the minute did,) room enough had been left for all special cases of moral fitness. He added, that generally it would be sufficient if the candidate was able to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, and was fairly acquainted with history and geography. With regard to workhouse schools, he thought that the minute would be open to modification, so as to admit those who had certificates of *competency*.

The Deputation urged that the inspectors employed should be inspectors of workhouse schools, they being best acquainted with industrial training and domestic management.

Sir George Grey said, that they would, in all probability, be the inspectors commonly employed.

The Committee of Patronage of the National Reformatory Union issued a series of questions last July, to the Managers of Certified Reformatories, soliciting information as to the mode adopted by them for providing for the children who have left their schools. It is intended to issue a Report founded on the answers to these questions, which, it is hoped, will lay down some uniform plan of patronage capable of being worked throughout the whole kingdom.

In the Nineteenth Report of the Inspectors of Prisons, which has just been issued, several passages occur which bear strongly on the Reformatory question. Among them is a statement of the results of 29 cases of juvenile offenders sent to different Reformatories from the Liverpool prison. Out of this number, 7 have done well; 11 are in the way of doing well; 7 are still doubtful; 2 have so far failed; 2 are hopelessly lost. All, with one exception, though young in years, were old in crime. The chaplain gave it as his opinion that not one out of the 29 could ever have been reclaimed by prison discipline. On economical grounds alone, such facts as these show the value of Reformatory institutions.

The following most interesting letter, will be read with infinite pleasure by all the friends of M. Demetz, and of Mettray. The letter was addressed to the editor of *The Spectator*, and appeared in the number of that journal, for June 27th.

“London, 19th June, 1856.

Sir,—At this moment, when so much of public attention is directed to the subject of Reformatory Schools for young offenders, it seems to me that interest will be felt in the following narrative of the



services rendered to the inhabitants of Tours, during the recent inundations, by a detachment of boys from the colony of Mettray, the principal establishment of the kind in France, founded sixteen years ago by M. de Metz. It is an extract from a private letter, received a few days ago from M. Verdier, well known for his zealous co-operation in the objects of the colony, evinced in the patronage of the boys after they have quitted it for the active duties of life.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN G. PERRY.

"I will not endeavour to give you a description of the disasters caused by the inundations under which France is now suffering, or of the touching scenes to which they have given rise. These have been already fully described in the newspapers. Our Colonists of Mettray have earned their page in this history of desolation and of devotedness. You would hardly believe with what ardour, with what courage, these boys encountered the dangers to which they have been exposed. One of the most perilous posts was assigned to them, and they maintained themselves in it with undaunted resolution. They had to defend what is called 'the head of the town'—that is to say, they had to sustain the dykes which protect Tours against the threatened invasion of the Loire and the Cher. For forty-eight hours they were at their post, to the number of three hundred, having no other shelter than the canopy of heaven, and all working with a degree of vigour which would have done honour to men. From the example of their excellent chiefs they derived strength to put in practice the principles which education has implanted, and which increase in their hearts from day to day. Their youth and agility enabled them to do wonders. The waters of the Loire having burst their banks, united themselves to those of the Cher, producing a frightful gulph which threatened the destruction of a part of the town. Our boys, with unparalleled alacrity, filled with earth the bags designed to arrest the raging waters, ran off with them to the most dangerous places; sometimes forming embankments, sometimes filling-in the holes which were being hollowed out in the dykes by the liberated flood. In short, it was due to their efforts that the principal dyke was not broken through. They were more fortunate in escaping injury than a poor man (Frère de la Doctrine Chrétienne) who was working with them. This man, after giving an example of devotion and courage almost superhuman, was all at once overbalanced by the weight of a bag of earth which he was throwing into the impetuous torrent, and perished, a victim of his heroism! Happily, we had no similar calamity to deplore. All our boys returned punctually to the call of the trumpet; not a single individual thought of availing himself of the opportunity of escape afforded by the general confusion. Every one of them felt that he had been brought to work, and executed nobly what he had undertaken. Meat and wine had been prepared to sustain the strength of the workmen. Our colonists refused all food but what came to them from the colony, with the single exception of wine at the rate of a bottle to every eight boys. \* \* \* The colony has now resumed its normal condition and its ordinary labour, and has had the satisfac-

tion of rendering services of other kinds to the victims of the inundation. A reserve of vegetables and grain has been presented to the sufferers for recropping the land left by the retiring water. Besides this, there have been received at the colony more than a hundred horses, chiefly belonging to the garrison of Tours; it has been the place of refuge for the soldiers and officers of the garrison, as well as for the pupils and professors of the college. It has also been the asylum of many unfortunates possessing no longer any place to call their own. All our masters have distinguished themselves on the occasion; their wives too have devoted themselves to rendering assistance to the unfortunate. You know our teacher of navigation, a sailor, the chief of one of the families; he was appointed to organise the service of the life-boat in the flooded parts of the town; in short, every one has laboured in the cause heartily and disinterestedly. Monsieur De Metz was overjoyed to see so much good effected by his boys. You know well his devotedness to them. It was, indeed, a great joy, a gratifying reward to him, to see these poor boys, who had been looked upon with despair by others, redeeming themselves so brilliantly, and regaining that position in society which ought to be enjoyed by all who imbibe good principles and know how to profit by them. At this moment more than at any previous time our boys are accepted by public opinion.\* For my own part, I find the utmost consolation in the reflection that these boys, who have deserved so well of their country, have not been branded by its laws. You are well aware that they have never undergone *condemnation*. The Courts, in consideration of their youth, have declared their offences committed without discernment, and have accordingly acquitted them: ordering, however, that they should be detained in the Maison de Correction, which you call the Reformatory School. Thus, the services rendered to us in the midst of our calamities have not been received from a condemned criminal. We can bless our benefactor without regret and without mental reservation. We are not obliged to say, 'What a pity he should have commenced life by a condemnation!' It is the condemnation that brands the individual. I can assure you that it was with anguish of heart that I learned that your young offenders must inevitably undergo *condemnation* before they can be admitted into Reformatory Schools."

In *The Spectator* of July 5th, there appeared, from the Recorder of Birmingham, the following letter bearing upon that of M. Verdier :—

PUNISHMENT AND REFORMATION—FRENCH AND ENGLISH SYSTEMS.

*Heath House, Stapleton, Bristol, 30th June, 1856.*

Sir—The calamity which has afflicted France by the overflow of her great rivers will not be without its alleviating consequences. Doubtless, the sympathy evinced in England for the sufferers must strengthen the bonds of alliance between ourselves and our neighbours.

\* We learn with high gratification that the Municipal Council of the City of Tours has commemorated the service of the youths of Metray by striking a medal to their honour.

The very interesting letter which you published last week narrating the services rendered by the youths of Mettray in aiding to protect the city of Tours against its threatened destruction by the floods, will, I trust, cause many a mind to reflect on the value and efficacy of the Reformatory principle. To the French, the circumstance that an important body like the Municipal Council of Tours should have struck a medal in honour of these poor lads, so lately worse than outcasts, will speak in language calculated to produce a very strong impression.

On our side of the Channel, we consider ourselves as less affected by demonstrations of this kind than by the facts which draw them forth; but surely an examination of the facts themselves can only deepen any impression produced by such a testimonial. The zeal, courage, devotedness, and power of endurance, manifested by these lads, their cheerful submission to discipline, and the absence of all attempt to use the position in which accident had placed them to advance any sinister objects, must be received wherever the narrative is read as a conclusive proof that Reformatory institutions are not the toys of sentimental visionaries; that they hold out no incentives either to crime or to indolence; but that in whatever light they are contemplated, whether in that of a wise benevolence or in that of the narrowest economy, they are equally to be approved, supported, and multiplied.

With regard to the system of Mettray, in particular, what has occurred will disabuse the minds of many excellent persons of a belief that the military observances which are practised at the *Colonie* are useless and even pernicious. That they are not useless, may, I think, be fairly inferred from the success with which three hundred lads combined their labour, and, while not shrinking from danger, avoided accident. That they are not pernicious, is an inference to be drawn from every circumstance of the case.

The inventors of military discipline were driven by a cogent necessity to adopt and to perfect the principle of order and simultaneous action as illustrated in their drill; but this principle is not essentially connected with the military spirit, and when divorced from it becomes a valuable assistant whenever large bodies of human beings, old or young, are called upon to act in harmonious combination. An army is and must be a many-handed, many-footed animal, directed by a single head. Therefore, to teach the individual soldier to keep his will in very close subjection to that of his commander, is a lesson essential to the very existence of the body of which he is a member; but the object in view at Mettray, as at every other well-conducted Reformatory, is to develop in its inmates the power of self-government—that is to say, of putting the will under the control of its owner—the owner being so taught and so trained as to acquire the faculty of using this power to his own permanent advantage and to that of the community to which he belongs.

In writing thus, I am far from meaning to disparage our armies, of whom no man thinks more highly. But the end in view being different, there is and must be a corresponding diversity in the means.

The concluding remarks in M. Verdier's letter seem to call for some notice.

M. Verdier deplores the fate of English juvenile offenders in their being subjected to condemnation, or as we should say, in being convicted; and contrasts their treatment in this respect with that which the same class meets with under the law of France. There, if the jury believe that a prisoner under sixteen years of age has committed his offence from thoughtlessness or want of knowledge, he is acquitted, as having acted "sans discernment," just as in England a person of unsound mind who has committed an offence is found "not guilty on the ground of insanity"; and as with us the lunatic thus acquitted is detained in confinement, so the courts of France have the power of detaining the juvenile offender until he is twenty years of age, or for any less period of time. But as regards all other penal consequence his acquittal is considered to be unqualified. Condemnation, however, in France and in England, with regard to such of its attributes as press on the kind spirit of M. Verdier, differs materially. In France, a convicted offender suffers "la dégradation civique,"—which, among other privations, excludes him from voting at elections; prevents him from wearing any decoration—an incapacity very galling to French nature; he cannot be a jurymen; as a witness his evidence is received with many restrictions—for instance, he can attest no instrument; he can take no part in the family council, a domestic forum endowed with important privileges and much considered; except to his own children he cannot fill the office of guardian; he is deprived of the right to carry arms; he can neither serve in the National Guard nor in the Army or Navy; he cannot keep a school, and cannot be employed in any except servile offices. This is a fearful catalogue of disabilities, and is evidently regarded by M. Béranger, the President of the Court of Cassation, from whose valuable work, *De la Répression Pénale*, I extract it, as by no means creditable to the French code.

In England both the law and the habits of thinking prevalent among the people place all offenders, and more especially the juvenile class, in a far better position. Nevertheless, although I am unable to view the consequences of a conviction in England in the light in which they naturally strike a Frenchman, yet I should be glad to see our law made to conform, as regards juvenile offenders, with that of the Code Napoléon,

I am, &c.

M. D. HILL.

The name of the Recorder of Birmingham reminds us, that, in his Charge delivered to the Grand Jury, assembled at the Borough Sessions, held at Birmingham, Monday, July 7th, Mr. Hill addressed to the jury, some very important observations on the subjects of the necessity for a more stringent code of legislation against receivers of stolen goods, and likewise upon a subject of equally grave importance, the inutility of short imprisonments, particularly when considered in relation

with our present, in many cases maudlin, system of light punishment.

Mr Hills Charge is as follows—quoted from *The Midland Counties Herald* of July 10th, 1856, a journal devoting considerable space to all matters connected with the Reformatory Movement, and with Education in the Mining Districts.

Gentlemen, in one or two of the cases to come before you, persons will be indicted for receiving stolen goods, knowing them to have been stolen. I have no doubt that you will agree with me that that is a dangerous offence ; and that such persons stand in the place of employers of thieves—stand in the same relation to the thief that the honest master manufacturer does to the honest workman—that is to say, furnish him with the capital by which his operations are carried on. It has been often said, and with perfect truth, that if there were no receivers, there would be no thieves ; because a thief cannot live upon the consumption of the articles which he may steal, many of them not being capable of being so used ; he lives then by taking the articles to the capitalist—the criminal capitalist—who buys them at a reduced rate, and who thereby supplies the thief with money for the purposes of his maintenance. It has always, therefore, been thought of great importance that such offenders should be severely punished, but the difficulties of conviction are very great, insomuch that since I have sat here, now a period of seventeen years, I have had before me very few indeed of these capital receivers. Now and then some casual receivers have been brought before me, but their cases were not of a nature to render their detection very useful to the community. With regard to the individual cases to come before you I shall say nothing, knowing as I do how competent you are to deal with them according to their deserts. At the same time, allow me to observe, that the difficulties which stand in the way of convicting the practised receiver of stolen goods who keeps a shop for taking in this kind of property, have turned the attention of many persons to consider whether a trade of this kind ought to be permitted to be an open trade, and whether it should not be controlled and regulated by license. If there were licenses for such shops, they should only be granted on one condition. No person should receive a license unless he could show that he was a respectable person, by bringing the signatures in his favour of a given number of persons—householders of known honesty and integrity. Again, it has been proposed that all such houses should be so constructed as not to be out of the observation of the police, and that the occupiers of them should be required to keep a book containing an account of the articles purchased by them, and the names of those persons who bring them. All this has been done in the town of Liverpool, and perhaps elsewhere. Certainly we know that this course has been followed at Liverpool, under the powers of a local act ; and I am informed that the results are very beneficial—that it has restrained and diminished the number of thefts, by throwing impediments in the way of the thieves disposing of stolen property,

because they dare not take it to a really respectable man for fear of detection, and must take it to a person who either positively and absolutely knows that it has been stolen, or at all events shuts his eyes, and takes care *not* to know that the article is stolen. As to nice distinctions between one man and another in such cases, I will not attempt to draw them. The line, indeed, which separates them is very fine, and I will not occupy your time in endeavouring to trace it. If, however, we could have in Birmingham such a regulation, I think we should find it to act as usefully here as it has done in Liverpool, where, I understand, it was principally adopted to prevent thefts in cotton, Liverpool being the great port for that staple article, which is required to an enormous amount for the manufactures of Lancashire. Here it would be principally useful in preventing thefts of metal, in which most of the trades are carried on, and the effect is to furnish great temptations to the working people, and especially to the young. The great body of the artisans of the town are, I firmly believe, far raised by moral character above such temptations, but they do fall with great weight upon the young and inexperienced; and it would be a great blessing, not only to the owners of property which is liable to be stolen, but to all, high and low, connected with the town, and indirectly to the inhabitants of the country, if a check could be given to those nefarious practices. I am informed by his worship the Mayor, who sits by my side, that the local bill, which was prepared to be submitted to Parliament this session, contained a provision for this object, copied from the local act in operation at Liverpool. I regret to find that the bill was not prosecuted, as to the cause of which I may not be correctly informed, as it is no part of my duty to obtain an accurate knowledge of such questions; but I do say, that the particular clause, of the insertion of which I am cognisant from a draft of the bill having been sent me, was likely to have been exceedingly useful to the town of Birmingham, and I regret that the measure was not submitted to Parliament. I trust that on a future occasion it may have a better fate. There is only one further observation which I have to make, and it is this, that I see no amelioration in one important particular, for if our treatment of criminals had been well adapted to reform them, we should not have had such a list as comes before us to-day. There are ninety-five prisoners for trial; and with regard to more than one-half the number, they are persons who have previous convictions recorded against them, and who consequently have not been deterred by the fear of encountering punishment from repeating their offences, or reformed by the discipline to which they were subjected. Now, gentlemen, the main reason why the latter object is not attained is this, that they are not under the control of the prison authorities for a sufficient length of time. How can you expect a person, old or young, to undergo any decided change of character during a confinement of a fortnight, a month, two months, or three months?—and until public opinion, instead of complaining of harshness when prisoners are committed for long periods, is led to perceive that it is a kindness even to the offenders, to place them under circumstances by which their character may be reformed, and that it is a

false notion of kindness to desire that they should be speedily exempted from discipline, I can see no ground on which we can fairly expect any diminution of the evil. I am afraid that until this conviction forces itself upon the public mind, the duties of grand jurors will year by year become more onerous. I believe that commitments for short periods are a sort of education in crime. A prisoner discovers that imprisonment can be better borne than he imagined; and finding, when he comes out of prison, that the difficulties of maintaining himself by honest means are greatly increased, and having lost his dread of the gaol, and, what is worse than all, having lost friends in the honest classes of society, and acquired them among those who look favourably upon him in proportion as he became more unprincipled, sinks still lower into the depths of iniquity. Sentences must be passed in accordance with public opinion, and it is often impracticable to resort to such as would be very humane, and indeed are sanctioned by law, because the principle on which they would be based is not generally recognised, and its partial operation would engender the feeling that offences were punished not according to their magnitude, but to the district in which they were committed. Every year, the public are becoming more and more sensitive on this subject, and punishments are becoming lighter and lighter. I am now an old man, and have been engaged in the duties of my profession nearly forty years, and when I contrast the state of punishments, as I first knew them, with what they now are, the change is enormous. In many respects that change has been for the better, but I think that we are now running into a dangerous extreme of an opposite kind, and that if the system of light punishments is to be persevered in, we had better have no punishments at all. They neither deter nor reform, whereas they have the bad effect of bringing poor creatures into contact with those who are worse than themselves, and teaching them to pursue a life of crime.

There are few men in these kingdoms more worthy to be heard on the subject of Reformatory training, than the Rev. Sydney Turner; and he now comes before us as a lecturer on that most important of all subjects, connected with the full developement of the Reformatory Principles—the *Training of Reformatory School Teachers*. His lecture, delivered before the National Reformatory Union, last June, is as follows;—we take it from *The Law Amendment Journal*:—

#### GENERAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION

The *Lord Bishop of St. David's* took the chair soon after half-past two o'clock, in the afternoon of the 24th.

Among the others present were—Lord A. Churchill, Hon. W. W. Addington, Dean of Salisbury, Mr. W. Miles, M.P., Mr. Adderley, M.P., Rev. Sydney Turner, Captain Maconochie, Mr. E. B. Wheatley, Mr. Silver, Mr. L. Lewis, Mr. Dunn, Mr. E. Webster, &c.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The Rev. Sydney Turner read the following paper on a normal school for Reformatory schoolmasters.

#### TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

My Lord and Gentlemen,—The subject on which you have done me the honour to request me to address you, the training of Reformatory Schoolmasters, is one of the most important that the friends of Reformatory action can have before them.

The Reformatory teacher is undoubtedly just now the one thing specially wanting to give efficiency and permanence to our efforts for the rescue of the youthful criminal. Every one who has practically interested himself in this good work must have felt how much the success of his exertions depends on the qualities and capacities of the agent, the teacher, and master he employs. Many have had the painful experience that money may be raised, premises secured, friends enlisted, a school founded and filled, and yet all end in disappointment, or be attended with continual discouragement and difficulty, from the want of a superintendent and manager capable of really influencing the minds and softening the hearts of the pupils placed under his control.

There is nothing to surprise us in this. A man must be qualified to build a cottage or make a road; how much more to *form* a man an honest, faithful, intelligent, useful, above all a Christian man; how much more still to do *this* when the elements and materials to be employed have been distorted and injured—when we have much to *undo* before we can begin to *mould* and *form* at all—when perverted feelings, blunted conscience, low habits, have to be dealt with; and you undertake the task, not merely of enlightening and teaching ignorance, but of turning the neglected and corrupted child from license to self-restraint, from lawlessness and vice to order, decency, and goodness.

I know that there are many, even among the friends of the Reformatory cause, who think that in views like these we exaggerate the difficulty—many who think that any man who can wield a spelling book, or handle a spade, will do—that you have merely to say to the young criminal, come learn, and he learns; or go dig, and he digs; and as he learns and digs, he reforms. I have not found it so. I have seen the young criminal become week by week a more ripened scholar, and a more finished and industrious labourer, and yet in no effectual manner armed against the seductions of lust and sensuality—in no way weaned from the practice of dishonesty and fraud. I speak of course of the town boy more than the country one—of the boy of London, Leeds, Manchester, &c., more than all. I speak, that is, of the vast *majority*, those whose depravity and vice really trouble us—whose reclamation and care we really are concerned in; for I may frankly say that if the youthful crime of the large towns, &c., be done away with, we might almost cease to vex ourselves with that of the country; the latter is comparatively so light, so easy to be dealt with as to depth and permanence, that one might almost leave it to the pauper schools to remedy. It is the town-bred union of *vice* and *crime* that offers us the real field of



battle ; and to cope with the boy who has haunted the theatre and the singing-room, who is tainted with the filth of the brothel and the lodging-house, who has kept or being kept by his girl, and swag-gered at the gaff and the skittle-ground, an agent of a far higher class is required. The man who can meet such boys as these, thus unhappily precocious in sin and backward in virtue or wisdom, often unbelievers, and almost always virtually heathens, who can wrestle with them on their own ground, and can at once win their confidence, compel their respect, and attach their affections, is not to be found every day in the highways and hedges. You cannot send to Birmingham or Manchester and order so many gross of them to pattern. They are to be found, or they are to be formed, but you must seek for them and take measures for their preparation.

The question for us to answer is, How are such men as can and will do the work to be obtained ?

In considering this, I would first dispose of two opposite pre-scriptions, both of which I believe to be equally fallacious.

We are sometimes told that the man can't be formed at all, that, like the poet, *Nascitur, non fit*. I do not believe this. Speaking from my own experience, I should say that the less we have to do with heaven-born geniuses, miracles of talent and mental power, the better. They are sure to be fitful, crotchety, and capricious ; and are generally either above, or unsuited to, the plain practical work—the daily routine of individual oversight and care—the minute domestic management, in which the successful reformatory master finds so many sources of his influence, so many means and methods of attaching his boys personally to him.

The man we want is indeed one of special qualifications and endowments ; but his qualities are, happily, not so extraordinary, nor his endowments so difficult to impart, as to reduce us to the necessity of sitting down in silent resignation to see what God will send us.

On the other hand, there are many who think that such men can be infallibly formed by a mere process of training alone—that you have only to put them through a certain course of study and examination to ensure their turning out what you want, as the clay put in at one end of the machine is delivered at the other the finished brick or drain tile. This I must equally deny, till at least I see some methods of training adopted, and some normal schools and colleges in action, which will ensure me teachers satisfied with their station, content to do their duty in the state of life they are called to—anxious for moral success rather than intellectual show—learned in the spirit and temper of the Gospel, rather than skilled in Blackstone or mechanics—modest, not conceited—patient, not ambitious—ready to help the backward and feel for the dull, rather than to push on the clever, and make a display of the well-taught and forward.

I cannot but be struck with the remarkable fact that one principal result of our present training systems is to dispose those who profit the most by them to take almost any other path in life than that which they have been trained for. On a recent occasion I advertised for a secretary and accountant at Redhill. Nearly half of the applicants were schoolmasters, a large proportion of these trained, and many successful, some distinguished in their position.

Now, if one thing more than another is wanted to make a man really efficient and so victorious as a Reformatory agent, it is that his mind and his heart should be given to his work—that he should feel himself fixed in it and contented with it. If he is for ever looking out for something that is easier, or higher in rank, or better in emolument, there is at once an end of his usefulness, and so too if he is always anxious for praise and notoriety, and looks on his charge as a scene for the display and advertisement of his talents and attainments, rather than as a field that he must cultivate in faith, working as the missionary whose praise is not of men but God.

Till, therefore, we have managed to place our training schools on that footing, and to give them that spirit that those who are prepared in them love and follow their profession, and make it the business of their life, and in following their profession aim less at public exhibition, and more at lasting moral influence and effect, I must remain a sceptic as to the success of our present educational institutions in turning out the right men for our Reformatory work.

Let us pass on, however, to enquire what are the requisites of an efficient Reformatory teacher, and how these may be secured. I should be disposed to divide them into three branches—natural, artificial, and spiritual. I think he must have at least two natural qualifications, constitutional characteristics.

1st. He must be a man of good, kindly temper, not easily ruffled, not apt to worry himself or fidget others by his fits of nervous irritability or morbid depression, more ready to laugh than frown, able to take and return a joke, backward to be annoyed or affronted at every fancied slight or boyish impertinences.

This really is a *sine quâ non*. The man must be of the sun-shiny or cheerful order, and not of the cloudy, gloomy, and uncertain. He must be able to deal with the faults and follies of his pupils, as a surgeon does with the ailments and disorders of his patients, seeing in their ingratitude, their obstinacy, their dullness, their avarice and corrupt dispositions, their love of disorder, idleness, and mischief, things to pity, not be angered by—symptoms of disease that require more thought and more exertion to remedy.

2nd. I should say he must have natural firmness and decision—must be manly and resolute. The weak, dawdling, chattering, vacillating, and timid, never have their boys' respect. Soft as wool without in manner and appearance and expression, hard as steel within in purpose and determination, is the essential description of an effective Reformatory teacher. You will always find him anxious to make duty easy and pleasant, but fixed and resolved that duty shall be done.

I should be disposed to add to this, that the man must have a fairly good figure and appearance—certainly must not be of the maimed or lame, or halt or blind. There are men who have conquered hearts in spite of all defects of form and feature, but as a general rule, infirmity of body and oddity of look are serious drawbacks.

Assuming that the man has these two *natural* qualifications, I would next subject him to training, to give him what I have called

the artificial requisites, preparing him for action in the special field of Reformatory teaching. The ablest physician finds his skill avail him little if the disease he has to prescribe for is wholly unknown to him; and, on the other hand, his ability increases in proportion to the number of cases in which he has been brought in contact with it.

So, in Reformatory action you must give your future master some familiarity with the common modes of thinking and feeling, which obtain among the boys he labours for. He needs a practical foresight and experience of their changes and vagaries—a readiness in turning to account every incident and circumstance connected with them, which nothing but intercourse and daily observation can give. He must learn not to shrink from responsibility; to do what each day makes his duty, rather than to go by any list of rules and regulations; to value theory as nothing unless supported by facts.

And the most effectual way to give him this preparation is to let him see the work done by another, who is doing it well, before he attempts to do it himself. Let him be as it were the apprentice to the master, and mix himself in all the discipline, instruction, and employment of the school, bit by bit and step by step, till, becoming first the adjutant, he is qualified to be in turn the colonel and commander himself.

It is evident that for this purpose we shall do better if we employ all our various Reformatories, provided that they be satisfactorily organised and managed, than if we concentrated our training operations on ANY SPECIAL ONE. You want to scatter our candidates and set them to learn, to teach themselves, in fact, individually in practical spheres of action and experience, and not to collect them in a college, and give them lectures on Reformatory science, and marshal them in classes for mechanical instruction.

In an institution like Redhill, our system of family division presents six or seven separate schools, in each of which a candidate teacher could be received. As each of those first taken into training became partially familiarised with the work, another could be also admitted into the same division, and perhaps also a third, to be under the one who had been first entered. Thus, Redhill could in no long time have, if necessary, some eighteen or twenty teachers in preparation.

But great care must be taken not to go too fast. The candidate's disposition and temper will often be developed and understood, and his fitness or unfitness ascertained only BY DEGREES. And the forming of a few thoroughly fitted for the work will answer better for the cause, than the turning out of many imperfectly prepared and inadequately tested.

Supposing the candidate trained on this system of individual association with an experienced and able master in the particular department or family which that master had the charge of—his training would merely consist in sharing in and carrying out all that the master has to do. He would be for the first three or four weeks rather a spectator than an actor, at least as regards all matters of discipline. But he should take his place as instructor in the daily

classes, and act as superintendent or chief monitor in the bedroom and play ground. He should associate himself in the industrial work, making it his business to get a practical acquaintance with the various employments which the boys of the family are set to. He should assist in making out all the reports, accounts, &c. ; and be employed in the central office under the governor's or secretary's eye, to give him facility and readiness in the conduct of the general business of the institution.

Some time each day he should be required to give to keeping up and enlarging his own personal knowledge. It is quite evident it would be impossible to provide adequately for his general intellectual or strictly scholastic training. He must be a fairly prepared and fairly capable teacher in the ordinary branches of instruction before he comes to the Reformatory for this specific training ; and his ability and resources on this head of general teaching will be sufficiently developed and enlarged by his daily exercise in the school. But there are many points on which he may be well called on to add to his stores and capabilities, such as music, agriculture, gardening, mechanical occupation, &c. ; and it should be the business of the chaplain, or chief religious superintendent of the institution, to enquire into and stimulate his mastery of the Scriptures—his facility in Bible teaching and exposition. Once or twice a-week the candidate teachers should meet him for personal examination, and practical exercises, and devotional communion. And this brings me to what is at once the most important and the most difficult point of all—the most essential, and yet the hardest to secure of all the man's qualifications for his office—that, namely, which I have called the spiritual, I mean the man's religious efficiency—his mastery of religion for himself—his power of stimulating and advancing it in others. Nothing is more certain than this, that real reformation must be the fruit and accompaniment of conversion of heart ; all other may serve for a time and answer for certain circumstances, but cannot be depended on—is almost certain to break down. It is very well to convince a lad that honesty is better policy than theft, industry more productive than idleness, truth more advantageous than lying ; the ordinary circumstances and experiences of life confirm your teaching ; and in the cases, which often occur, where the boy is of a plain tame disposition, has sunk into crime through untoward circumstances, poverty, neglect of parents, and has not become tainted with the love of vice, nor drank deep of the pleasures and excitements of a life of license, this may suffice to keep him in the right path for the future.

But in the more serious and frequent instances where native disposition, strong passions, indulged appetites, facility in yielding to vicious and depraved companions, have been the instruments and causes of the boy's corruptions, this will not be enough ; the conscience must be powerfully aroused, a better will created, higher tastes and inclinations imparted, a mightier motive brought to bear. The youth must leave off crime and vice, not because he may in general be the loser, but because they bring him into antagonism with God, and ruin his immortal being. I speak advisedly when I

say, that till you have awakened in him a sense of sin—a sense of danger and of degradation, not merely bodily, but mental and spiritual—you have done little to effectually change the bent and bias of the boy. Till you have led him to appreciate and to seek from and for himself what the Gospel offers for his faith to lean upon, and his prayers and efforts to gain, you have done little to lastingly reclaim him; of course this result does not come at human bidding—you cannot MAKE a boy religious. The selfsame influence and teaching shall be effectual with one, and fail with his nearest companion.

But in this, as in all else, you can do much towards the end, if you use proper instruments; and the first step to the *boy's* being impressed, will be the *religiousness* of THE MASTER. In proportion as the boy feels that the master is a man who works for God's sake, depends on God's strength, studies God's will, loves God's Word, and seeks to act in God's spirit, and on God's pattern, he will yield to him, lean upon him, and learn from him; and I think, therefore, it must be the special aim and effort of the Reformatory Training School to enquire for, and invite, and enlist, such candidates as have a spirit of seriousness, earnestness, and devotion—such as desire to enter on the field of Reformatory agency, and feel some impulse to take part in it as a religious mission. It must be the business and the wish of those who govern the Training School to invest it with as much of a religious character as they can, to keep up a tone of spiritual and mental elevation, to make the men they seek to form alive to and ready for the deep Christian responsibilities of the task they undertake. I must not dwell longer on the subject. It is one indeed more easily realised in feeling than described in words; but this I would say, no candidate should be received into the Training School—certainly none be recommended from it—unless there be reason to believe and feel that he is a religious man, likely to be not merely the schoolmaster but the missionary, and so in some degree qualified to be the reformer of the spiritual man, as well as the manager of the bodily and the instructor of the mental man; and, so, too, no school should be employed for the purpose of training and formation, unless there be a distinctly Christian, though not a party or sectarian stamp upon it—a scriptural, not a formal or merely ceremonial spirit in it.

In concluding these remarks, it may be right, perhaps, to notice that part of the very important minute, that the Committee of Council have agreed to in reference to the terms and methods of assisting the Reformatory cause from the educational grants which refers to this subject.

*Of the Training future Masters.*—On the first reading of what is proposed in aid of “preparing suitable schoolmasters for employment in Ragged or Reformatory Schools,” I was impressed very favourably with the terms laid down.

The allowance of 35*l.* per annum for the board and lodging of each candidate, while under training, is fair and liberal.

And the conditions, that the schools are to be of a certain size (containing forty inmates) be sanctioned or certified by the Secre-

tary of State—be inspected and annually reported on as suitable, and that the principal of the school certify each quarter on the candidate's conduct and character, are all right enough. I hope, however, that by inspectors of the Schools we are to understand inspectors of Workhouse Schools; from the industrial character and domestic arrangements of Reformatory Institutions, these are evidently the proper and really qualified inspectors to judge of them and report upon them. But on closer consideration of the three classes from which the candidate teachers are to be drawn and to which we are to be confined for the enlistment of them, my satisfaction is mingled with some disappointment. Teachers holding certificates of merit are not likely to become again pupils under instruction for such situations as the masterships of Reformatory Schools, very few of which are worth more than 50*l.* per annum, with allowances and lodging, and which include nearly twice as much labour, trial, and anxiety, as the ordinary schools, for which such men are already qualified. Still less likely are union and workhouse schoolmasters, who have certificates of efficiency, to do this. One would think there must be some mistake in the wording here, and that competency is rather intended than efficiency. The Union school teacher is likely *a priori* to be the most fitted for the Reformatory, as he has some experience of superintendence and domestic management, the schools he has learnt and practised in being somewhat of the nature of boarding schools, such as the Reformatory Institutions also are.

But there are four classes of certificates—permission, probation, competency, and efficiency; each class containing three grades. Those certified for *efficiency* compose the *highest* class, and are entitled to salaries varying from 45*l.* to 60*l.* per annum, with rations and lodgings.

When I say, that taking the list of workhouse schoolmasters in 1852-3, only forty-nine out of 850 were certified as *efficient*, that one of my own best helpers, holds only a certificate of competency, that another and most able fellow-worker holds no certificate and has never been registered at all, and that the best men for the work that I know and have recommended are in like manner uncertified, and very little likely to submit to such examinations as are now the fashion, or to get any credit in them if they did, I think I offer pretty good grounds for saying that the conditions as to the scholastic preparation and fitness of the candidates have been placed unnecessarily high, and are likely to defeat the object which is in view. As to young men from the training schools, the less of them the better. We want men of some worldly knowledge and experience, with some seriousness and gravity of disposition, of settled character and habits, not boys or youths scarcely older than many of those under their charge, and, as usually found flippant, conceited, and impatient.

It will certainly be advisable that the candidate for instruction and practice in the Reformatory, has attained a fair level as a common teacher, but great care must be taken not to place the mark too high. Teachers of very moderate attainments in everything beyond

the elements of plain education are all that is required, especially as their twelvemonths' training in the Reformatory will give them better practice and development as instructors, and allow them to increase their own stores of general and useful knowledge. It would be better that those who apply to be received into the training school should be specially examined previous to their admission, by the inspector who inspects the schools, aided perhaps by the master or principal of the school itself.

This seems the more reasonable, as no specific conditions are laid down in regard to the actual masters of such schools (with whom these candidates would be placed) or their assistants, as in fact any person may be received and prepared and so introduced into the work in this last capacity; the only drawback being, that the school so receiving and training him will receive only 15*l.* or 20*l.* per annum towards the expenses of his salary, &c., instead of the 35*l.* which is fixed as the payment on behalf of those admitted specifically for training under these new regulations.

I hope that we may agree to represent to the Committee of Council the difficulties we feel upon this matter, and that we may succeed in obtaining such alterations in the late "minute" as may allow the Reformatory cause to reap the full benefit of the many liberal and judicious arrangements which it contemplates.

The thing we have to seek for, in reference to the training of teachers for Reformatory schools, is to have the field of enlistment made and left as wide and general as possible. We want to induce recruits to enter, not to deter them, nor to devise fences and barriers to keep them out, or to narrow the ground of selection. Let us take all reasonable means to secure their scholastic fitness when we have brought them under our banner; but the first thing and the great thing, is to get the right men, that is, the able and earnest and religious men, who feel for the desolate and outcast, to *volunteer* into the service. All regulations which tend to hinder and discourage men like these are positively mischievous.

We have but one objection to this paper, and that is, Mr. Turner does not admit, and acknowledge as he should, freely, and openly, his great debt to Demetz and Mettray. However, we must fully admit the ability and importance of the paper, and we recommend it to the careful consideration of all our readers; and the following letter, reprinted from *The Law Amendment Journal*, of July, 10th, may be read in conjunction with it:—

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE LAW AMENDMENT JOURNAL.

SIR,—I have read with great attention and interest the valuable paper by Mr. Sydney Turner, on the "Training of Teachers for Reformatory Schools," published in your journal for June 26, and heartily rejoice that this most important question has at length obtained such able advocacy. His practical knowledge of what a Reformatory agent should be, gives peculiar weight to his advice on

this point; and it is only with reference to the *method* to be adopted in training such agents that I venture to offer a few remarks. The undertaking is one of much difficulty and of vast importance; and any error in the course pursued, even should it operate only to retard the supply of trained teachers, would be a serious evil. Unfortunately, we are almost without experience on this subject in England. Should we not, then, seek it where it may be found? At Mettray the process of training officers has been carried on for 17 years with the most successful results. Not only has that institution been amply supplied from its *Ecole Préparatoire* with efficient officers, but they have been sent in large numbers to conduct other Reformatory Schools. Mr. Turner, although in one passage he appears to anticipate the establishment of Normal Schools, objects to a separate school for officers been attached to Redhill, or any similar institution. The question then arises, Will the alternative he proposes provide a sufficient number of teachers? He most truly says, that by degrees only will the candidate's fitness or unfitness for his profession be ascertained. This implies that some will be found unsuitable and must be dismissed, or will depart of their own accord. Many do so depart from the Normal School at Mettray, finding that the toil, anxiety, and self-denial they must endure as Reformatory School teachers is greater than they can bear; though it must not be supposed that the time even of those who do not become teachers is lost to the country at large, for they have received mental instruction and undergone a moral discipline which renders them valuable members of society, whatever be the position they may occupy in after life. Further, if we are to train Reformatory teachers to be as perfect as human means can make them, and our aim should be no less, we must have men who are devoted to the occupation, who love it heart and soul, who prefer it to all others. But before they can be selected from the candidates who may very honestly believe they should like the profession until they have had experience of what that profession really demands of them, time must elapse, they must study the Reformatory School under every aspect, they must see the dark as well as the bright side of the enterprise; and they ought to be able to acquire this thorough knowledge of the vocation while yet young enough to afford to abandon it and turn to some more congenial pursuit if they become convinced that they cannot satisfactorily perform its duties; otherwise they would be constrained to abide by it solely for the sake of a livelihood.

The numbers, then, of pupils must be sufficiently large to allow for many failures as regards the immediate object of their training; remembering this, and considering the growing demand throughout the country for Reformatory teachers, I do not think that any supply less copious than a large Normal School might afford, will meet the necessities of the case.

Mr. Turner has admirably explained how it is indispensable that the training should be practical—that the student should first watch and share with the master the management of the Reformatory School. This first principle, which is fully acted upon at Mettray, renders it of course necessary that the Normal School should be attached to a Reformatory institution. At present there are very few



Reformatories in England of sufficient size to receive such an addition, but pupils could be admitted into smaller establishments on the plan proposed by Mr. Turner.

A strong argument in favour of a Normal School may be founded on Mr. Turner's very just remark that teachers holding certificates of merit are not likely again to become pupils under instruction for Reformatory School masterhips; and however earnest his desire may be, it is scarcely possible for a full-grown man who has attained a position in the world to bring to the task the pliability of opinion, the submission to the will of his teacher, and the conviction of the higher capabilities of the latter, which are essential to his successful training. Moreover, it has been found at Mettray that the students must embrace their arduous profession while yet so young as to have formed no ties in the world. But to do so special training must commence before they can have acquired the amount of instruction they will afterwards need; and while they may some of them retain, notwithstanding judicious selection, the flippancy, conceit, and impatience, common to youth, and which Mr. Turner so justly deprecates in a Reformatory School teacher. These serious evils may be obviated by the Normal School. The pupils may there pursue every necessary branch of information, and, by spending a portion of their time in the Reformatory School, meanwhile acquire a practical knowledge of their future duties, acting first as monitors and then as assistant teachers, until at length they are competent to become masters.\* And should the before-mentioned objectionable qualities be exhibited by any student, ample opportunity would exist for checking their development, and for so regulating the employment of the youth in the Reformatory School as to prevent their producing mischief.

In order to render available for pupils in the Normal School the aid proffered by the recent minute of the Committee of Council, some modification of the conditions of the latter would be necessary; but the very earnest desire manifested on the part of Government to promote the Reformatory cause may surely authorise the hope that this would not be found an insuperable difficulty.

I am, Sir, &c.,

A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION.

We most earnestly recommend this letter, Mr. Turner's paper, and that of Mr. Bengough, with which we commenced this RECORD, to all who are, or who purpose to become, Managers of Reformatory Schools.

At page xxvi of this Record, we inserted the Minute of the Committee of Council on Education, dated, June 2nd, 1856. The following article, bearing upon these minutes,

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\* For an exposition, by M. Demetz, of this portion of the system, pursued at Mettray, see *Law Amendment Journal*, for June 5, 1856. See also IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No 22, June, 1856, Record, pages lrv. to lxi.—ED.

extracted from *The Midland Counties Herald*, shew the importance of the new regulations, and encourage all advocates of the Reformatory system to believe that many of their now forlorn hopes will, with time and judicious management, become accepted realities :—

#### REFORMATORY SCHOOLS: MINUTE OF THE COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

The promoters of establishments for Juvenile Reformation have not unfrequently been censured by those whose knowledge on the subject is neither very extensive nor very accurate, for waiting until the mischief is done—that is, until the youth has actually been convicted of crime—before means are taken to train him in the paths of honesty. Whoever has considered the question thoroughly will entertain no doubt on two matters of importance. First, that however perfect our preventive system may be made, there will always be a sufficient number of youths falling into evil courses to render Reformatories necessary and permanent institutions; and, secondly, that whoever thinks he is better employed in doing a little himself than in criticising with folded hands the exertions of others, will find, on experiment, that in a great and complicated undertaking, in which the co-operation of many is required, he must consent to begin at the point where he can find co-operators.

A few years ago, public feeling was shocked with the spectacle of very young persons, who had no instruction, or worse than none, being treated as altogether accountable for their actions, and submitted to a process of retributory punishment, which ended in making them confirmed criminals, and enrolling them in the class which engages in the pursuit of crime as its means of subsistence. In joining, heart, and hand, with those whose sympathies had been thus awakened, they foresaw that public attention, when once directed to any one part of the great subject, would not long be restricted to a mere sectional view, but would expand, until in the end it would reach the farthest limits of the enterprise.

The origin of the very gratifying interest in preventive and reformatory measures with regard to our juvenile population, which has now diffused itself throughout the whole country—or, if not the origin, at all events that great impetus to the movement which has struck the most unobservant with surprise—is, according to the opinion of the *Quarterly Review*, to be attributed to the Birmingham Conference of 1851. At that meeting a complete system of Preventive and Reformatory Schools was sketched out; but public opinion running very strongly in favour of taking action, as our American friends call it, in relief of young persons brought before Criminal Courts, it was thought wise, and indeed essential, to confine the labours of those whose duty it was to carry into effect the principles which the Conference had sanctioned to the accomplishment of that particular object. How much has now been done, both in the Legislature and out of doors, to advance the cause is well known to our readers; and if, looking forwards, the heights we

have reached are far below those which remain to be scaled, yet, looking backwards, we must rejoice to see that we have fairly emerged from the gloomy vale in which we had so long sojourned.

The third resolution of the Conference of 1851 was, "That the adoption of a somewhat altered and extended course of proceeding, on the part of the Committee of Privy Council, is earnestly to be desired for those children who have not yet made themselves amenable to the law, but who, by reason of the vice, neglect, or extreme poverty of their parents, are not admitted into the existing Day Schools." The Lords of the Council, however, were not prepared to act on this suggestion, which furnished another reason for concentrating efforts upon improving the treatment of young offenders.

But now the views of the Committee of the Privy Council have changed. The training which the public mind has undergone during the last four years and a half has not been thrown away on their Lordships, whose recent Minute is a precious testimonial to the value of the mental discipline to which, in common with their humbler fellow-mortals, these high personages have been subjected.

From the Provincial Conference of the National Reformatory Union, to be held on 20th, 22d, and 23d of this month (August,) at Bristol, much valuable information will be obtained. We know that all exertions are being made to render it worthy the Union which is national in the true sense of the word, and which numbers, amongst its members, men and women of all religions. We shall, if possible, insert the proceedings of this Conference in an Appendix to our present Record.

Since the issuing our Record for June, the First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation has appeared. The following is an analysis of Col. Jebb's evidence on the results of the Ticket-of-Leave System :—

The number of convicts who had received orders of license between the passing of the Act and the 11th of March in the present year was shown by a Parliamentary return to be 5,049, of whom 4,303 were released from the prisons of Great Britain, 435 from Bermuda and Gibraltar, and 311 (juveniles) from Parkhurst. Of the whole, 447 were charged with subsequent offences, and 404 were convicted, 230 being returned to prison under sentences which did not require their licenses to be revoked. The licenses of 173 were revoked. The number of convicts whose licenses were refused or withheld for misconduct was 554. The latter item, the witness explained, merely indicated the number who, by some act or acts of misconduct, had, during their three or four years' confinement, forfeited a month or months, which delayed the period when they would otherwise have been eligible for release. The number of convictions (404) was about eight per cent. of the whole number released ; and that, extending over a period of two years and five

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making altogether 104 of that class of  
 picking pockets and theft, 34; for common  
 ; for felony and offences of a grave character, 103; making  
 altogether, 270; awaiting sentence, 30; which makes a total of 300.  
 The numbers released in the different counties up to the 31st  
 December last have been as follows:—In Bedfordshire, 13; Berk-  
 shire, 58; Buckinghamshire, 26; Cambridgeshire, 53; Cheshire,  
 68; Cornwall, 21; Cumberland, 10; Derbyshire, 37; Devonshire,  
 98; Dorsetshire, 28; Durham, 42; Essex, 69; Gloucestershire,  
 64; Hampshire, 130; Herefordshire, 22; Hertfordshire, 64;  
 Huntingdonshire, 12; Kent, 102; Lancashire, 557; Leicestershire,  
 53; Lincolnshire, 65; Middlesex, 926; Northumberland, 6;  
 Nottinghamshire, 55; Norfolk, 73; Northamptonshire, 42; Oxford-  
 shire, 42; Rutlandshire, 4; Shropshire, 31; Somersetshire, 21;  
 Staffordshire, 146; Suffolk, 63; Surrey, 104; Sussex, 38; Warwick-  
 shire, 198; Westmoreland, 9; Wiltshire 52; Worcestershire, 65;  
 Yorkshire, 311; Wales, 96; making altogether 4,104.—The popula-  
 tion of these different counties is taken from the census returns;  
 and the proportion of ticket-of-leave men to 10,000 of the inhabitants  
 would be as follows:—1 per 10,000 in Bedfordshire, 3 4-10ths in  
 Berkshire, 1 6-10ths in Buckinghamshire, 2 9-10ths in Cambridge-  
 shire, 1 5-10ths in Cheshire, 6-10ths in Cornwall, 5-10ths in Cumber-  
 land, 1 2-10ths in Derbyshire, 1 7-10ths in Devonshire, 1 5-10ths in  
 Dorsetshire, 1 1-700th in Durham, 1 9-10ths in Essex, 1 4-10ths in  
 Gloucestershire, 3 2-10ths in Hampshire, 1 9-10ths in Herefordshire,  
 2 6-10ths in Hertfordshire, 1 9-10ths in Huntingdonshire, 1 6-10ths  
 in Kent, 2 7-10ths in Lancashire, 2 3-10ths in Leicestershire, 1 6-10ths  
 in Lincolnshire, 4 9-10ths in Middlesex, 2 1-10th in Northumberland,  
 2 in Nottinghamshire, 1 7-10ths in Norfolk, 2 in Northamptonshire,  
 2 4-10ths in Oxfordshire, 1 7-10ths in Rutlandshire, 1 3-10ths in  
 Shropshire, 4 7-10ths in Somersetshire, 2 4-10ths in Staffordshire, 1  
 9-10ths in Suffolk, 1 5-10ths in Surrey, 1 1-10th in Sussex, 4 2-10ths  
 in Warwickshire, 1 5-10ths in Westmoreland, 2 4-10ths in Wiltshire,  
 2 3-10ths in Worcestershire, 1 8-10ths in Yorkshire, and 3 2-10ths  
 in Wales.

# NAL REFORMATORY UNION.

1 Conference of this Association was held at Bristol and 22nd of August. The unpropitious state somewhat damping to the ardour of those who "setting up" of the conferences; but every one by the excellent audiences which on every friends of the movement by their presence, v their attention and applause. We could t and overflowing assemblages as a stri- rest which the Reformatory movement the country; nor could we, as humble refrain from reflecting, with unmingled unt of good which cannot fail to result mass of information, collected together nce spread abroad by the newspaper country.

r, *Daily News*, and *Morning Herald* daily furnished sketches of everything

... place.

## INAUGURAL MEETING.

T he Inaugural Meeting was held Aug. 20, at 3 o'clock, in the Merchants' Hall, King-street, Bristol. The attendance was very numerous, and, although the weather was exceedingly unfavourable, a large number of ladies were present upon the occasion.

The Chair was taken by the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, who was supported by, amongst others, Lord Robert Cecil, M. P., Right Hon. John Pakington, Bart, M. P., Mr. W. Miles, M. P., Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M. P., Mr. Adderley, M. P., Mr. J. Vining, the Mayor of Bristol, Mr. Commissioner Hill, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Dean of Bristol, the Rev. Canon Girdlestone, Rev. Dr. English, Rev. W. Osborne, Rev. W. Tyler, of Spitalfields, Rev. Sidney Turner, H. M Inspector of Schools, Mr James Hassell, Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers, Mr. Barwicke Baker, of Hardwick, Mr. Jellinger Symons, Messrs. Sanford, Wheatley, G. W. Hastings, W. Morgan, Gibbon, Bowyer, Lee Thornton, W. Naish, T. P. Jose, R. Leonard, C. J. Thomas, Col. Pinney, Col. Burrowes, &c.

The Right Worshipful the Mayor, J. Vining, Esq., said—Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasing duty to have the honour of introducing to you the noble Lord in the chair, the Right Hon. Lord Stanley. His lordship's object in visiting us on this occasion, is to explain to you a system of National Reformatory Union, which having been begun in Bristol, will, we trust, be extended throughout the country. That his lordship and those associated with him, should have thought fit to visit Bristol, I take to be a high compliment. I gather from it that his lordship is aware that the ground has already been here broken, that we have Establishments existing here, and that though struggling under some difficulties, they yet show the practicable results of such a movement. I trust also that his lordship is aware that

we are preeminent for our charitable Establishments—(hear, hear). It is not many months since we were honored by a visit from my Lord Granville, upon occasion of the establishment of a Trade School—our late respected Diocesan also established a Cathedral training and a middle school, and besides those we have also those splendid charitable endowments for which we are indebted to Whitson, Carr, and Colston. I consider that we are pre-eminently entitled to the attention of his Lordship and the gentlemen combined with him. I trust that the ground now broken will receive the good seed, and that we may date from their efforts the commencement of an era of great national social improvement.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley then proceeded to address the assemblage as follows:—

Ladies and gentlemen,—I will not detain you with any preface to the remarks which it will be my duty to make, nor apologise for the inevitable length to which they may extend. The subject of reformatories is to you deeply interesting; your presence in this room proves that. The subject is beset with difficulties, else why the controversies, the debates, the writing and speaking that has taken place concerning it during the last five years? The subject is one on which action, and prompt action, is needed, otherwise it would hardly, in this practical country and age, occupy the most intelligent minds, and lead to the most strenuous exertions. The legislature has taken up, as regards the reformatory movement, a peculiar, though I think a wise, position. It assists the founders of schools; it gives them legal powers; it makes use of their agency; but it does not supersede their efforts. The law under which we act takes for granted the existence of so much public spirit in the community as that individuals may be left to initiate a movement which in other countries would fall within the especial province of the executive. It is our duty and our purpose to-day to show that the confidence of Parliament is not misplaced; that those who frame the laws and those who administer them, have not reckoned in too sanguine a spirit on the philanthropy and the patriotism of English citizens. I propose, so far as time allows, to lay before you an outline sketch of this vast subject: wishing to be accurate, I have set down on paper the substance of the facts and arguments which I shall use; and holding it a deception to speak in public, on a question which one has not studied, I can assure you, however small the results may be, that there is scarcely a pamphlet, a debate, or a printed report of the last few years, bearing on the subject, from which I have not endeavoured to glean something in the shape either of information or advice.

Now, in the first place, in order to know clearly the magnitude of the evil for which we have to provide a remedy, let us endeavour to ascertain the actual and relative amount, in this country, of adult and juvenile crime. I do not apprehend that this can be done in a very exact manner. Prison returns can draw no distinction, though morally the distinction is a very wide one, between trivial breaches of law, compatible with innocence, and offences which are of a nature to indicate habitual crime. Nor is the shape of our statistical information on these subjects convenient. The difficulty I have found

in ascertaining, even imperfectly as I may have done it, the facts required supply me, if it were needed, with a fresh reason to envy and to hold up for imitation the complete, uniform, and simple mode in which the judicial statistics of France are compiled. Nevertheless, such materials as we possess we may use; and looking to the 19th report, just published, of the prison inspectors of England and Wales, which supplies us with the returns of 1853, I find it there stated that the numbers, "for trial or tried at assizes or sessions" were 26,804; the summary convictions, 71,850; making a total of those who have come under the law 98,654; or in round numbers about 100,000. Now in that same year there were of juvenile offenders, that is under 17 years, tried or for trial 2,105; summarily convicted 9,348; total 11,453; we have then the proportion of juvenile to all crime for that year, fixed at  $11\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., and the figures for 1852, show a generally similar result. I will not weary you with statistics, but it is worth notice, and proof of which I state may be found in this same report, that while the proportion of juvenile crime, that is, of crime committed under the age of 17, does not exceed the figure I have mentioned, the amount committed between the age of 17 and 20 is absolutely enormous, forming, for those 4 years of life alone, nearly 25 per cent. of the whole. This fact is partially corroborated by the census returns of 1851, where of all the prisoners under sentence in Great Britain on a particular day, just 25 per cent. were found to be under 20 years of age: and a result almost identical with this was obtained by Mr. Redgrave from the census of 1841.

It is a startling fact in the investigation of crime, that while the number of persons living at any one time, between the age of 15 and 20, formerly only one tenth of the entire population at that time, this tenth is guilty of nearly fourth the amount of detected crime. I do not think that the prison or any of their returns can give us an exact idea of the number of those with whom the reformatory movement may have to deal. There are lads who break the law and get punished who are yet in no sense habitual offenders; there is perhaps still a good deal of undetected crime in counties where no efficient police exists, and no statement of the numbers annually imprisoned can help us, except in the roughest way, to estimate the number of those who may be at large. This only we know, that more than 11,000 children, a large majority to pass annually through the hands of justice, with how little reformatory effects in general, to a large proportion of recommitments nearly 4,000 out of 11,000 show plainly enough.

I can hardly imagine anything more vitally important for us in carrying on this reformatory movement, to ascertain then the scale, on which we shall have to conduct our operations. Unfortunately, there is no part of the whole subject on which so little light can be thrown. We are now working very much in the dark, we have little experience to appeal to, all estimates as to numbers have hitherto been mere guesses and they differ. I speak with some hesitation when I say that, when the reformatory comes widely into operation, you will not be sufficiently prepared to meet all contingencies unless you reckon on a yearly influx of from 2,000 to 3,000 boys. The

term of detention being at the estimate 5 years, you might according to that have 15,000 in process of reclamation. When I reflect that the cost per head to the state is only £13 yearly, and that from this must be deducted the sums recovered from parents, there appears to me to be no danger of burdening the finances with a demand disproportionate to the importance of the object in view. When we speak of the possible cost of reformatories, it is well to think of the certain cost of crime. We are apt to think only of the taxes which we pay to government, and forget those we pay to those whom it is the object of the government to put down. I quote it *valeat quantum* that a committee appointed by the authorities of Liverpool to investigate losses caused by theft, placed those losses at the sum of £700,000. Mr. Clay, of Preston, has assumed the average income of a successful thief at £100, and in the case of prisoners whose history he investigated, he found that, besides the loss which their depredations might have caused, the average cost of their apprehension, maintenance, prosecution, and punishment was £62 a piece. Similarly Mr. Rushton, writing in 1842, to the corporation of Liverpool, referred to the case of 14 prisoners, whom he estimated as having caused a dead loss to the community of between £2000 and £3000. We have heard of gaols costing between £150 or £200 per cell; there are some which have far exceeded this estimate. We know how little productive prison labour can be made, and on estimating the injury produced by crime, we must take into account the annoyance, the fear, and the trouble caused, which generally far exceed in importance to the sufferer the pecuniary loss itself. Financiers have an axiom, that a little uncertainty in a tax is worse than a great deal of irregularity; now obviously no tax is so uncertain, both in amount and time of collection, nor is so vexatious as regards the manner of collecting, as that which falls upon us in the shape of loss by robbery. I just name these facts in passing, as an answer to those who, not here but elsewhere, might be inclined to talk about the expense of criminal reform.

Passing from the question of numbers, let us consider whether there exists any chance of juvenile crime decreasing through other agencies than ours. We all know—we have heard them again and again—what are the principal causes of adult crime. Early ignorance, vicious associations, habitual intemperance (the most powerful demoralizing agent of all), and imperfections in police arrangements, whereby the example is held out of offences committed without detection. Poverty and distress are also operating influences, but to what extent they operate is a question much disputed. The specific agencies at work in creating juvenile criminality have been analyzed with great minuteness by Mr. Clay, of Preston, than whom no man is better known in connexion with reformatory movements. He found that in 75 per cent. of the cases investigated by him, the fault of the children lay unmistakably at the door of the parents. In 57 per cent. of those cases there had been habitual drunkenness, often accompanied by brutality, on the part of the father; in the remaining 18 per cent. habitual indifference and neglect. That is to say, in three cases out of every four of juvenile delinquency which



came before him, the prisoner had had hardly a chance of becoming anything but what he was. Mr. Clay's operation is corroborated by another, which I extract from an able and useful pamphlet by Mr. Adshead. He states that from an inquiry made into the cases of 100 criminal children at Manchester in 1840, the following results were elicited :

Born of dishonest parents	...	...	...	...	60
Parents profligate, but not of the criminal class	...	...	...	...	30
Parents honest and industrious	...	...	...	...	10

—  
100

An inquiry tends to show that in crime, as in pauperism, there is a tendency to become hereditary ; and the effect of neglect in developing crime is demonstrated by the large proportion of illegitimate children in gaols. It seems that unless we could deal with the parents, we cannot prevent the corrupting process from going on ; we cannot hinder children being driven out of miserable houses to seek a living by plunder in the streets. Now nothing is more certain than that to deal directly with the parent is impossible ; he is out of our reach ; he is beyond our control ; he is proof against such influences as we can bring to bear. So far as he is concerned, the work of demoralization must and will go on. Indirectly no doubt we may operate upon that class from which the parents of the criminal population are usually taken. But we can hope to operate upon it only by means of measures and movements continued through a long series of years, and needing time for their results to appear ; by means of better schooling, of temperance societies, of places of rational amusement substituted for the beer-house ; of cheap literature, of every encouragement which society can offer to industry and forethought. Meantime the children are being misled, convictions, imprisonments, recommitments continue. The more I look into the subject, the more fully assured I feel, that, for both the present and future diminution of crime, the only direct and immediate agency that can be employed, I do not say the best, but virtually the only one—consists in the detection, the training, and the giving honest employment to criminal children ; whom the neglect of such means will render offenders for life. There are other agencies which, in the long run, may, and I hope will, affect powerfully the less wealthy classes of society ; but these agencies are indirect only, and do not meet the necessity which is upon us of immediate action. Next let us consider (and I assure you I am endeavouring to be as brief as is in my power), what is the past history and present state of this reformatory movement. I am afraid we, as a nation, can hardly claim the credit of having been foremost to discern and to act upon the principle which this Union meets to promote. It is true that in 1788 the Philanthropic Society of London, the Society now familiarly known to us by the name of its school, Red Hill, was set on foot by private means. It is true that 15 years earlier Howard had called attention to this branch of prison discipline. It is true that in 1815 the Prison Discipline Society was established, one of whose chief objects was to save young offenders from the corruption of contact

with those more hardened ; that in 1817, the Stretton Institution is Warwickshire was commenced, and that at a later period the Children's Friend Society, under Captain Brenton, undertook the protection of neglected boys and girls, whether innocent or criminal.

But it has been chiefly on the Continent that the reformatory movement, until of late years, has thriven and flourished. M. de Fellenberg, at Hofwyl, near Berne in Switzerland, established a labour school for beggars and criminal children, of which the foundation dates from 1810, when the long prevalence of war had every where swelled the number of destitute and vagrant families. That school, beginning with 10 pupils, ultimately received above 100, and continued in existence during more than 40 years. In Prussia, at Dusselthal, near Dusseldorf, Count Von de Recke set up a refuge for the destitute, which appears to have included criminals also, and which, after some partial failure, caused by want of means, is now supported by the inhabitants of the town of Dusseldorf. Next in point of date to these attempts, and perhaps more successful than either, is the Rouke Haus, opened at the village of Horn, near Hamburg, by a man named Wicherein, himself possessed of small means. He began in 1833 with only an acre of land, with no staff except the founder and his mother, yet this small colony had, in 1851, risen to the rank of a village, and contained about 95 pupils. It would be wasting time to tell you here of Mettray and Red Hill, names familiar to all who study these subjects. Enough to say that Mettray was opened in 1840 ; that at the end of two years its success was ascertained, that 900 boys have passed through it, and that of these between 80 and 90 per cent. have turned out well. Red Hill school, as you know, dates from 1849 ; 948 boys have entered it, of whom 228 remain, 720 having passed through. Of these about 70 per cent. are known to be doing well.

Those who wish for details on the foreign reformatories will find them in a paper read by Mr. K. Malelland before the British Association at Glasgow, and since reprinted as a pamphlet. You are aware of the main provisions of the act of 1854 ; and how far it assists the setting up of Reformatory Schools. Power is given to detain boys at such Schools during five years, and to receive them at any age not above 16—government pays 5s. weekly for the support of each, but does not, in practice, otherwise interfere. Of this act most of the English Counties are availing themselves already ; nearly all, we hope will do so. I say "nearly all," because in some instances, where the number of boys is small, it may be better for more than one county to join funds, and set up a school between them. The object of the National Reformatory Union in connection with this movement is to form, as it were, a centre of action for those various local efforts, to enable managers in different counties to compare their systems more readily, to promote the establishment of reformatories where none yet exist, to enable those who wish to give personal assistance in the cause to discover where their help is most required, to assist in placing out those who leave reformatories ; to supply opportunities of discussing the general subject, and suggesting improvements in the methods adopted ; and should changes in the law of reformatories be

required, to press in Parliament the propriety of such changes. There is in existence, founded nearly at the same time, another similar body to this, "The Reformatory and Refuge Union," founded on a more sectarian basis, but which I hope to be useful within its own sphere. I name that body only in order to mention that, though they work by nearly the same means for nearly the same objects, there is not, there cannot be, any opposition between the two.

So far, gentlemen, we have had to deal chiefly with questions of facts, and but little with questions of argument. We have seen the state of crime; we have glanced at the efforts made here and elsewhere in the cause of reformation. I come now to practical inquiries, which we are bound to answer, and to answer satisfactorily, under penalty of being prepared to stand here the supporters of an impracticable project. Those questions are these:—Is the undertaking necessary? Is it *a priori* likely to succeed? Has it succeeded where tried in other countries? Now, as to the first point, the necessity of setting about this business, I apprehend there can be but little diversity of opinion. The circumstances of the time are peculiar. Whatever are the effects of transportation as a punishment upon Australia, there can be no doubt but that the effect of the system on this country was beneficial. In fact, transportation as an English institution, dates further back than the discovery of the Australian continent. We transported once to America; we transported once to the West Indies; we had, after the American Independence, to transport to the African coast: for half-a-century we transported to the Antipodean settlements. It is only within the last half-dozen years that we found ourselves cut off from an easy and effectual, though not economical, mode of getting rid of our criminal population—cut off, if I may express an individual opinion, without much prospect of being able to re-establish a practice which we have abolished, or of being allowed to find a new outlet for convicts which will not interfere with some young community. Be that as it may, we have for some time past had to contemplate the possible alternative of being compelled to keep all our discharged prisoners at home. It was a natural result of that position that people should begin to say, "Since you can't get rid of your criminals, you must reform them," But reform whom? Adults? That was felt to be, I do not say a hopeless, but an arduous and improbable task. Then followed the enquiry, "when do these men become criminals; in youth or in latter life?" The answer is sufficiently given in our criminal tables, and in the evidence taken before Parliament in the years 1852-53. It is ascertained that from one third to one-half of the convicts in our prisons have belonged to the class of juvenile offenders. It is proved, by a concurrence of testimony such as one rarely finds on any social question admitting of dispute, that short imprisonments (the average of all imprisonments in England is 50 days), are not reformatory in their effect; that they are even deterring; that usually they send back the offender more hardened than he went in. The difficulty is not to find witnesses on the fact, but to choose them. I believe there is not a governor of a gaol, not a chaplain, not a judge, not a chairman of quarter sessions, who is not

extracted from *The Midland Counties Herald*, shew the importance of the new regulations, and encourage all advocates of the Reformatory system to believe that many of their now forlorn hopes will, with time and judicious management, become accepted realities :—

#### REFORMATORY SCHOOLS: MINUTE OF THE COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

The promoters of establishments for Juvenile Reformation have not unfrequently been censured by those whose knowledge on the subject is neither very extensive nor very accurate, for waiting until the mischief is done—that is, until the youth has actually been convicted of crime—before means are taken to train him in the paths of honesty. Whoever has considered the question thoroughly will entertain no doubt on two matters of importance. First, that however perfect our preventive system may be made, there will always be a sufficient number of youths falling into evil courses to render Reformatories necessary and permanent institutions; and, secondly, that whoever thinks he is better employed in doing a little himself than in criticising with folded hands the exertions of others, will find, on experiment, that in a great and complicated undertaking, in which the co-operation of many is required, he must consent to begin at the point where he can find co-operators.

A few years ago, public feeling was shocked with the spectacle of very young persons, who had no instruction, or worse than none, being treated as altogether accountable for their actions, and submitted to a process of retributory punishment, which ended in making them confirmed criminals, and enrolling them in the class which engages in the pursuit of crime as its means of subsistence. In joining, heart, and hand, with those whose sympathies had been thus awakened, they foresaw that public attention, when once directed to any one part of the great subject, would not long be restricted to a mere sectional view, but would expand, until in the end it would reach the farthest limits of the enterprise.

The origin of the very gratifying interest in preventive and reformatory measures with regard to our juvenile population, which has now diffused itself throughout the whole country—or, if not the origin, at all events that great impetus to the movement which has struck the most unobservant with surprise—is, according to the opinion of the *Quarterly Review*, to be attributed to the Birmingham Conference of 1851. At that meeting a complete system of Preventive and Reformatory Schools was sketched out; but public opinion running very strongly in favour of taking action, as our American friends call it, in relief of young persons brought before Criminal Courts, it was thought wise, and indeed essential, to confine the labours of those whose duty it was to carry into effect the principles which the Conference had sanctioned to the accomplishment of that particular object. How much has now been done, both in the Legislature and out of doors, to advance the cause is well known to our readers; and if, looking forwards, the heights we

have reached are far below those which remain to be scaled, yet, looking backwards, we must rejoice to see that we have fairly emerged from the gloomy vale in which we had so long sojourned.

The third resolution of the Conference of 1851 was, "That the adoption of a somewhat altered and extended course of proceeding, on the part of the Committee of Privy Council, is earnestly to be desired for those children who have not yet made themselves amenable to the law, but who, by reason of the vice, neglect, or extreme poverty of their parents, are not admitted into the existing Day Schools." The Lords of the Council, however, were not prepared to act on this suggestion, which furnished another reason for concentrating efforts upon improving the treatment of young offenders.

But now the views of the Committee of the Privy Council have changed. The training which the public mind has undergone during the last four years and a half has not been thrown away on their Lordships, whose recent Minute is a precious testimonial to the value of the mental discipline to which, in common with their humbler fellow-mortals, these high personages have been subjected.

From the Provincial Conference of the National Reformatory Union, to be held on 20th, 22d, and 23d of this month (August,) at Bristol, much valuable information will be obtained. We know that all exertions are being made to render it worthy the Union which is national in the true sense of the word, and which numbers, amongst its members, men and women of all religions. We shall, if possible, insert the proceedings of this Conference in an Appendix to our present Record.

Since the issuing our Record for June, the First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation has appeared. The following is an analysis of Col. Jebb's evidence on the results of the Ticket-of-Leave System :—

The number of convicts who had received orders of license between the passing of the Act and the 11th of March in the present year was shown by a Parliamentary return to be 5,049, of whom 4,303 were released from the prisons of Great Britain, 435 from Bermuda and Gibraltar, and 311 (juveniles) from Parkhurst. Of the whole, 447 were charged with subsequent offences, and 404 were convicted, 230 being returned to prison under sentences which did not require their licenses to be revoked. The licenses of 173 were revoked. The number of convicts whose licenses were refused or withheld for misconduct was 554. The latter item, the witness explained, merely indicated the number who, by some act or acts of misconduct, had, during their three or four years' confinement, forfeited a month or months, which delayed the period when they would otherwise have been eligible for release. The number of convictions (404) was about eight per cent. of the whole number released ; and that, extending over a period of two years and five

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## REFORMATION

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 shire, 58; Buckingham-  
 68; Cornwall, 21; Cumber-  
 98; Dorsetshire, 28; Durham, 42; Gloucestershire,  
 64; Hampshire, 130; Herefordshire, 22; Hertfordshire, 44;  
 Huntingdonshire, 12; Kent, 102; Lancashire, 557; Leicestershire,  
 53; Lincolnshire, 65; Middlesex, 926; Northumberland, 65;  
 Nottinghamshire, 55; Norfolk, 73; Northamptonshire, 42; Oxford-  
 shire, 42; Rutlandshire, 4; Shropshire, 31; Somersetshire, 211;  
 Staffordshire, 146; Suffolk, 63; Surrey, 104; Sussex, 38; Warwick-  
 shire, 198; Westmoreland, 9; Wiltshire 52; Worcestershire, 66;  
 Yorkshire, 311; Wales, 96; making altogether 4,104.—The popula-  
 tion of these different counties is taken from the census returns;  
 and the proportion of ticket-of-leave men to 10,000 of the inhabitants  
 would be as follows:—1 per 10,000 in Bedfordshire, 3 4-10ths in  
 Berkshire, 1 6-10ths in Buckinghamshire, 2 9-10ths in Cambridge-  
 shire, 1 5-10ths in Cheshire, 6-10ths in Cornwall, 5-10ths in Cumber-  
 land, 1 2-10ths in Derbyshire, 1 7-10ths in Devonshire, 1 5-10ths in  
 Dorsetshire, 1 1-700th in Durham, 1 9-10ths in Essex, 1 4-10ths in  
 Gloucestershire, 3 2-10ths in Hampshire, 1 9-10ths in Herefordshire,  
 2 6-10ths in Hertfordshire, 1 9-10ths in Huntingdonshire, 1 6-10ths  
 in Kent, 2 7-10ths in Lancashire, 2 3-10ths in Leicestershire, 1 6-10ths  
 in Lincolnshire, 4 9-10ths in Middlesex, 2 1-10th in Northumberland,  
 2 in Nottinghamshire, 1 7-10ths in Norfolk, 2 in Northamptonshire,  
 2 4-10ths in Oxfordshire, 1 7-10ths in Rutlandshire, 1 3-10ths in  
 Shropshire, 4 7-10ths in Somersetshire, 2 4-10ths in Staffordshire, 1  
 9-10ths in Suffolk, 1 5-10ths in Surrey, 1 1-10th in Sussex, 4 2-10ths  
 in Warwickshire, 1 5-10ths in Westmoreland, 2 4-10ths in Wiltshire,  
 2 3-10ths in Worcestershire, 1 8-10ths in Yorkshire, and 2 2-100ths  
 in Wales.

## NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION.

The first provincial Conference of this Association was held at Bristol on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of August. The unpropitious state of the weather was somewhat damping to the ardour of those who had laboured in the "getting up" of the conferences; but every one was put into good spirits by the excellent audiences which on every occasion encouraged the friends of the movement by their presence, and cheered the speakers by their attention and applause. We could not help regarding these vast and overflowing assemblages as a striking evidence of the deep interest which the Reformatory movement is at present exciting through the country; nor could we, as humble labourers in the great cause, refrain from reflecting, with unmingled satisfaction, upon the vast amount of good which cannot fail to result from so varied and valuable a mass of information, collected together at a centre like Bristol, and thence spread abroad by the newspaper and periodical press through the country.

The *Times*, *Morning Advertiser*, *Daily News*, and *Morning Herald* sent down picked reporters, who daily furnished sketches of everything that took place.

### INAUGURAL MEETING.

The Inaugural Meeting was held Aug. 20, at 3 o'clock, in the Merchants' Hall, King-street, Bristol. The attendance was very numerous, and, although the weather was exceedingly unfavourable, a large number of ladies were present upon the occasion.

The Chair was taken by the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, who was supported by, amongst others, Lord Robert Cecil, M. P., Right Hon. John Pakington, Bart, M. P., Mr. W. Miles, M. P., Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M. P., Mr. Adderley, M. P., Mr. J. Vining, the Mayor of Bristol, Mr. Commissioner Hill, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Dean of Bristol, the Rev. Canon Girdlestone, Rev. Dr. English, Rev. W. Osborne, Rev. W. Tyler, of Spitalfields, Rev. Sidney Turner, H. M. Inspector of Schools, Mr James Hassell, Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers, Mr. Barwicke Baker, of Hardwick, Mr. Jellinger Symons, Messrs. Sanford, Wheatley, G. W. Hastings, W. Morgan, Gibbon, Bowyer, Lee Thornton, W. Naish, T. P. Jose, R. Leonard, C. J. Thomas, Col. Pinney, Col. Burrowes, &c.

The Right Worshipful the Mayor, J. Vining, Esq., said—Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasing duty to have the honour of introducing to you the noble Lord in the chair, the Right Hon. Lord Stanley. His lordship's object in visiting us on this occasion, is to explain to you a system of National Reformatory Union, which having been begun in Bristol, will, we trust, be extended throughout the country. That his lordship and those associated with him, should have thought fit to visit Bristol, I take to be a high compliment. I gather from it that his lordship is aware that the ground has already been here broken, that we have Establishments existing here, and that though struggling under some difficulties, they yet show the practicable results of such a movement. I trust also that his lordship is aware that

we are preeminent for our charitable Establishments—(hear, hear). It is not many months since we were honored by a visit from my Lord Granville, upon occasion of the establishment of a Trade School—our late respected Diocesan also established a Cathedral training and a middle school, and besides those we have also those splendid charitable endowments for which we are indebted to Whitson, Carr, and Colston. I consider that we are pre-eminently entitled to the attention of his Lordship and the gentlemen combined with him. I trust that the ground now broken will receive the good seed, and that we may date from their efforts the commencement of an era of great national social improvement.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley then proceeded to address the assemblage as follows :—

Ladies and gentlemen,—I will not detain you with any preface to the remarks which it will be my duty to make, nor apologise for the inevitable length to which they may extend. The subject of reformatories is to you deeply interesting ; your presence in this room proves that. The subject is beset with difficulties, else why the controversies, the debates, the writing and speaking that has taken place concerning it during the last five years? The subject is one on which action, and prompt action, is needed, otherwise it would hardly, in this practical country and age, occupy the most intelligent minds, and lead to the most strenuous exertions. The legislature has taken up, as regards the reformatory movement, a peculiar, though I think a wise, position. It assists the founders of schools ; it gives them legal powers ; it makes use of their agency ; but it does not supersede their efforts. The law under which we act takes for granted the existence of so much public spirit in the community as that individuals may be left to initiate a movement which in other countries would fall within the especial province of the executive. It is our duty and our purpose to-day to show that the confidence of Parliament is not misplaced ; that those who frame the laws and those who administer them, have not reckoned in too sanguine a spirit on the philanthropy and the patriotism of English citizens. I propose, so far as time allows, to lay before you an outline sketch of this vast subject : wishing to be accurate, I have set down on paper the substance of the facts and arguments which I shall use ; and holding it a deception to speak in public, on a question which one has not studied, I can assure you, however small the results may be, that there is scarcely a pamphlet, a debate, or a printed report of the last few years, bearing on the subject, from which I have not endeavoured to glean something in the shape either of information or advice.

Now, in the first place, in order to know clearly the magnitude of the evil for which we have to provide a remedy, let us endeavour to ascertain the actual and relative amount, in this country, of adult and juvenile crime. I do not apprehend that this can be done in a very exact manner. Prison returns can draw no distinction, though morally the distinction is a very wide one, between trivial breaches of law, compatible with innocence, and offences which are of a nature to indicate habitual crime. Nor is the shape of our statistical information on these subjects convenient. The difficulty I have found



in ascertaining, even imperfectly as I may have done it, the facts required supply me, if it were needed, with a fresh reason to envy and to hold up for imitation the complete, uniform, and simple mode in which the judicial statistics of France are compiled. Nevertheless, such materials as we possess we may use; and looking to the 19th report, just published, of the prison inspectors of England and Wales, which supplies us with the returns of 1853, I find it there stated that the numbers, "for trial or tried at assizes or sessions" were 26,804; the summary convictions, 71,850; making a total of those who have come under the law 98,654; or in round numbers about 100,000. Now in that same year there were of juvenile offenders, that is under 17 years, tried or for trial 2,105; summarily convicted 9,348; total 11,453; we have then the proportion of juvenile to all crime for that year, fixed at  $11\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and the figures for 1852, show a generally similar result. I will not weary you with statistics, but it is worth notice, and proof of which I state may be found in this same report, that while the proportion of juvenile crime, that is, of crime committed under the age of 17, does not exceed the figure I have mentioned, the amount committed between the age of 17 and 20 is absolutely enormous, forming, for those 4 years of life alone, nearly 25 per cent. of the whole. This fact is partially corroborated by the census returns of 1851, where of all the prisoners under sentence in Great Britain on a particular day, just 25 per cent. were found to be under 20 years of age: and a result almost identical with this was obtained by Mr. Redgrave from the census of 1841.

It is a startling fact in the investigation of crime, that while the number of persons living at any one time, between the age of 15 and 20, formerly only one tenth of the entire population at that time, this tenth is guilty of nearly fourth the amount of detected crime. I do not think that the prison or any of their returns can give us an exact idea of the number of those with whom the reformatory movement may have to deal. There are lads who break the law and get punished who are yet in no sense habitual offenders; there is perhaps still a good deal of undetected crime in counties where no efficient police exists, and no statement of the numbers annually imprisoned can help us, except in the roughest way, to estimate the number of those who may be at large. This only we know, that more than 11,000 children, a large majority to pass annually through the hands of justice, with how little reformatory effects in general, to a large proportion of recommittals nearly 4,000 out of 11,000 show plainly enough.

I can hardly imagine anything more vitally important for us in carrying on this reformatory movement, to ascertain then the scale, on which we shall have to conduct our operations. Unfortunately, there is no part of the whole subject on which so little light can be thrown. We are now working very much in the dark, we have little experience to appeal to, all estimates as to numbers have hitherto been mere guesses and they differ. I speak with some hesitation when I say that, when the reformatory comes widely into operation, you will not be sufficiently prepared to meet all contingencies unless you reckon on a yearly influx of from 2,000 to 3,000 boys. The

term of detention being at the estimate 5 years, you might according to that have 15,000 in process of reclamation. When I reflect that the cost per head to the state is only £13 yearly, and that from this must be deducted the sums recovered from parents, there appears to me to be no danger of burdening the finances with a demand disproportionate to the importance of the object in view. When we speak of the possible cost of reformatories, it is well to think of the certain cost of crime. We are apt to think only of the taxes which we pay to government, and forget those we pay to those whom it is the object of the government to put down. I quote it *valde quantum* that a committee appointed by the authorities of Liverpool to investigate losses caused by theft, placed those losses at the sum of £700,000. Mr. Clay, of Preston, has assumed the average income of a successful thief at £100, and in the case of prisoners whose history he investigated, he found that, besides the loss which their depredations might have caused, the average cost of their apprehension, maintenance, prosecution, and punishment was £62 a piece. Similarly Mr. Rushton, writing in 1842, to the corporation of Liverpool, referred to the case of 14 prisoners, whom he estimated as having caused a dead loss to the community of between £2000 and £3000. We have heard of gaols costing between £150 or £200 per cell; there are some which have far exceeded this estimate. We know how little productive prison labour can be made, and on estimating the injury produced by crime, we must take into account the annoyance, the fear, and the trouble caused, which generally far exceed in importance to the sufferer the pecuniary loss itself. Financiers have an axiom, that a little uncertainty in a tax is worse than a great deal of irregularity; now obviously no tax is so uncertain, both in amount and time of collection, nor is so vexatious as regards the manner of collecting, as that which falls upon us in the shape of loss by robbery. I just name these facts in passing, as an answer to those who, not here but elsewhere, might be inclined to talk about the expense of criminal reform.

Passing from the question of numbers, let us consider whether there exists any chance of juvenile crime decreasing through other agencies than ours. We all know—we have heard them again and again—what are the principal causes of adult crime. Early ignorance, vicious associations, habitual intemperance (the most powerful demoralizing agent of all), and imperfections in police arrangements, whereby the example is held out of offences committed without detection. Poverty and distress are also operating influences, but to what extent they operate is a question much disputed. The specific agencies at work in creating juvenile criminality have been analyzed with great minuteness by Mr. Clay, of Preston, than whom no man is better known in connexion with reformatory movements. He found that in 75 per cent. of the cases investigated by him, the fault of the children lay unmistakably at the door of the parents. In 57 per cent. of those cases there had been habitual drunkenness, often accompanied by brutality, on the part of the father; in the remaining 18 per cent. habitual indifference and neglect. That is to say, in three cases out of every four of juvenile delinquency which

came before him, the prisoner had had hardly a chance of becoming anything but what he was. Mr. Clay's operation is corroborated by another, which I extract from an able and useful pamphlet by Mr. Adshead. He states that from an inquiry made into the cases of 100 criminal children at Manchester in 1840, the following results were elicited :

Born of dishonest parents	...	...	...	...	60
Parents profligate, but not of the criminal class	...	...	...	...	30
Parents honest and industrious	...	...	...	...	10
					100

An inquiry tends to show that in crime, as in pauperism, there is a tendency to become hereditary ; and the effect of neglect in developing crime is demonstrated by the large proportion of illegitimate children in gaols. It seems that unless we could deal with the parents, we cannot prevent the corrupting process from going on ; we cannot hinder children being driven out of miserable houses to seek a living by plunder in the streets. Now nothing is more certain than that to deal directly with the parent is impossible ; he is out of our reach ; he is beyond our control ; he is proof against such influences as we can bring to bear. So far as he is concerned, the work of demoralization must and will go on. Indirectly no doubt we may operate upon that class from which the parents of the criminal population are usually taken. But we can hope to operate upon it only by means of measures and movements continued through a long series of years, and needing time for their results to appear ; by means of better schooling, of temperance societies, of places of rational amusement substituted for the beer-house ; of cheap literature, of every encouragement which society can offer to industry and forethought. Meantime the children are being misled, convictions, imprisonments, recommitments continue. The more I look into the subject, the more fully assured I feel, that, for both the present and future diminution of crime, the only direct and immediate agency that can be employed, I do not say the best, but virtually the only one—consists in the detection, the training, and the giving honest employment to criminal children ; whom the neglect of such means will render offenders for life. There are other agencies which, in the long run, may, and I hope will, affect powerfully the less wealthy classes of society ; but these agencies are indirect only, and do not meet the necessity which is upon us of immediate action. Next let us consider (and I assure you I am endeavouring to be as brief as is in my power), what is the past history and present state of this reformatory movement. I am afraid we, as a nation, can hardly claim the credit of having been foremost to discern and to act upon the principle which this Union meets to promote. It is true that in 1788 the Philanthropic Society of London, the Society now familiarly known to us by the name of its school, Red Hill, was set on foot by private means. It is true that 15 years earlier Howard had called attention to this branch of prison discipline. It is true that in 1815 the Prison Discipline Society was established, one of whose chief objects was to save young offenders from the corruption of contact

tary of State—he inspected and annually reported on as suitable, and that the principal of the school certify each quarter on the candidate's conduct and character, are all right enough. I hope, however, that by inspectors of the Schools we are to understand inspectors of Workhouse Schools; from the industrial character and domestic arrangements of Reformatory Institutions, these are evidently the proper and really qualified inspectors to judge of them and report upon them. But on closer consideration of the three classes from which the candidate teachers are to be drawn and to which we are to be confined for the enlistment of them, my satisfaction is mingled with some disappointment. Teachers holding certificates of merit are not likely to become again pupils under instruction for such situations as the masterships of Reformatory Schools, very few of which are worth more than 50*l.* per annum, with allowances and lodging, and which include nearly twice as much labour, trial, and anxiety, as the ordinary schools, for which such men are already qualified. Still less likely are union and workhouse schoolmasters, who have certificates of efficiency, to do this. One would think there must be some mistake in the wording here, and that competency is rather intended than efficiency. The Union school teacher is likely *à priori* to be the most fitted for the Reformatory, as he has some experience of superintendence and domestic management, the schools he has learnt and practised in being somewhat of the nature of boarding schools, such as the Reformatory Institutions also are.

But there are four classes of certificates—permission, probation, competency, and efficiency; each class containing three grades. Those certified for *efficiency* compose the *highest* class, and are entitled to salaries varying from 45*l.* to 60*l.* per annum, with rations and lodgings.

When I say, that taking the list of workhouse schoolmasters in 1852-3, only forty-nine out of 850 were certified as *efficient*, that one of my own best helpers, holds only a certificate of competency, that another and most able fellow-worker holds no certificate and has never been registered at all, and that the best men for the work that I know and have recommended are in like manner uncertified, and very little likely to submit to such examinations as are now the fashion, or to get any credit in them if they did, I think I offer pretty good grounds for saying that the conditions as to the scholastic preparation and fitness of the candidates have been placed unnecessarily high, and are likely to defeat the object which is in view. As to young men from the training schools, the less of them the better. We want men of some worldly knowledge and experience, with some seriousness and gravity of disposition, of settled character and habits, not boys or youths scarcely older than many of those under their charge, and, as usually found flippant, conceited, and impatient.

It will certainly be advisable that the candidate for instruction and practice in the Reformatory, has attained a fair level as a common teacher, but great care must be taken not to place the mark too high. Teachers of very moderate attainments in everything beyond

the elements of plain education are all that is required, especially as their twelvemonths' training in the Reformatory will give them better practice and development as instructors, and allow them to increase their own stores of general and useful knowledge. It would be better that those who apply to be received into the training school should be specially examined previous to their admission, by the inspector who inspects the schools, aided perhaps by the master or principal of the school itself.

This seems the more reasonable, as no specific conditions are laid down in regard to the actual masters of such schools (with whom these candidates would be placed) or their assistants, as in fact any person may be received and prepared and so introduced into the work in this last capacity; the only drawback being, that the school so receiving and training him will receive only 15*l.* or 20*l.* per annum towards the expenses of his salary, &c., instead of the 35*l.*, which is fixed as the payment on behalf of those admitted specifically for training under these new regulations.

I hope that we may agree to represent to the Committee of Council the difficulties we feel upon this matter, and that we may succeed in obtaining such alterations in the late "minute" as may allow the Reformatory cause to reap the full benefit of the many liberal and judicious arrangements which it contemplates.

The thing we have to seek for, in reference to the training of teachers for Reformatory schools, is to have the field of enlistment made and left as wide and general as possible. We want to induce recruits to enter, not to deter them, nor to devise fences and barriers to keep them out, or to narrow the ground of selection. Let us take all reasonable means to secure their scholastic fitness when we have brought them under our banner; but the first thing and the great thing, is to get the right men, that is, the able and earnest and religious men, who feel for the desolate and outcast, to *volunteer* into the service. All regulations which tend to hinder and discourage men like these are positively mischievous.

We have but one objection to this paper, and that is, Mr. Turner does not admit, and acknowledge as he should, freely, and openly, his great debt to Demetz and Mettray. However, we must fully admit the ability and importance of the paper, and we recommend it to the careful consideration of all our readers; and the following letter, reprinted from *The Law Amendment Journal*, of July, 10th, may be read in conjunction with it:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LAW AMENDMENT JOURNAL.

SIR,—I have read with great attention and interest the valuable paper by Mr. Sydney Turner, on the "Training of Teachers for Reformatory Schools," published in your journal for June 26, and heartily rejoice that this most important question has at length obtained such able advocacy. His practical knowledge of what a Reformatory agent should be, gives peculiar weight to his advice on

this point; and it is only with reference to the *method* to be adopted in training such agents that I venture to offer a few remarks. The undertaking is one of much difficulty and of vast importance; and any error in the course pursued, even should it operate only to retard the supply of trained teachers, would be a serious evil. Unfortunately, we are almost without experience on this subject in England. Should we not, then, seek it where it may be found? At Mettray the process of training officers has been carried on for 17 years with the most successful results. Not only has that institution been amply supplied from its *Ecole Préparatoire* with efficient officers, but they have been sent in large numbers to conduct other Reformatory Schools. Mr. Turner, although in one passage he appears to anticipate the establishment of Normal Schools, objects to a separate school for officers been attached to Redhill, or any similar institution. The question then arises, Will the alternative he proposes provide a sufficient number of teachers? He most truly says, that by degrees only will the candidate's fitness or unfitness for his profession be ascertained. This implies that some will be found unsuitable and must be dismissed, or will depart of their own accord. Many do so depart from the Normal School at Mettray, finding that the toil, anxiety, and self-denial they must endure as Reformatory School teachers is greater than they can bear; though it must not be supposed that the time even of those who do not become teachers is lost to the country at large, for they have received mental instruction and undergone a moral discipline which renders them valuable members of society, whatever be the position they may occupy in after life. Further, if we are to train Reformatory teachers to be as perfect as human means can make them, and our aim should be no less, we must have men who are devoted to the occupation, who love it heart and soul, who prefer it to all others. But before they can be selected from the candidates who may very honestly believe they should like the profession until they have had experience of what that profession really demands of them, time must elapse, they must study the Reformatory School under every aspect, they must see the dark as well as the bright side of the enterprise; and they ought to be able to acquire this thorough knowledge of the vocation while yet young enough to afford to abandon it and turn to some more congenial pursuit if they become convinced that they cannot satisfactorily perform its duties; otherwise they would be constrained to abide by it solely for the sake of a livelihood.

The numbers, then, of pupils must be sufficiently large to allow for many failures as regards the immediate object of their training; remembering this, and considering the growing demand throughout the country for Reformatory teachers, I do not think that any supply less copious than a large Normal School might afford, will meet the necessities of the case.

Mr. Turner has admirably explained how it is indispensable that the training should be practical—that the student should first watch and share with the master the management of the Reformatory School. This first principle, which is fully acted upon at Mettray, renders it of course necessary that the Normal School should be attached to a Reformatory institution. At present there are very few

Reformatories in England of sufficient size to receive such an addition, but pupils could be admitted into smaller establishments on the plan proposed by Mr. Turner.

A strong argument in favour of a Normal School may be founded on Mr. Turner's very just remark that teachers holding certificates of merit are not likely again to become pupils under instruction for Reformatory School masterships; and however earnest his desire may be, it is scarcely possible for a full-grown man who has attained a position in the world to bring to the task the pliability of opinion, the submission to the will of his teacher, and the conviction of the higher capabilities of the latter, which are essential to his successful training. Moreover, it has been found at Mettray that the students must embrace their arduous profession while yet so young as to have formed no ties in the world. But to do so special training must commence before they can have acquired the amount of instruction they will afterwards need; and while they may some of them retain, notwithstanding judicious selection, the flippancy, conceit, and impatience, common to youth, and which Mr. Turner so justly deprecates in a Reformatory School teacher. These serious evils may be obviated by the Normal School. The pupils may there pursue every necessary branch of information, and, by spending a portion of their time in the Reformatory School, meanwhile acquire a practical knowledge of their future duties, acting first as monitors and then as assistant teachers, until at length they are competent to become masters.\* And should the before-mentioned objectionable qualities be exhibited by any student, ample opportunity would exist for checking their development, and for so regulating the employment of the youth in the Reformatory School as to prevent their producing mischief.

In order to render available for pupils in the Normal School the aid proffered by the recent minute of the Committee of Council, some modification of the conditions of the latter would be necessary; but the very earnest desire manifested on the part of Government to promote the Reformatory cause may surely authorise the hope that this would not be found an insuperable difficulty.

I am, Sir, &c.,

A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION.

We most earnestly recommend this letter, Mr. Turner's paper, and that of Mr. Bengough, with which we commenced this RECORD, to all who are, or who purpose to become, Managers of Reformatory Schools.

At page xxvi of this Record, we inserted the Minute of the Committee of Council on Education, dated, June 2nd, 1856. The following article, bearing upon these minutes,

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\* For an exposition, by M. Demetz, of this portion of the system, pursued at Mettray, see *Law Amendment Journal*, for June 5, 1856. See also *IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, No 22, June, 1856, Record, pages lxx. to lxxix.—ED.

extracted from *The Midland Counties Herald*, shew the importance of the new regulations, and encourage all advocates of the Reformatory system to believe that many of their now forlorn hopes will, with time and judicious management, become accepted realities :—

#### REFORMATORY SCHOOLS: MINUTE OF THE COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

The promoters of establishments for Juvenile Reformation have not unfrequently been censured by those whose knowledge on the subject is neither very extensive nor very accurate, for waiting until the mischief is done—that is, until the youth has actually been convicted of crime—before means are taken to train him in the paths of honesty. Whoever has considered the question thoroughly will entertain no doubt on two matters of importance. First, that however perfect our preventive system may be made, there will always be a sufficient number of youths falling into evil courses to render Reformatories necessary and permanent institutions; and, secondly, that whoever thinks he is better employed in doing a little himself than in criticising with folded hands the exertions of others, will find, on experiment, that in a great and complicated undertaking, in which the co-operation of many is required, he must consent to begin at the point where he can find co-operators.

A few years ago, public feeling was shocked with the spectacle of very young persons, who had no instruction, or worse than none, being treated as altogether accountable for their actions, and submitted to a process of retributory punishment, which ended in making them confirmed criminals, and enrolling them in the class which engages in the pursuit of crime as its means of subsistence. In joining, heart, and hand, with those whose sympathies had been thus awakened, they foresaw that public attention, when once directed to any one part of the great subject, would not long be restricted to a mere sectional view, but would expand, until in the end it would reach the farthest limits of the enterprise.

The origin of the very gratifying interest in preventive and reformatory measures with regard to our juvenile population, which has now diffused itself throughout the whole country—or, if not the origin, at all events that great impetus to the movement which has struck the most unobservant with surprise—is, according to the opinion of the *Quarterly Review*, to be attributed to the Birmingham Conference of 1851. At that meeting a complete system of Preventive and Reformatory Schools was sketched out; but public opinion running very strongly in favour of taking action, as our American friends call it, in relief of young persons brought before Criminal Courts, it was thought wise, and indeed essential, to confine the labours of those whose duty it was to carry into effect the principles which the Conference had sanctioned to the accomplishment of that particular object. How much has now been done, both in the Legislature and out of doors, to advance the cause is well known to our readers; and if, looking forwards, the heights we



have reached are far below those which remain to be scaled, yet, looking backwards, we must rejoice to see that we have fairly emerged from the gloomy vale in which we had so long sojourned.

The third resolution of the Conference of 1851 was, "That the adoption of a somewhat altered and extended course of proceeding, on the part of the Committee of Privy Council, is earnestly to be desired for those children who have not yet made themselves amenable to the law, but who, by reason of the vice, neglect, or extreme poverty of their parents, are not admitted into the existing Day Schools." The Lords of the Council, however, were not prepared to act on this suggestion, which furnished another reason for concentrating efforts upon improving the treatment of young offenders.

But now the views of the Committee of the Privy Council have changed. The training which the public mind has undergone during the last four years and a half has not been thrown away on their Lordships, whose recent Minute is a precious testimonial to the value of the mental discipline to which, in common with their humbler fellow-mortals, these high personages have been subjected.

From the Provincial Conference of the National Reformatory Union, to be held on 20th, 22d, and 23d of this month (August,) at Bristol, much valuable information will be obtained. We know that all exertions are being made to render it worthy the Union which is national in the true sense of the word, and which numbers, amongst its members, men and women of all religions. We shall, if possible, insert the proceedings of this Conference in an Appendix to our present Record.

Since the issuing our Record for June, the First Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation has appeared. The following is an analysis of Col. Jebb's evidence on the results of the Ticket-of-Leave System :—

The number of convicts who had received orders of license between the passing of the Act and the 11th of March in the present year was shown by a Parliamentary return to be 5,049, of whom 4,303 were released from the prisons of Great Britain, 435 from Bermuda and Gibraltar, and 311 (juveniles) from Parkhurst. Of the whole, 447 were charged with subsequent offences, and 404 were convicted, 230 being returned to prison under sentences which did not require their licenses to be revoked. The licenses of 173 were revoked. The number of convicts whose licenses were refused or withheld for misconduct was 554. The latter item, the witness explained, merely indicated the number who, by some act or acts of misconduct, had, during their three or four years' confinement, forfeited a month or months, which delayed the period when they would otherwise have been eligible for release. The number of convictions (404) was about eight per cent. of the whole number released; and that, extending over a period of two years and five

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## REFORMATORY

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RECORD—TO SEPTEMBER, 1856.

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 shire, 58; Buckinghamshire, 68; Cornwall, 21; Cumbe...  
 98; Dorsetshire, 28; Durham, 42; ...  
 64; Hampshire, 130; Herefordshire, 22; Hertfordshire, 44;  
 Huntingdonshire, 12; Kent, 102; Lancashire, 557; Leicestershire,  
 53; Lincolnshire, 65; Middlesex, 926; Northumberland, 65;  
 Nottinghamshire, 55; Norfolk, 73; Northamptonshire, 42; Oxford-  
 shire, 42; Rutlandshire, 4; Shropshire, 31; Somersetshire, 211;  
 Staffordshire, 146; Suffolk, 63; Surrey, 104; Sussex, 38; Warwick-  
 shire, 198; Westmoreland, 9; Wiltshire 52; Worcestershire, 66;  
 Yorkshire, 311; Wales, 96; making altogether 4,104.—The popula-  
 tion of these different counties is taken from the census returns;  
 and the proportion of ticket-of-leave men to 10,000 of the inhabitants  
 would be as follows:—1 per 10,000 in Bedfordshire, 3 4-10ths in  
 Berkshire, 1 6-10ths in Buckinghamshire, 2 9-10ths in Cambridge-  
 shire, 1 5-10ths in Cheshire, 6-10ths in Cornwall, 5-10ths in Camber-  
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 in Kent, 2 7-10ths in Lancashire, 2 3-10ths in Leicestershire, 1 6-10ths  
 in Lincolnshire, 4 9-10ths in Middlesex, 2 1-10th in Northumberland,  
 2 in Nottinghamshire, 1 7-10ths in Norfolk, 2 in Northamptonshire,  
 2 4-10ths in Oxfordshire, 1 7-10ths in Rutlandshire, 1 3-10ths in  
 Shropshire, 4 7-10ths in Somersetshire, 2 4-10ths in Staffordshire, 1  
 9-10ths in Suffolk, 1 5-10ths in Surrey, 1 1-10th in Sussex, 4 2-10ths  
 in Warwickshire, 1 5-10ths in Westmoreland, 2 4-10ths in Wiltshire,  
 2 3-10ths in Worcestershire, 1 8-10ths in Yorkshire, and 3 2-100ths  
 in Wales.

## NATIONAL REFORMATORY UNION.

The first provincial Conference of this Association was held at Bristol on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of August. The unpropitious state of the weather was somewhat damping to the ardour of those who had laboured in the "getting up" of the conferences; but every one was put into good spirits by the excellent audiences which on every occasion encouraged the friends of the movement by their presence, and cheered the speakers by their attention and applause. We could not help regarding these vast and overflowing assemblages as a striking evidence of the deep interest which the Reformatory movement is at present exciting through the country; nor could we, as humble labourers in the great cause, refrain from reflecting, with unmingled satisfaction, upon the vast amount of good which cannot fail to result from so varied and valuable a mass of information, collected together at a centre like Bristol, and thence spread abroad by the newspaper and periodical press through the country.

The *Times*, *Morning Advertiser*, *Daily News*, and *Morning Herald* sent down picked reporters, who daily furnished sketches of everything that took place.

### INAUGURAL MEETING.

The Inaugural Meeting was held Aug. 20, at 3 o'clock, in the Merchants' Hall, King-street, Bristol. The attendance was very numerous, and, although the weather was exceedingly unfavourable, a large number of ladies were present upon the occasion.

The Chair was taken by the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, who was supported by, amongst others, Lord Robert Cecil, M. P., Right Hon. John Pakington, Bart, M. P., Mr. W. Miles, M. P., Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M. P., Mr. Adderley, M. P., Mr. J. Vining, the Mayor of Bristol, Mr. Commissioner Hill, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Dean of Bristol, the Rev. Canon Girdlestone, Rev. Dr. English, Rev. W. Osborne, Rev. W. Tyler, of Spitalfields, Rev. Sidney Turner, H. M Inspector of Schools, Mr James Hassell, Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers, Mr. Barwicke Baker, of Hardwick, Mr. Jellinger Symons, Messrs. Sanford, Wheatley, G. W. Hastings, W. Morgan, Gibbon, Bowyer, Lee Thornton, W. Naish, T. P. Jose, R. Leonard, C. J. Thomas, Col. Pinney, Col. Burrowes, &c.

The Right Worshipful the Mayor, J. Vining, Esq., said—Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasing duty to have the honour of introducing to you the noble Lord in the chair, the Right Hon. Lord Stanley. His lordship's object in visiting us on this occasion, is to explain to you a system of National Reformatory Union, which having been begun in Bristol, will, we trust, be extended throughout the country. That his lordship and those associated with him, should have thought fit to visit Bristol, I take to be a high compliment. I gather from it that his lordship is aware that the ground has already been here broken, that we have Establishments existing here, and that though struggling under some difficulties, they yet show the practicable results of such a movement. I trust also that his lordship is aware that

we are preeminent for our charitable Establishments—(hear, hear). It is not many months since we were honored by a visit from my Lord Granville, upon occasion of the establishment of a Trade School—our late respected Diocesan also established a Cathedral training and a middle school, and besides those we have also those splendid charitable endowments for which we are indebted to Whitson, Carr, and Colston. I consider that we are pre-eminently entitled to the attention of his Lordship and the gentlemen combined with him. I trust that the ground now broken will receive the good seed, and that we may date from their efforts the commencement of an era of great national social improvement.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley then proceeded to address the assemblage as follows :—

Ladies and gentlemen,—I will not detain you with any preface to the remarks which it will be my duty to make, nor apologise for the inevitable length to which they may extend. The subject of reformatories is to you deeply interesting; your presence in this room proves that. The subject is beset with difficulties, else why the controversies, the debates, the writing and speaking that has taken place concerning it during the last five years? The subject is one on which action, and prompt action, is needed, otherwise it would hardly, in this practical country and age, occupy the most intelligent minds, and lead to the most strenuous exertions. The legislature has taken up, as regards the reformatory movement, a peculiar, though I think a wise, position. It assists the founders of schools; it gives them legal powers; it makes use of their agency; but it does not supersede their efforts. The law under which we act takes for granted the existence of so much public spirit in the community as that individuals may be left to initiate a movement which in other countries would fall within the especial province of the executive. It is our duty and our purpose to-day to show that the confidence of Parliament is not misplaced; that those who frame the laws and those who administer them, have not reckoned in too sanguine a spirit on the philanthropy and the patriotism of English citizens. I propose, so far as time allows, to lay before you an outline sketch of this vast subject: wishing to be accurate, I have set down on paper the substance of the facts and arguments which I shall use; and holding it a deception to speak in public, on a question which one has not studied, I can assure you, however small the results may be, that there is scarcely a pamphlet, a debate, or a printed report of the last few years, bearing on the subject, from which I have not endeavoured to glean something in the shape either of information or advice.

Now, in the first place, in order to know clearly the magnitude of the evil for which we have to provide a remedy, let us endeavour to ascertain the actual and relative amount, in this country, of adult and juvenile crime. I do not apprehend that this can be done in a very exact manner. Prison returns can draw no distinction, though morally the distinction is a very wide one, between trivial breaches of law, compatible with innocence, and offences which are of a nature to indicate habitual crime. Nor is the shape of our statistical information on these subjects convenient. The difficulty I have found

in ascertaining, even imperfectly as I may have done it, the facts required supply me, if it were needed, with a fresh reason to envy and to hold up for imitation the complete, uniform, and simple mode in which the judicial statistics of France are compiled. Nevertheless, such materials as we possess we may use; and looking to the 19th report, just published, of the prison inspectors of England and Wales, which supplies us with the returns of 1853, I find it there stated that the numbers, "for trial or tried at assizes or sessions" were 26,804; the summary convictions, 71,850; making a total of those who have come under the law 98,654; or in round numbers about 100,000. Now in that same year there were of juvenile offenders, that is under 17 years, tried or for trial 2,105; summarily convicted 9,348; total 11,453; we have then the proportion of juvenile to all crime for that year, fixed at  $11\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., and the figures for 1852, show a generally similar result. I will not weary you with statistics, but it is worth notice, and proof of which I state may be found in this same report, that while the proportion of juvenile crime, that is, of crime committed under the age of 17, does not exceed the figure I have mentioned, the amount committed between the age of 17 and 20 is absolutely enormous, forming, for those 4 years of life alone, nearly 25 per cent. of the whole. This fact is partially corroborated by the census returns of 1851, where of all the prisoners under sentence in Great Britain on a particular day, just 25 per cent. were found to be under 20 years of age: and a result almost identical with this was obtained by Mr. Redgrave from the census of 1841.

It is a startling fact in the investigation of crime, that while the number of persons living at any one time, between the age of 15 and 20, formerly only one tenth of the entire population at that time, this tenth is guilty of nearly fourth the amount of detected crime. I do not think that the prison or any of their returns can give us an exact idea of the number of those with whom the reformatory movement may have to deal. There are lads who break the law and get punished who are yet in no sense habitual offenders; there is perhaps still a good deal of undetected crime in counties where no efficient police exists, and no statement of the numbers annually imprisoned can help us, except in the roughest way, to estimate the number of those who may be at large. This only we know, that more than 11,000 children, a large majority to pass annually through the hands of justice, with how little reformatory effects in general, to a large proportion of recommitments nearly 4,000 out of 11,000 show plainly enough.

I can hardly imagine anything more vitally important for us in carrying on this reformatory movement, to ascertain then the scale, on which we shall have to conduct our operations. Unfortunately, there is no part of the whole subject on which so little light can be thrown. We are now working very much in the dark, we have little experience to appeal to, all estimates as to numbers have hitherto been mere guesses and they differ. I speak with some hesitation when I say that, when the reformatory comes widely into operation, you will not be sufficiently prepared to meet all contingencies unless you reckon on a yearly influx of from 2,000 to 3,000 boys. The

term of detention being at the estimate 5 years, you might according to that have 15,000 in process of reclamation. When I reflect that the cost per head to the state is only £13 yearly, and that from this must be deducted the sums recovered from parents, there appears to me to be no danger of burdening the finances with a demand disproportionate to the importance of the object in view. When we speak of the possible cost of reformatories, it is well to think of the certain cost of crime. We are apt to think only of the taxes which we pay to government, and forget those we pay to those whom it is the object of the government to put down. I quote it *valent quantum* that a committee appointed by the authorities of Liverpool to investigate losses caused by theft, placed those losses at the sum of £700,000. Mr. Clay, of Preston, has assumed the average income of a successful thief at £100, and in the case of prisoners whose history he investigated, he found that, besides the loss which their depredations might have caused, the average cost of their apprehension, maintenance, prosecution, and punishment was £62 a piece. Similarly Mr. Rushton, writing in 1842, to the corporation of Liverpool, referred to the case of 14 prisoners, whom he estimated as having caused a dead loss to the community of between £2000 and £3000. We have heard of gaols costing between £150 or £200 per cell; there are some which have far exceeded this estimate. We know how little productive prison labour can be made, and on estimating the injury produced by crime, we must take into account the annoyance, the fear, and the trouble caused, which generally far exceed in importance to the sufferer the pecuniary loss itself. Financiers have an axiom, that a little uncertainty in a tax is worse than a great deal of irregularity; now obviously no tax is so uncertain, both in amount and time of collection, nor is so vexatious as regards the manner of collecting, as that which falls upon us in the shape of loss by robbery. I just name these facts in passing, as an answer to those who, not here but elsewhere, might be inclined to talk about the expense of criminal reform.

Passing from the question of numbers, let us consider whether there exists any chance of juvenile crime decreasing through other agencies than ours. We all know—we have heard them again and again—what are the principal causes of adult crime. Early ignorance, vicious associations, habitual intemperance (the most powerful demoralizing agent of all), and imperfections in police arrangements, whereby the example is held out of offences committed without detection. Poverty and distress are also operating influences, but to what extent they operate is a question much disputed. The specific agencies at work in creating juvenile criminality have been analyzed with great minuteness by Mr. Clay, of Preston, than whom no man is better known in connexion with reformatory movements. He found that in 75 per cent. of the cases investigated by him, the fault of the children lay unmistakably at the door of the parents. In 57 per cent. of those cases there had been habitual drunkenness, often accompanied by brutality, on the part of the father; in the remaining 18 per cent. habitual indifference and neglect. That is to say, in three cases out of every four of juvenile delinquency which

came before him, the prisoner had had hardly a chance of becoming anything but what he was. Mr. Clay's operation is corroborated by another, which I extract from an able and useful pamphlet by Mr. Adshead. He states that from an inquiry made into the cases of 100 criminal children at Manchester in 1840, the following results were elicited :

Born of dishonest parents	...	...	...	...	60
Parents profligate, but not of the criminal class	...	...	...	...	30
Parents honest and industrious	...	...	...	...	10

100

An inquiry tends to show that in crime, as in pauperism, there is a tendency to become hereditary ; and the effect of neglect in developing crime is demonstrated by the large proportion of illegitimate children in gaols. It seems that unless we could deal with the parents, we cannot prevent the corrupting process from going on ; we cannot hinder children being driven out of miserable houses to seek a living by plunder in the streets. Now nothing is more certain than that to deal directly with the parent is impossible ; he is out of our reach ; he is beyond our control ; he is proof against such influences as we can bring to bear. So far as he is concerned, the work of demoralization must and will go on. Indirectly no doubt we may operate upon that class from which the parents of the criminal population are usually taken. But we can hope to operate upon it only by means of measures and movements continued through a long series of years, and needing time for their results to appear ; by means of better schooling, of temperance societies, of places of rational amusement substituted for the beer-house ; of cheap literature, of every encouragement which society can offer to industry and forethought. Meantime the children are being misled, convictions, imprisonments, recommittals continue. The more I look into the subject, the more fully assured I feel, that, for both the present and future diminution of crime, the only direct and immediate agency that can be employed, I do not say the best, but virtually the only one—consists in the detection, the training, and the giving honest employment to criminal children ; whom the neglect of such means will render offenders for life. There are other agencies which, in the long run, may, and I hope will, affect powerfully the less wealthy classes of society ; but these agencies are indirect only, and do not meet the necessity which is upon us of immediate action. Next let us consider (and I assure you I am endeavouring to be as brief as is in my power), what is the past history and present state of this reformatory movement. I am afraid we, as a nation, can hardly claim the credit of having been foremost to discern and to act upon the principle which this Union meets to promote. It is true that in 1788 the Philanthropic Society of London, the Society now familiarly known to us by the name of its school, Red Hill, was set on foot by private means. It is true that 15 years earlier Howard had called attention to this branch of prison discipline. It is true that in 1815 the Prison Discipline Society was established, one of whose chief objects was to save young offenders from the corruption of contact

made in Manchester some years back gave 80 per cent. of the criminals whose cases had been investigated, as being the children of dishonest, criminal, or profligate parents; and only 10 per cent., or one-tenth of the whole, as the children of honest parents. All these figures, and many more computations of the same kind that have been made, agree in this, that in crime, as in the analogous case of pauperism, there is a strong tendency to become hereditary, and the inference to be drawn from that is this, that there is a large number, an immense proportion of the whole number of the juvenile criminals, who are so from circumstances, and not from choice; whose organization, whose character, does not more incline them to dishonesty than does that of others who have never entered upon vicious courses; who, in fact, have never had the chance given them, from the time of their birth, of obtaining a livelihood by honest means. These poor boys are, in fact, known and marked in the places where they reside; honest children will not associate with them; respectable employers will have nothing to do with them; and for any boy to be seen with them is in itself a stigma, and a mark of such boy not being himself respectable. Such is their position, and they grow up thieves, not because they want to be thieves, but because literally, they have no option offered to them.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, you will see at once that if we can make out that case, and we believe that there is abundance of evidence to substantiate it, if we can make out that case there is no reason to despair of the reformation of those who are brought within our reach under these circumstances. We do not want to overstate our case. It is not fair, and it never answers to do so. We quite allow that amongst the entire number there may be some who may be wholly or very nearly incorrigible. We quite admit the existence of this evil; but what we say is that these are the minority, and that the curable cases are the majority. And as regards those who are incorrigible, we conceive a certain advantage is gained—even though you may be unable to improve their characters, you can at least place them where they have not the opportunity of corrupting others. There is another inference to be drawn from the hereditary and local character of crime, and it is this: criminality does not, as we believe, at all follow the ordinary law of supply and demand. It does not follow that, because you have a certain amount of property, and only a certain number of police to guard it, you will also have a fixed amount of crime. That does not follow at all. We believe, when you have once succeeded in clearing the streets of this regular and hereditary criminal class, you will find that the crimes with which you will have to deal in future will be fewer in number and less criminal in character. It is one thing for a boy who has been well brought up from childhood to take to vice, and it is a quite another thing for a boy who has been brought up in vice, subsequent to his seeming reformation, to go back, it may be for a short time, to his old associates and habits. The two cases must not be confounded together. When, therefore, the success of our Reformatories is stated at 60, 70, or 80 per cent., we are not justified in supposing that the other 40, 30, or 20 per cent., must necessarily be given up



as hopeless ; we believe there are many cases where relapses have only been temporary, and that the lessons which have been so long and assiduously taught, though they bear no immediate fruit, will do so at some later day.

Now, you are probably aware, most of you, to what extent the Legislature has taken up this movement. The law has now given to magistrates the power of sentencing boys under 16 years of age to detention in Reformatories for periods not exceeding five years. The State grants 5s. weekly, 13*l.* 10*s.* per annum, for their support. It endeavours to recover that sum from the parents. By the minute of last June, large and liberal assistance is afforded in other shapes to those who desire to set up and carry on Reformatory schools ; and the object of this Society, which holds its meeting here to-night, is to render that law practically available, as far as it is possible to do so. We want to put its provisions in force. We want to assist in the establishment of new Reformatory Schools, and where they are established, we seek to give facilities for comparing the various methods which are pursued at the different schools, and to furnish opportunities for the discussion of the general subject. We want, if changes in the law should be required, to discuss those changes amongst ourselves, and to press their adoption upon Parliament ; and lastly—and this is the most important of all—we wish to furnish all those inmates of Reformatories, who in course of time may have to leave them, with a fair opportunity of getting a start in life, by procuring for them honest and respectable employment. We have sometimes been asked to include within the scope of our operations that other subject which I mentioned—adult reform. That, I confess, I should be unwilling to do. I attach great importance to keeping the two distinct. I think if we were to go beyond that line of operations which we have traced out for ourselves, we should run some risks of diminishing our own utility by attempting too much ; and by combining the more hopeful with the less hopeful enterprise, we should run the risk of incurring—I don't say prejudice, I don't say unpopularity—but we should run the risk of being held accountable for failures, which in that other enterprise are inevitable, and failures with which we have nothing to do, and cannot be held accountable for if we confine ourselves to juvenile criminals. There may be a future field of operations opened up to us in that wide question of industrial schools for vagrant children ; that, however, is a question rather for the future than for the present, rather for the Government than for private benevolence ; and although we are happy to have information and discussions upon the subject, for the present we must confine our operations to schools of a strictly reformatory character ; that is to say, schools provided for criminal children.

Now, in discussing this subject, there are three general heads, under which the whole inquiry falls ; 1st. On what conditions and in what manner are children to be admitted to Reformatory Schools ? 2ndly. On what principles are those schools to be conducted while they are there ? and, 3rdly. When the boys leave the schools, what is to become of them ? As to the question of admission, we have had, not only here, but, I believe, wherever the friends of this cause have assembled,

very animated and very important debates on the question of previous imprisonment. By the law, as it now stands, it is necessary that a boy, after conviction, before entering a Reformatory, should have gone through a short term of imprisonment. There are some of our friends who think that that should be optional, and not compulsory upon the magistrates. There are others again who object to the system of previous imprisonments altogether, and who think that in every case a boy should be sent directly to the Reformatory School. I note these points simply for the information of those who may not be aware of the state of opinion amongst us; I do not attempt to decide between those who differ, or to pronounce any judgment of my own upon the points in dispute. Some contend, that to send a boy to gaol at all is to cast a stigma upon him for his whole life; that the process is in general not one of a reformatory character; that his future prospects in life are affected by it; that there is a danger of creating a feeling of prejudice in his mind that, having undergone the term of his sentence, he had therefore a right to be set at liberty, and that superadding this term of compulsory education is unfair towards him. But I have only to observe, that if this opinion comes to be entertained, nothing could be more fatal to the practical success of our schools.

On the other hand, it is urged that a short period of separate confinement—not exposed to the contaminating influences of elder criminals—is healthy, and not injurious in its operations. That the temporary seclusion gives time for reflection, and that the boy who has been so secluded comes again into the society of other boys—even though that society be accompanied with hard fare and hard labour—with a feeling of pleasure rather than of pain; and those who support the previous imprisonment contend that it is an argument as far as it goes, that if you are to have penal discipline any where, it is much better to have it at the prison than in the Reformatory, because if you introduce penal discipline there you entirely alter the character of the Institution, and to a great extent you mar the effect of the teaching given. This, I believe, is an outline of the ground on which the controversy has been carried on. I came here merely to give you a sketch of the opinions entertained, and not to take one side or the other; but if I were to express any personal opinion of my own—and I would do so with great deference—I should steer a middle course between the two extremes. I would allow previous imprisonments in some cases to be optional at the discretion of the magistrates and in other cases I would make it compulsory as at present.

I shall now come to the next branch of the subject, which relates to the actual management of these schools. The boy is detained there for a period varying from two to five years, and he is to be taught habits of hard work and industrial occupation. In some cases he may learn a trade; in other cases, as in the Ship Reformatory at Liverpool, he is prepared for the sea. It is held, and I think rightly, that he should be fed, lodged, and treated simply and plainly—roughly, in fact, so that no honest parent need have any cause of envy on behalf of his own children as compared with the condition of the convict children.

Another point on which we lay great stress, and which we make a fundamental rule, is that, whether you have an institution as a whole upon a smaller scale, or whether, as at Mettray and Red Hill, you have some hundreds of boys collected together, in every case you should adopt what has been called the family system; that is, the system of congregating at the utmost not above 40, and, if possible, not more than some 20 or 30 boys in one house, so that personal character, influence, and superintendence may keep up its effect upon all, and that a personal supervision may be exercised over all.

Another rule which we regard as of primary importance to the carrying out of these institutions concerns rather the State than the individual promoters of the cause, it is to obtain from parents, wherever it is possible, either the whole or a part of the sum which Government pays for the maintenance of the child while in the Reformatory. I feel that if this is not done, at least in every case where it is possible to do it, there is a great risk of parents, who are anxious to get rid of the duty and responsibility of maintaining their children, purposely throwing them in the way of their being convicted, in order to get them sentenced to these schools. This is the feeling which we must do our utmost to check. We must say to the parent, "You have neglected your child, and you shall no longer have control over his conduct; but though you have lost that control over his conduct which you desire to retain, we shall still hold you pecuniarily responsible for his support."

Another question is the character of the instruction which should be given in these Reformatories. I think, for my own part, and I hold the opinion most strongly, and shall always express it decidedly, that the education given ought to be as plain and simple in its character as it possibly can be. The object you have in view is not an intellectual, but an industrial and moral object; and I do not hesitate to say that, on the whole, it would be a disadvantage rather than a benefit to the cause, if any large number of those who have been trained in our Reformatories should be seen to rise high above their class in life, and thus to hold out examples of unusual social success to those amongst whom their lot was originally cast. You would not regret it, of course, on account of the boys themselves, but on account of incurring that danger of which I have already spoken, namely, that of exciting in the minds of honest parents a feeling of envy which might lead them to say, "Nobody cares for us as long as we observe the law; and if we want to get noticed by the Legislature, or by benevolent people, the best thing we can do is to make ourselves dangerous." There is a constant risk of this feeling being excited; and anything which would tend to excite it ought to be most carefully avoided. I will not disguise this fact, although it is one of the weak points of our case. I repeat, there is a constant danger of that feeling being excited; and the safeguard against it is to enforce the responsibility of the parent, and to give only such instruction as shall qualify the boy for daily labour, and nothing more.

The last point I have to notice, as being an important one, relates to the disposal of these children after they leave the Reformatories. There are various modes in which their services may be made available:

There is field and ordinary agricultural occupation at home; there are the Colonies; there are the Army and Navy, and Merchant Service. What I say of one of these outlets applies equally to them all—namely, that we must take care, whether we deal with the Army or the Navy, or the Colonies, or the Mercantile Marine, that we do not introduce the criminal element too largely into any one of these; that we do not introduce it in such proportions that the influx shall be noticed and made the subject of comment. The rule we must take is to scatter these children, and to disperse them as much as possible, and not to condense and concentrate them in large masses in any one particular direction.

I will take, in the first place, the Army and Navy; I do not believe that there is any objection, that the boy who has regained, in one of these Institutions, his character for honesty, and who leaves it with the approbation of the Committee under whose direction it has been conducted—I say, I do not believe that there is any objection to take in a few such boys here and there. Wherever it has been done, it has been done with good effect; but if, for the future, it should be made a general practice, there would be prejudice, and a feeling that any particular profession into which these boys were freely and extensively received would be certain, thereby, to become lowered in the public estimation. And if this were done in the case of the Army and the Navy, your prospects of general enlistment would suffer serious injury; and with respect to the Colonies, we all know what has been the feeling in several directions with regard to the continuance of transportation. We carried on that practice till of late years; in some respects we abused it, and the result has been a reaction against it altogether. Just or unjust, I will not argue that; but there is throughout the various colonies of England a strong feeling against what they consider being made to take in, and to receive those with whom England will have nothing further to do. This is a feeling, the existence of which should dictate great caution in all your operations, in order that nothing like a reckless system of emigration, sending out great numbers of these convicted children to any one particular colony, might be allowed; because it would create a hostile feeling, and debar you from that outlet for the future.

A suggestion was made to-day—and I think it was a very valuable one—that in every colony where the friends of this cause might be found, we should endeavour to establish an agency, not a paid agency, but endeavour to find those who would be willing, without fee or reward, to assist us, by exerting themselves among their friends, and undertaking personally, or through their friends, guardianship or protection of a certain number of these poor children. I think that plan is a feasible one, but, I repeat again, a great caution must be used. If you attempt to send a large number in any one direction, I say again there is great danger of provoking a hostile feeling.

Now, what is there that has been done as yet with regard to this Reformatory movement? If you look to actual results accomplished, you must confess that not much, as yet, can be said to have been effected. I say this, because I have read some statements made on a previous occasion, which must have arisen from a misapprehension

as to the facts—the effect of which is to convey the idea that our movement is in a much more favourable condition than is actually the case. I think the number in Reformatories in England at the present moment does not exceed some 600 or 700 ; and the number of girls in them does not exceed 100. But though the results which have been actually accomplished are so small, there is a great deal now in process of being done. All the counties, or nearly all of them, are now exerting themselves. Reformatories have been founded, and teachers are been called for in all directions ; and it is with a view at once of encouraging and, to some extent, of directing this movement, that this Union has been founded and the present meetings have been held.

Ladies and gentlemen, before I sit down, I beg to mention the existence of another Institution, which is similar in kind to the one in connection with which we are at present assembled. That Society calls itself The Reformatory and Refuge Union. The difference between that Society and ours is, that, doubtless after full consideration as to the course which they thought it best to pursue, its promoters determined to establish it on a somewhat more sectarian basis than ours. Our basis is essentially unsectarian ; and I think that the principle we should act upon is this, that we should reject no one on account of diversities of theological opinion ; and feeling, as I do, that our real danger, and our only danger in this cause, arises from apathy, from indifference, and from neglect, I, for one, shall quarrel with no display of sectarian zeal out of this Society, which may have the effect of enlisting more recruits in the cause. If that feeling can help us, if that rivalry of opinion and desire of proselytism can be of any assistance, I, for one, say that I do not care about the means ; but I shall rejoice in the assistance which is thus afforded us in obtaining our end. The two Societies, while they differ as to the means, are agreed as to the end, and work together in friendship. We thought it wiser and better to differ as to the method, and to choose for ourselves distinct spheres of action, rather than to remain members of the same body while differing as to the manner in which the operations of that body shall be conducted. I may mention before I sit down a trivial accident which has been the cause of considerable regret.

The Report of Committee read at the meeting yesterday, which has since been made public, contained some remarks on the circumstances which led to the separation of the two Societies. That document was printed from the rough draft, and not from the copy which was approved and adopted by the Committee ; consequently, it contains some expressions relative to the other Society—I can hardly call it a rival Institution—which we do hope will not be regarded as at all intended to express our deliberate sentiments on the subject. The two Societies work together in perfect friendship ; they simply work separately because they think they can work better so. Contrary to my intention, I have already detained you for a long time, and I shall now bring my observations to a close. The most practical result, after all, as regards most of us, of a meeting like this is to give an answer to the question which many of you, I hope, will be inclined to ask, viz.—What can I do to aid this great cause ? Pecuniary assistance is, of course, an object, but it is not our only, or hardly our first, object. We want assistance from those who are desirous to become teachers ; and this requires the earnest devotion of a lifetime ; and there are few, unfortunately, from whom we have any reason to expect such assistance as this.

But there is a practical form in which almost all persons who are above the class of labourers, all, in fact, who have anything to do

with the employment of others in any capacity, can assist us; in undertaking the protection and placing out of at least one of that number of boys who will shortly be leaving the Reformatories. The difficulty of disposing of these boys does not immediately press; and there are some who are sanguine enough to hope that it will never press inconveniently upon us. For my own part I most heartily wish that I could be altogether of that opinion. I think the difficulty of disposing of them is one against which we ought to take ample and early precaution, and so thinking, I would merely suggest that the best and most practical service which any one could render to this movement, is to express a willingness, which any one may do by addressing himself to the Secretary of the Union, to undertake the giving or procuring employment—specifying, of course, the nature of employment—to one of those children who will shortly be issuing in great numbers from our schools. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have laid before you an outline of the subject, and I shall, with great pleasure, resign the duty of further addressing you to those who can boast of a much earlier and a much more active, and a much more practical connection with the movement, than mine has been.

Lord Robert Cecil, M. P., said, with regard to the concluding sentence of the speech of the noble lord who had just sat down, he could not for his own part claim to be one of those who had had the practical experience alluded to; but he felt earnestly on the subject, and he was anxious to do whatever he could to aid the movement by every means that lay in his power. The Resolution which had been put into his hands was—

“That this meeting strongly approves of the objects of the National Reformatory Union.”

The rapidity with which this movement had progressed in England must have been a matter of surprise to all; but he did not think it was till last year that any scheme was found, or at least definitely entertained, of uniting the efforts of those who are earnest in the common cause around a common centre. Another Society had been formed with similar objects, but principles somewhat distinct, and an effort was made early in the present year to unite the two Societies, which at first sight seemed to be an easy matter; a meeting was held, and a discussion was entered into, but they found that the other Society had resolved on confining its efforts to a single group of Christian denominations, and highly respecting their motives, and wishing them well in the course they were taking, they yet felt that they should be abandoning the object which they had selected, if they were to join in any such exclusive system. He was very anxious that on this point he should not be misunderstood. He was anxious that it should not be considered that they thought one bit the less, or that they were the one atom the less sensible of the all importance of religion as an agent. Religion must be the teacher's motive for his self-denying life; religion must be, in reality, the sole motive which induced him to devote himself to the cause of his pupils. Religion was the motive power, without which the best machinery must inevitably fail; while with it an organization and staff, inferior intellectually, might every often be attended with a very gratifying amount of success. Nor, again, were any of them willing to accept the imputation that they regarded with indifference the points on which they were divided. They were as deeply attached as any one to all those points, and they believed that their desire was to set before Christendom the example of a combination in this great work of all who loved the name of our Lord and Saviour

Jesus Christ. He did not think that in the course which they had pursued they had shown any lack of love for religion. The two Societies were not rivals, but colleagues in the cause; they were actuated by mutual good-will, and they both desired that the cause should progress. But they moved in different paths. The Reformatory and Refuge Union had been mainly concerned with those Societies which, instituted without any recognition or aid from Government, undertook by private charity to reform the outcast boys upon the streets. It had far less connection with the Reformatory Institutions with which they (the National) were especially concerned, and those Reformatory Institutions with which it was connected were so far different from those represented upon that platform, that they existed mainly in London—a sphere nearer those whom they sought to succour, but exposed to many dangers from which more rural retreats were free.

Again, it so happened that most of those who took an interest in public affairs, most of those who were Members of Parliament, belonged to the National Society, and consequently one of the tasks which their Chairman mentioned to them as one of those which the National Society proposed to itself as one of the main parts of its duty—was that of pressing upon the Legislature those changes which might appear necessary to be made in the law on the subject. They had not got all from the Legislature which they required, and there were many questions which they must bring before Parliament, such as the question of preliminary punishment, apprenticeship, and emigration, as furnishing an outlet from the Reformatories, &c. They must also direct their attention to Girls' Reformatories. This was an all-important subject, because it went straight to the root of their whole system. One of the most powerful agencies in the formation of character was that never-ceasing, insensible influence which nothing but a virtuous home could furnish. The mother made the home a virtuous home, which reared the virtuous citizen, or the profligate home, which turned out the thieving boy; and therefore it was that in their Girls' Reformatories lay the whole secret of the future reformation of what were called the criminal classes. The reformation of boys was more important than the reformation of adults, and the reformation of girls was more important than the reformation of boys. Government must also turn its attention to the systematic operations going on for the purpose of training thieves and making them expert in their calling. The emissaries of those places caught the boys in the streets, and educated them in thieving, and they had even been known to dupe them away from the Reformatories.

SIR JOHN PAKINGTON, M.P., seconded the motion, and briefly sketched the history of the movement.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE, the Rev. Canon GIRDLESTONE, and Mr. Jellinger Symonds, then addressed the meeting on the subject of Preventive Schools.

The Mayor of BRISTOL moved the warmest thanks of the meeting to Lord Stanley, for the very able manner in which he had presided over the Conference.

Mr. W. MILES, M.P., seconded the motion, which was put, and carried unanimously.

Lord Stanley returned thanks for the compliment, and the meeting separated shortly after 11 o'clock.

On Friday the proceedings of the Conference were brought to a close by an excursion to the Reformatory Schools, Pynes, near Exeter, to Hardwicke-court Reformatory, and to the following Bristol

Reformatories : Arno's court, Kingswood, St. James's-back, Peannywell-lane Industrial School, the Orphan Asylum, Ashley-down, and the Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory School.

We are indebted to *The Bristol Gazette*, and to *The Philanthropist*, for these reports of the Bristol meetings ; and all who read them, understanding the Reformatory movement, and the objects of the National Reformatory Union, must rejoice to find, that the question of Reformation is making such progress towards complete success, and has become so publicly known and appreciated beyond the comparatively small circle of its own peculiar thinkers and workers.

Lord Stanley's speech was admirable, but in one point we differ with him, and we know that the most acknowledged leaders of the cause differ with him on exactly the same point.

He considers that our objects should be *Juvenile Reformation*, and appears to think that *Adult* Reformation is beyond our scope, or above human agency. This is a most grave and unenlightened view of the Reformatory principle. In fact, all who know the system are well aware, that with modified phases of the Reformatory principle, the full benefits of the Reformatory system can be extended to, and developed in, the full reformation of the *Adult* criminals of either sex.

We know well that this is the opinion of Mr. Recorder Hill, of Mr. Frederic Hill, of Mr. Robert Hall, of Miss Carpenter, of Captain Crofton, and of Mr. Baker, who has told us repeatedly that, if permitted by the Government to try the experiment, he would be as successful with an *Adult* Farm School as with a *Juvenile* Reformatory.

And Mr. Baker is quite right—Captain Crofton has proved it for him, and more than proved it, because the Smithfield Institution is situated in the poorest part of Dublin, surrounded by low lodging-houses, common brothels, and public houses ; yet Captain Crofton trusts his men beyond the walls of the Institution as messengers, with their own money in their pockets. Mr. Baker's men would not be thus exposed ; his would be, like his present Reformatory, a country place.

The Sisters of Mercy at Golden Bridge have their *Adult* Female Reformatory, and we have seen seventeen or twenty women, who came wild and godless to gaol, thoughtful to the Reformatory, and who will leave it fully reformed, or rather re-made.

We are happy, most happy, to find a man of Lord Stanley's position, energy and ability, entering the ranks of the advocates of the Reformatory Principle, but it would be a most disastrous error if the public were to believe, that he expressed the opinions of the leaders of the movement, when he stated that *Juvenile Reformation* should be considered the *ne plus ultra* of their labors and their aspirations.



## QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF RE- FORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

We commence the RECORD of the past quarter by a few facts, very cheering, although not connected with these Kingdoms. However, as we take revolvers from America, it is possible that in time we may adopt her plan of Government in prison matters, and will acknowledge, first, that the action of government in the prevention and punishment of crime is *paternal*; second, that the object of punishment is reformatory and not vengeful; third, that the law of reformation, in the State as in the family, is the law of kindness; fourth, that as criminals differ in age and experience as criminals, they should be treated accordingly; fifth, that prisons and gaols are not in their essence reformatory institutions, and only become so by means of circumstances not necessarily nor ordinarily acting—the prison being a battle-field between Vice and Virtue, with the odds of position and numbers on the side of Vice; and consequently and finally, that since prisons ordinarily can only exert a feeble moral influence on their inmates, and fail as reformatory institutions, on the whole, we ought to search for a new and different agency, and if we find one, put it in use. This is a short abstract of the policy of America, as expressed in the very able address of the Hon. George S. Boutwell, Secretary to the Massachusetts Board of Education, and delivered by him at Lancaster, at the opening of the State Industrial School for Girls, August 27th, 1856. From *The Boston Daily Advertiser*, we take the following account of this School:—

Before proceeding further, we may as well state that it is the design of this institution to afford to exposed and helpless girls that protection on the part of the State which their natural protectors either cannot or will not afford. Its subjects will be taken between the ages of 7 and 16, on the warrant of judges of probate, after an examination at which any person professing a right of control or guardianship over the girl will be heard. They will be committed until they shall attain the age of 18; and will be detained in the

school so long as may appear necessary or expedient, and will then be placed in families. In the principal cities and large towns, commissioners will be appointed by the governor, having the same authority to send girls to the school as the judges of probate.

The examination of the fitness of a girl for the school must not be regarded as a criminal proceeding; the sending of the girl there is not a punishment, nor is the school in any sense a prison.

For the better execution of this design it was determined not to erect any gigantic building for the accommodation of a numerous crowd of inmates; but rather to give the girls the feeling of residing like a *family* in a *home*.

The commissioners who were appointed by Governor Washburn to select a site, erect buildings, and prepare a plan for the institution, were Messrs. John H. Wilkins, Henry B. Rogers, and Francis B. Fay. They have nobly discharged their duty, and have fully justified the wisdom of Governor Washburn in selecting them, and the generous confidence of Governor Gardner in retaining them to the completion of their task. After a diligent examination of various localities, and comparison of advantages, they selected the old "Stillwell Place," in the town of Lancaster. Here they were so fortunate as to be able to purchase 100 acres of excellent land, with a large old-fashioned mansion-house, built of brick, two wooden dwelling-houses, with barns and fixtures, for a sum a little exceeding ten thousand dollars. The two wooden houses are well adapted for the residences of the Superintendent and of the Farmer, respectively; the mansion-house was enlarged and fitted for the purposes of the school at an expense of about 4000 dollars, and two new brick buildings were put up at an expense of about 12,500 dollars each. These sums, with some other expenses of construction, were met by the original State appropriation of 20,000 dollars and the private subscription of 20,500 dollars. The State also appropriated 5000 dollars for furnishing the buildings, and likewise bears the current expenses of maintenance.

The two new buildings with the mansion-house make three separate "homes" for three separate "families" of girls, which are designed to be kept distinct in most respects, with separate matrons and assistants residing in each house, but united under the general care of one superintendent. The two new buildings are precisely alike. They are constructed of brick, in the best style, without ornament, and neatly and appropriately furnished. The following general description will give an idea of their appearance and internal arrangement. Each of them is two stories in height and constructed in the form of an L. Entering at the front door, which is near the angle of the L—on your right is the parlour, from which opens the "work-room," likewise on the right hand of the entry—next this a small lighted room or closet—and a school room, at the end of the entry, occupies the remainder of the L. All the rooms appear small to one who has the idea of a public institution in his mind; but compared with the private dwellings of persons in ordinary circumstances, they are of sufficient size. The school room is fitted with desks for 30 scholars. Opposite the work-room, on the left of the entry, is the landing, and a large closet adjoining.

Starting again at the front door, at the left hand, opposite the parlour, is the dining room, from which we proceed through the other arm of the L into the kitchen, a large lighted closet intervening. In this part of the building are likewise a bath-room, sink-room, and store-room. There is a passage leading from a door in the end of this arm of the L into the main entry, between the dining room and the large closet adjoining the laundry.

On the second story, over the parlour, is the matron's room; over the work-room is the general dormitory, containing six beds designed for 12 inmates; over the dining-room is a room called the "hospital"—and at each end of the L are eight small single bed-rooms. The attic is finished as a safe and commodious play-room; and there are one or two rooms in this part of the house which may be used as additional dormitories on an emergency.

All the rooms are very thoroughly ventilated. The houses are heated by furnaces. There is a copious supply of pure water carried to the highest part of the houses; it is brought from an unfailing spring about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles distant, in iron pipes lined with porcelain. The head has an elevation of 100 feet above the plateau on which the houses stand, and the arrangement is thus an effective safeguard in case of fire as well as a great domestic convenience. There is a fountain or jet in the centre of the grounds, from which a small stream was played during a portion of the time yesterday.

The furniture is neat and not luxurious. A little bed, a bureau, a chair, a small piece of carpeting, a diminutive mirror, and a Bible, complete the appointments of the single dormitories. But everything is nice, and all the arrangements are of the most convenient description. Each of the three houses is designed to accommodate 30 girls. The rooms of the matron and her assistant are so arranged that they can have a general supervision over the whole establishment. We neglected to obtain an exact measurement, but the length of each arm of the L is about 75 feet, and the breadth about 30. We should mention that the shape of the buildings is not perfectly regular, but there are slight variations, which add to their convenience, and give them a better appearance.

The mansion-house is three stories in height, (the water is carried to the highest,) and differs somewhat in its internal arrangement from the others, but it has been made by new partitions to conform substantially to the general plan. The roof of each house commands a fine prospect, embracing beautiful scenery far and near, the summits of Wachusett and Monadnock distinctly visible in the distance. Large trees abound in the grounds about the houses.

We have already mentioned the name of Mr. Peirce, the superintendent, who resides with his family in one of the wooden houses. The farmer, Mr. A. E. Boynton, resides in another. The two matrons already appointed, are Mrs. C. M. S. Carpenter and Mrs. Mary M. Willard.

For a chapel for the institution, a small Church standing in the village of South Lancaster has been purchased, and will be moved to the grounds. There are handsome book-cases in the "work-rooms, and the beginning of a library—but we should think the donation of books might be acceptable.

Upon the conclusion of the formal opening of the School, the following proclamation, which expresses the principle of the Government, was read, and it will be observed that it nearly approaches the system as carried out in Scotland, and so ably detailed by Mr. Arthur Hill in his essay, *Train up a Child in the Way he Should Go*:—

BY HIS EXCELLENCY HENRY J. GARDNER,

Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

*Whereas*, by the third section of an act passed by the legislature of this commonwealth on the 21st day of May, A.D. 1855, entitled "an act to establish a State Reform School for Girls," it is provided that "as soon as the governor shall have been notified by the commissioners appointed under certain resolves 'for the purchase of a site and the erection of buildings thereon for a State Reform School for Girls,' that said buildings are prepared for occupancy, he shall forthwith issue his proclamation, giving public notice of the fact."

And by the fourth section of the act aforesaid, it is provided that "after proclamation shall have been made, as provided in the third section of this act, whenever any girl, above the age of seven and under the age of sixteen years, shall be brought by any constable, police-officer, or other inhabitant of any city or town in this Commonwealth, before any judge of probate or commissioner authorised and empowered to act in the case by the eighth section of this act, upon the allegation or complaint that the said girl has committed any offence known to the laws of this Commonwealth, punishable by fine or imprisonment, other than such as may be punished by imprisonment for life, or that she is leading an idle, vagrant, or vicious life, or has been found in any street, highway or public place within this Commonwealth in circumstances of want and suffering, or of neglect, exposure or abandonment, or of beggary, it shall be the duty of the judge or commissioner aforesaid, before whom the said girl is brought, to issue a summons or order in writing, addressed to the father of said girl, if he be living and resident within the town or city where the said girl was found, and if not, then to her mother, if she be living and so resident, and if there be no father or mother of said girl resident within said town or city, then addressed to the lawful guardian of said girl if any there be resident within said town or city, or if not, to the person with whom, according to the examination of the girl, and the testimony, if any, received by the judge or commissioner aforesaid, the said girl shall reside; and if there be no person with whom she statedly resides, the judge or commissioner may, at his discretion, appoint some suitable person to act in her behalf, requiring him or her, as the case may be, to appear before him at such time and place as he shall in said summons or order appoint, and to show cause, if any there be, why the said girl shall not be committed to the Reform School for Girls, established by this act."

*And whereas* the commissioners appointed under the resolves above referred to have given me notice that the buildings erected for said State Reform School for girls at Lancaster, in the county of Worcester, are now ready for the reception of inmates.

Now therefore, I, HENRY J. GARDNER, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do issue this Proclamation, giving public notice to the commissioners under the act, magistrates and people of this Commonwealth of the fact that said State Reform School for Girls, now called and known by authority of the legislature as the State Industrial School, is prepared for occupancy.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Commonwealth this 27th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1856, and of the Independence of the United States the 81st.

HENRY J. GARDNER.

By His Excellency the Governor,

FRANCIS DE WITT,

Secretary of the Commonwealth.

*God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

In *The Boston Weekly Messenger* of September 3rd, we read the following:—

STATE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.—We learn that on the very next morning after the opening exercises at Lancaster on Wednesday last, an interesting little girl, 13 years of age, in all respects a fit subject for the institution, was brought to the school, the necessary papers having been signed by the Judge of Probate as soon as he saw the Governor's Proclamation. This fact attests the public interest in the school and readiness to turn its privileges to good account.

## STATE REFORM SCHOOLS FOR BOYS AT WEST-BOROUGH.

[From the Salem Register, August 28.]

The school at present numbers *five hundred and seventy* boys. Of these 140 are employed on the farm; 120 in manufacturing shoes, of which more than five hundred pairs are made daily; 116 in sewing and knitting; 60 in making cane seats, while others are made useful in the laundry, cooking and other departments.

Eighteen hundred and three boys have been admitted since Nov. 1st, 1848, when the school was opened. Since Dec. 1, 1855, 239 have been apprenticed or discharged, and about the same number admitted. The discipline of the school is firm yet mild, the whole aim being to reform these youth by kindness, good advice and moral suasion. They attend prayers morning and evening, and the hours of the day are spent in some useful labor, the school-room and play ground.

There are eight school-rooms where the usual branches are taught as in our best public schools. The teachers appear very efficient, patient and persevering, being determined that every pupil shall be well instructed.

Every Sabbath morning six hundred scholars and teachers assemble in the chapel at nine o'clock, when each scholar recites his lesson from the Bible. At eleven, and again at four o'clock, all assemble in the Chapel where a discourse is preached. The singing by the whole audience is excellent.

Connected with the school is one of the best hospitals in the country, but owing to the exercise and pure air enjoyed by the boys, cases of sickness among them are very rare.

A prayer meeting is held by the officers, teachers and family every Friday evening, to implore Divine aid, and God's blessing on themselves and those committed to their trust. Their situation is one of great responsibility—they feel it to be so, and will not Christians throughout the State, particularly on Friday evenings, remember this praying band, and implore for them that wisdom so needful to guide their steps.

In our own countries, the Reformatory principle is certainly progressing. In another portion of this number of *THE IRISH QUARTERLY*, we have written at much length upon this topic, and had resolved to shorten the space of this Record, but we are bound, in justice to the cause, to place before our readers the proceedings of some meetings held to advocate the Principle. First, then, we place the Birmingham meeting of October :—

#### BIRMINGHAM DISCHARGED PRISONERS' AID SOCIETY.

A public meeting in aid of this Society was held on Friday evening in the Town Hall. The body of the hall was densely crowded, to a great extent by working men, and the side galleries were well filled. The chair was occupied by Lord Calthorpe, President of the Society, and on the Platform were Lord Lyttelton, Viscount Ingestre, the Right Honorable James Stuart Wortley, Recorder of London, Sir Peter Van Notten Pole, Bart., High Sheriff, The Right Hon. Sir J. S. Pakington, Bart., M. P., The Hon. Augustus Calthorpe, Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., M. P., C. B. Adderley, Esq., M. P., M. D. Hill, Esq., Q. C., Recorder of Birmingham; the Revds. J. C. Miller, I. C. Barrett, S. Gedge, L. Tuttlett, W. Gover, J. D. Collis, J. T. Burt (Chaplain of the Borough Gaol), H. Goodacre (Stafford), W. Hatch (Wandsworth), D. Melville (Shelsley Reformatory), F. H. Williams, T. Bittleston, R. W. Dale, O. Vince, and C. Clarke; Dr. Heslop, Dr. Melson, T. C. Sneyd Kinnersley (Stipendiary Magistrate), C. Shaw, G. H. Bengough, T. Barwick Baker (Hardwick Reformatory), F. A. McGeachy, E. Gem, T. Hartshorne, R. W. Winfield, and I. Spooner, Esqrs.; Aldermen Phillips, Lucy, and Sturge; Councillors Ryland, Lloyd, Elkington, Sturges, and Banks; Messrs. C. Hastings (secretary to the Reformatory Union), Charles Ratcliff, John Unett, H. Rotton, W. Morgan, G. W. Hilliard, Samuel Rogers, W. Barlow, T. Wright (Manchester), A. Walter, G. J. Johnson, A. Morgan, &c.—Letters of apology were received from the Earl of Lichfield, Lord Leigh, the Hon. and Rev.

G. M. Yorke (who was absent through illness), C. N. Newdegate, Esq., M. P., W. Scholefield, Esq., M. P., the Mayor, T. R. T. Hodgson, Esq., C. H. Bracebridge, Esq. (who offered a subscription of 2*l.* per annum), the Rev. J. Clay, Chaplain of Preston Gaol, J. O. Bacchus, Esq., Mr. Standbridge, Town Clerk, Mr. Amphlett, and other gentlemen.

Lord Calthorpe, in opening the proceedings, expressed his regret at the unavoidable absence of Lord Stanley. The noble Lord then said he would earnestly direct their attention to the important object which the Society had in view. In the first place it sought to afford assistance to discharged prisoners, who, having suffered the penalties of the law, were turned out of prison without any homes to go to, and without any hope for the future. The Society would obtain for them such employment as they had been accustomed to, but in doing so would have to exercise great care and circumspection, lest the criminal should consider his position better than that of the honest labourer. By the formation of that Institution they would be enabled to trace the progress and some of the causes of crime. There was one source of crime to which it had been said by those accustomed to judicial proceedings three-fourths of the crime committed in this country were traceable—he meant the habit of drunkenness—(hear, hear). If such were the case—and so far as his experience went he had no reason to doubt it—was it not incumbent upon the Legislature to adopt such measures as might tend to remove this temptation to which the working classes were exposed?—(cheers). He felt assured that all of them must regret to see in this town the many incentives that existed to the working classes to spend their earnings in the gin palace and the public house—(hear, hear). His Right Honorable friend, Sir John Pakington, had taken great interest in that question, and he (Lord Calthorpe) believed it was chiefly through the Right Honorable Baronet's instrumentality that a Committee of the House of Commons was obtained some time ago to investigate the subject—(cheers). Since that period the question had in a great measure been shelved, but the more experience they had of the effects of this pernicious vice, the more it appeared necessary for the Legislature to interfere—(cheers). One of the difficulties they had to battle with was the difficulty with reference to education and the religious teaching in Schools. He trusted that education in this country would never be separated from religion—(hear.) Let it be remembered that every secular system that had yet been tried had signally failed. As an instance of that, he might refer them to Calcutta, where the schools had been conducted on the secular plan, the result being that in that city there was now a numerous body of clever, educated young men who were total infidels. It ought, therefore, to be one of their first and most cherished objects to establish a good system of education, founded upon religion—(applause). After commending the objects of the Society to the earnest consideration of the meeting, his Lordship called upon

The Rev. J. T. Burt, the Honorary Secretary, who read a lengthened statement of the aims and principles of the Association. The Society sought to relieve the great pressure brought to bear upon

prisoners by external circumstances ; to canvass employers with a view to obtain employment for them as soon as discharged ; to procure temporary lodgings for them in the cottages of poor persons of good character ; to purchase a few necessary tools or a small supply of materials and clothing, with which the convicted person might be enabled to earn an honest livelihood ; and to give to parties employing them a guarantee for a moderate amount, and for a limited period, thus ensuring them from loss by dishonesty on the part of the persons engaged. The Report stated that the result of a canvass already made had been most satisfactory, and since the formation of the Society employment had been found for thirteen discharged prisoners.

M. D. Hill, Esq., the Recorder, on rising to address the meeting, was greeted with enthusiastic applause. He said—I unite with you, my Lord Calthorpe, in regretting the absence of Lord Stanley, and perhaps I have most reason to regret it, because no man likes to be placed in a position in which unfavourable comparisons are likely to be made. We cannot but deeply regret the absence of a young nobleman who has already distinguished himself, not merely for the value of the principles he advocates, but for the labour he devotes to informing himself thoroughly as to the facts and arguments bearing upon any cause which has the benefit of his advocacy—(cheers). I trust that the indisposition which has deprived us of the intellectual treat we anticipated may be of short duration, and that the time may soon arrive when you will see before you a young man of whose future eminence his countrymen have formed the most sanguine expectations—(cheers). I am reassured, however, to some extent, by the very admirable Report which we have just heard read. We have had presented therein the facts in detail, and those facts must have struck every one—first of all with the magnitude of the wants to be supplied and next, with the humble hope that we are at last finding the *true* way for the diminution and repression of crime—(cheers). It is indeed humiliating to all who are concerned in the administration of justice, that the labours of our judges, our magistrates, our juries, and our police—all that machinery by which so many of our fellow-creatures are brought every month to the criminal bar—should only result in this, that after the convict has been found guilty, and punished according to law—after all that has been done for him by the exhortations and earnest supplications to him and in his favour by the Chaplains of the gaols—after all the lessons of the schoolmaster, and the still more important lesson derived from the pain which he endured from the consequences of his crime ; when the doors of the prison are opened, a vast proportion of those who have suffered the consequence of their guilt, quickly—oh, how quickly—offer themselves again to run the same miserable course. How many thus fall back I cannot tell you. We have ascertained by careful examination that at least 33 per cent. of those who have been convicted once come again and again to the criminal bar. But although we know that this 33 per cent. return to their criminal courses, we must recollect that there are of necessity many whose interest it is to conceal the fact of their previous conviction, and who, when they go elsewhere, are not discovered ; you may then well believe that, instead of this 33 per cent., probab-



ities point to a still more lamentable proportion—(hear, hear). Well, then, what is to be done? I do not wonder that the masters and the manufacturers of this town express their astonishment that no such society as the one we stand forth to advocate has been before founded in this place, because we are all aware, who know any thing of the criminal class—and who is there who knows nothing?—that the moment of departure from the gaol is the most dangerous crisis in the life of the criminal—(hear, hear). It is then, if ever, that the friendly hand should be stretched forth—that the friendly voice should be heard. He is then re-commencing his career; good and evil are before him. If the good be rendered hopeless, and the only home which he has is the prison appointed for his punishment; if the only friends who are not dangerous to his future prospects are those prison officers appointed to correct him; if he remember that when his character was unstained he could not keep his place in society, but had forfeited his honour, what despair must fall upon our poor wretched fellow-being when the door closes after him of that gloomy abode which was his only home, and he finds himself shut out from the only true friends that he ever had in the world.—(hear, hear.) Well, then, you must be there—(cheers). You have heard that the tempter is at the gaol door—that the receiver of stolen goods dogs his steps—that his old companions in crime wait to carry him away to his former haunts, and to embark him again in the fearful course from which he has been for a short time held back by the strong arm of the law. Do you disperse that wretched congregation assembled around the doors of the gaol, and hold out to the discharged prisoner the hand of encouragement. If you cannot do anything else, you can show him a friendly countenance—(cheers). Let him feel that when he has to encounter, as he must, the frowns of the world, one human being at least will be his friend, will rejoice if he can resist temptation and escape its dangers, will mourn if he fall back into the paths of sin—(applause). I address myself now more particularly to a class of my fellow townsmen whom I know well, and to whom I feel under great and permanent obligation, never by me to be repaid. It is probably known to many of those present that during the seventeen years of my Recordership I have adopted a plan which I learnt from the worthy and excellent Magistrates of the Warwickshire Sessions, namely, that when there is reason to believe a young person at the bar is not utterly depraved, that he is there for his first or nearly his first offence, that there are those allied to him by the relationship of blood, or of friendship, or that his employer would take him again and give him a home and a refuge, I have practised the lesson I learnt, and delivered up such young persons to those guardians, so that they might be admitted again into a family circle, and there might be hope of reformation from the example of others. And let me say, and I mention it with gratitude, that in the majority of instances the friends who have received the youth just stamped with felony, are the very persons who have been the sufferers by the offence of which the young criminal has been convicted—(applause). How often has it occurred to me to find a prosecutor, with tears in his eyes, beg and entreat

that the young prisoner might be given up to him again for a further trial; and when the Court has yielded to that entreaty, there has been a burst of gratitude and of thanks for being allowed to take so responsible a task as giving place in his family and household to a convicted felon—(cheers). I have felt, as I am sure you must feel, that the thanks and gratitude ought to pass from me to the benefactor, and not from him to me. Now in the course of my seventeen years' Recordership, this has occurred to a considerable extent. I have kept an exact register, and the individuals whose names are entered therein have been visited for the purpose of ascertaining the results of this lenity. In the course of these seventeen years, 483 persons have been so disposed of at the Birmingham Sessions. We have kept a watchful eye upon them, and the result has been that we have not been able to detect more than seventy-eight out of the whole number who have appeared again at the bar—(cheers). Surely there is a great benefit conferred on society.

I will not waste a word upon pecuniary benefits, for they are obvious under this arrangement. I would rather direct your attention to the moral gain to the community. It is manifestly a great good; and to what classes of the community do we owe that good? Why, to the artisan, the small employer, the small shopkeeper; these are the classes, I would say, speaking from seventeen years' experience, to whom is mainly due these great services which have been rendered to criminals and to society—(applause). Do not let it be supposed that I speak slightly of those who are higher in the social scale. It does so happen that masters who have under their management a large number of workpeople have felt, and I dare say rightly felt, that they are not in a position to undertake the responsibility of that constant watchfulness which is necessary to preserve him that has once fallen from falling again—(hear, hear). I therefore am far from making any invidious comparison; but the fact still remains, that it is to the least wealthy portion of the middle classes of this town that the reclamation of that large number of our criminal population is due—(cheers). Well, that encourages me to ask them, as they have done good, to do more—and, strange as it may appear, I know of no stronger hold over the human mind for benevolence than that it has been benevolent on former occasions. Well, then, do you, my good friends of this class to which I have referred, do you step forward again. I know you will—I know you thoroughly. I was born among you—I was brought up among you—(cheers). I have mingled with you—I have entered your dwellings—I have enjoyed your hospitality—I have learned much from my intercourse with you. I honour and respect you—you are good fathers, you are good mothers, you are good sons, you are good daughters, brothers, and sisters—and though it may be that you have but little of this world's wealth, you can do much which wealth cannot do to assist us in the great cause we are embarked in—(loud cheers). You can confer benefits upon us which no money can buy—money I ask not from you—I know that you have more ways for your money than you have money for your ways—(cheers); but assist us with your hearts, assist us by giving your countenance to these poor crea-

tures—(cheers.) Such is the prevalence of crime that it is scarcely possible for any person not to be allied by ties of blood, friendship or by acquaintance with some family in which there is a fallen member. I ask those of you who can do no more, to fix upon some individual, to watch his trial, to acquaint yourselves with the extent and duration of his punishment, and his conduct during the term of his imprisonment, to exhort him to apply himself humbly to the great task of self-reformation, and to provide for him, if you can, a home and employment on his departure from prison: and if you can do no more, attend on the morning of his release, forming as it were a body-guard against those tempters who infest the prison gates—(cheers). You yourselves have been exposed to temptations of which the noble Lords and Right Hon. gentlemen present may know nothing. You have triumphed over these temptations, and you will bear me out when I say that among the most fearful and irresistible of the catalogue are the 1500 public houses, the 308 taverns, the 321 gin shops, and the 871 beer houses—the authorised temptations offered by the Legislature—(loud cheers). I speak in the presence of members of both Houses of Parliament, and will repeat my words. The fifteen hundred dens of temptation which you great men of the land suffered to be opened—lest the prisoner should persevere in his reformation, lest he should retire to some quarter of the town for the purpose of escaping enthrallment—are the main sources of crime. You permit every street, and alley to contain one or other of these places. Whatever door is shut against him, the door of the public house is open; of whatever guilt he may be convicted, so long as he is not guilty of the crime of being utterly destitute, so long as he has the smallest of her Majesty's coins in his pocket, the Legislature has exposed him to temptations which cast him back into vicious courses—(cheers). I trust you will not be satisfied by manifesting your kind feelings, but that you will let those feelings fructify into good acts. If you do so, you shall have your reward. You will not, it is true, be one penny the richer during the whole of your lives for your sacrifices and exertions—you will perhaps gather no fame—your names may never extend beyond your native street—but you will have your “exceeding great reward”—the consciousness of having obeyed the commands of our Divine Master—Him who uttered the immortal words “Do unto others even as you would that others should do unto you.”—(great cheering) —The learned gentleman concluded by moving—“That the plans and operations of the Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, as detailed in the statements now read, be approved by the meeting.”

Lord Lyttelton seconded the resolution. Alluding to the great difficulties the country would have to encounter in consequence of the cessation of transportation, his Lordship expressed his belief that the necessity of such movements as the present would be greatly increased by the fact, that a larger number of criminals would have to be provided for at home than had been the case for many years. The advantages they might obtain by that movement would be the fruit of voluntary benevolence and Christian love, for, however admirable might be the internal economy of the gaol, there was an

absence of that individual sympathy and and philanthropy so powerfully illustrated by Mr. Wright, the "prison philanthropist," and in past times by Mrs. Fry and others. The success of that movement would naturally lead them to enquire if some general machinery could not be adopted for the reformation of criminals, and for removing any obstacles that might exist to their introduction into the labour market of the country. He hoped the Society would not only be successful in Birmingham, but that similar attempts might be made elsewhere, without which their success would necessarily be partial and limited. His Lordship referred to the Worcestershire Society, which, although conducted on too modest a scale, had effected considerable good, and would, he trusted, be stimulated to increased exertions by the example afforded by the people of Birmingham—(cheers).—The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Right Hon. Stuart Wortley, M.P., Recorder of London, said that he was not so competent as his learned friend, the Recorder of Birmingham, to deal with the subject under discussion, but he fully confirmed and heartily concurred in the sentiments enunciated by Mr. Hill. His experience in the administration of justice fully confirmed what had been said as to the hopeless state of the culprit on his release from gaol, and the results of his being again thrown in contact with those whose object it was to lead him astray. There could be no doubt that drunkenness was a great cause of sin, but there were other causes for this state of things. Crime could not be traced to any one cause, unless it was the weakness of human nature. He thought there was no urgency more pressing than that of dealing with the criminal population. He approved of the Society's plan of not affording permanent relief, or erecting workshops for discharged prisoners. Their sole object would be to lay hold of the man at the very moment of his leaving the gaol, and to offer him the hand of friendship. Their operations must not be amongst the hardened criminals, but amongst those who had given way to temptation, but were desirous of amending their lives, and nothing could be more gratifying than the reflection that by their efforts they had rescued any of these poor creatures, and enabled them to become good parents and good citizens—(applause). The honourable and learned gentleman concluded his address by moving—"That the inhabitants of this borough, and especially the employers, be earnestly recommended to co-operate with this Society in its important work."

The Right Hon. Sir J. S. Pakington was the next speaker. He remarked that there was hardly any object to which the citizens of a great State could more wisely and more beneficially devote their energies than the attempt to redeem from his wretched course the fellow creature who had fallen into crime. He hoped that the effort which the men of Birmingham were wisely and generously making would be copied and imitated throughout England, and that that Society would be the forerunner of many similar Societies in various parts of Great Britain—(cheers). There was no object of charity which had stronger claims upon their attention and liberality; neither was there any effort of Christian benevolence which so well deserved the name of charity. He argued against the dictum of

those who said it was useless to attempt to reform the adult criminal, repudiating such a proposition as being utterly false and inconsistent with their knowledge of human nature. In referring to the Worcestershire Society, with which he had been connected upwards of sixteen years, the Right Hon. Baronet observed that 228 prisoners had been relieved by it since its establishment in 1840. Only eleven of these had been re-committed; and out of the remaining 217, many were reported as having become useful and valuable members of society—(cheers). The welfare of the people had been neglected too long. They were lagging behind the rest of the world in associations for their internal improvement. While they had done nothing, as it were, in providing means for the improvement of their criminals, the United States of America had done much: France, Prussia, Bavaria, and even Italy, upon whom, in such matters, we were accustomed in our insular pride to look with something like contempt, had also done much. A similar example was in existence in Gloucester, where their exertions had been attended with that measure of success which he hoped would reward the efforts of the Birmingham Association—(cheers). This question, however, was only a part of a great movement which was arising in this country, having for its object the elevation of the working classes. The prevention of crime was one phase of that movement; another was that there should be brought home to every man's door a sound, a wholesome, and a liberal system of education—(cheers). This latter object he would never fail to press upon the attention of every audience of his fellow countrymen which he might address, and upon the attention of Government. Another phase of the movement was the temptations held out to the poorer classes by those public houses—those dram shops—those beer shops, where poisons both to body and soul were held out to the world—(cheers). As the great war in which we had been engaged was happily now at an end, he hoped such subjects as these would command more attention than they had hitherto done, and thus might they hope to see the prosperity of the country advance—thus might they hope for the continuance of the Divine blessing and mercy upon a civilised, enlightened, and virtuous nation—(cheers). The Right Hon. Baronet concluded an eloquent address by seconding the resolution which was then put and carried.

Alderman Lucy then moved that a brief statement of the plans and operations of the Society be forwarded to the Chairman and the Visiting Justices of the principal prisons in England and Wales, in the hope that the subject might be brought under the early and favourable consideration of the Magistracy in general.

C. B. Adderley, Esq., M.P., in seconding the resolution, expressed his cordial approval of the objects of the Association, and hoped the example put forward by the men of Birmingham would be imitated in all our large towns. The plan of the Society was plain and practical, and he had every confidence would produce most satisfactory results. The Hon. gentleman alluded to instances that had come to his knowledge of persons who had been reclaimed by the kindness of Mr. Hillyard, the Governor of the Birmingham Gaol.—

Mr. Thomas Wright, of Manchester, also spoke in favour of the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Sir Stafford Northcote proposed a vote of thanks to the officers of the borough who had promoted the formation of the Society, and especially to the Mayor for supporting it, and for granting the use of the Town Hall on that occasion.—The motion was seconded by T. C. S. Kinnersley, Esq., who, from an experience of twenty-seven years as a practising barrister in criminal courts, confirmed what had been said by the Recorder as to persons, after a first offence, being driven to crime through the difficulty of obtaining employment, and as to the difficulty of dealing with persons who were not confirmed criminals.—The resolution was then put and carried.—C. Shaw, Esq., having been called to the chair, on the motion of the High Sheriff of Warwickshire, seconded by Lord Lyttelton, thanks were voted to Lord Calthorpe for his kindness in presiding.—The proceedings then terminated.

The following important proceedings are condensed from the Report of the Birmingham Quarter Sessions, held Monday, October 20th 1856, and printed in *The Birmingham Journal*. The Recorder said:—

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,—

At the Michaelmas Sessions of the last year I submitted to your predecessors observations on the working of a very important statute passed in 1853, which is usually called the Ticket-of-Leave Act; its characteristic feature being the authority which it vests in the Crown to grant to convicts under sentence of transportation or penal servitude a revocable ticket, permitting them to go at large prior to the expiration of their sentences. At the date of my charge, notwithstanding returns had been laid before Parliament setting forth that from 80 to 90 per cent. of prisoners thus liberated had so conducted themselves since they became their own masters as not to fall again under the censure of a Criminal Court, the public mind was far from satisfied with the results of the measure. Not that the reclamation of from 80 to 90 per cent. of our criminal population would not have been hailed as triumphant success, but unfortunately proof by figures of arithmetic when applied to subjects of this nature is not much more readily accepted by the English mind than proof by figures of rhetoric. Adverse opinions had become so widely spread that a cry was raised for the repeal of the act. And certainly, gentlemen, if the merits of the question had turned upon the accuracy of these figures, it will become tolerably evident before I cease to address you, that the public had but too much reason for its hardness of belief. But I shall also show you that the repudiation of these statistics ought by no means to draw after it a condemnation of the measure. I will confess to you that I watched the growing unpopularity of the act, not merely with anxiety but with alarm. However imperfectly the law is framed, and however open to animadversion the manner in which it has been carried into effect, it nevertheless embraces two principles, each founded as I thought on just and enlightened views of jurisprudence. The first is to enable the

criminal to work out his freedom for himself by exhibiting proof that he is an altered man, and that he has become imbued with qualities the absence of which led to his fall. The second, to make the discharge only a conditional restoration to liberty. He is not, for the remainder of the term to which his sentence extends, to be placed on a footing with his fellow citizens. The theory of the law is, that he has been set at large because his conduct in prison has induced the belief that he is reformed; but if his course of life should be such as to destroy that confidence, he is again to be returned to his probation in the gaol.

An additional year of experience in the operation of this law, and a careful consideration of the various facts and arguments which have been elicited in the debates in Parliament, the examination of witnesses, and the discussions in the public press, have confirmed the opinion which I then held. This result will indeed be a matter of little moment to any one but myself. But, gentlemen, I am able to support the conclusions at which I myself had arrived by no less an authority than that of the committee appointed by the House of Commons during the last Session to investigate the working of the Act. That body, composed as it was of men who had made the administration of the criminal law a careful study for many years, came to the following resolution: "That the system of granting tickets-of-leave appears to be founded upon a principle wise and just in itself, viz., that of enabling a convict to obtain by continued good conduct, while undergoing his punishment, the remission of a portion of his sentence, upon the express condition, however, that in case of subsequent misconduct his liability to punishment shall revive for the residue of the term specified in the original sentence."

The committee, gentlemen, recommended not only the continuance but the expansion of the system. The statute embraced all convicts adjudged to transportation, or to the milder punishment of penal servitude usually applied in cases not sufficiently aggravated to call for the higher infliction, but it excluded all minor offenders. The Executive Government, however, still further narrowed the limits of the privilege, and instead of pursuing the line adopted by the statute, stretched the exclusion to that class of convicts adjudged to penal servitude. The ground, gentlemen, on which the framers of the act had submitted it for the adoption of the Legislature, was the efficiency of encouragement in stimulating the convict to industry and good conduct. That being so, the committee suffered, as I had suffered before them, under the inability to understand the justice of withholding from the lesser criminal the incentive to reformation held out to his more guilty fellow-prisoners, or to divine the policy of advertising our criminal population that no member of it must indulge the hope of obtaining his liberty by a course of well-doing unless he would first earn the right to such an encouragement by the enormity of his transgressions. And from the evidence, gentlemen, of the directors of the convict prisons, it appeared that the men sentenced to penal servitude participated in that lack of penetration to which I have alluded; so that when they learned that they were excluded from a boon granted to those who had sunk deeper into

crime than themselves, they became morose, disobedient, and at length mutinous. It is needless to say that in this frame of mind the work of *reformation* came to a pause, and that retrogression began. Perhaps, gentlemen, you yourselves may be as much in the dark on the subject as others have been, and may ask from whence was this extraordinary doctrine imported into England. To such an enquiry I could give no satisfactory answer. I am not acquainted with the jurisprudence of any nation, civilised or barbarous, which is deformed by such an inversion of the order dictated by natural justice. Nor do I know of any countries save two which, having admitted the principle of encouragement into the treatment of their criminals, have ever abandoned it or narrowed its application. The value of this principle is now recognised in many nations of Europe and in many States of the great Republic across the Atlantic, and I feel confident that it is destined to make its way into the criminal code of every well-governed country in the world. France and Spain are the states which have made a retrograde movement. France to a small extent only; and the error having been pointed out and condemned by an eminent writer, who holds a very high if not the highest position in the French Judicature, it will probably be quickly amended. Convicts who with us would be sentenced to transportation, are kept in France to hard labour for long terms of years. It has been the usage, however, of the Sovereign to issue from time to time pardons to the most deserving of these *forçats*, as they are called. Of late years, says M. de Beranger, the Judge to whom I have referred, these pardons have become more and more sparingly granted. Mark, gentlemen, the consequence. The *forçats* are discouraged, and lose their energy. Their labour is become far less profitable than heretofore, and their attempts to escape far more numerous. The other country which I have excepted is Spain. Let me ask your attention to the good effects of encouragement in the Spanish prisons while it was in operation, and the evil consequences of withdrawing it. In the city of Valencia there has long been a penitentiary gaol, under the government of Colonel Montesinos, a gentleman who has made for himself a European reputation by his skill in the treatment of prisoners. He acted upon them by urging them to self reformation. He excited them to industry by allowing them a small portion of their earnings for their own immediate expenditure, under due regulations to prevent abuse. He enabled them to raise their position stage after stage, by persevering in good conduct. When they had acquired his confidence he entrusted them with commissions, which carried them beyond the walls of their prison, relying on the moral influence which he had acquired over them to prevent their desertion. And finally he discharged them before the expiration of their sentences, when he had satisfied himself that they desired to do well, had acquired habits of patient labour, so much of skill in some useful occupation as would ensure employment, the inestimable faculty of self-denial, the power of saying "no" to the tempter, and in short, such a general control over the infirmities of their minds and their hearts, as should enable them to deserve and maintain the liberty which they had earned.



His success was answerable to the wisdom and zeal of his administration. Instances of relapse but rarely occurred, and the Spanish Government, rightly judging that talents like his ought to have the widest scope, appointed him Inspector General of all the prisons in Spain. It so happened, however, that the Legislature of that country was minded to establish a new criminal code, and (for what reason I know not) held it advisable to convert sentences for long terms of years (which prevail on the continent) into incarceration for life. This was done. But unhappily this was not the only nor the most pernicious change. In the chapters of the new code, which relate to the management of prisons, governors are prohibited from offering those encouragements to the prisoners which had raised them step by step until they were fitted for the enjoyment of liberty, and they also make it imperative that every sentence of imprisonment shall be fulfilled to the last hour. The combined effects of these innovations teem with instruction. Prisons which had been models of order and cleanliness, of cheerful industry, praiseworthy demeanour in general, now exhibit a painful contrast to that happy state of things. They have become the scenes of indolence, disorder, and filth, and the prisoners are either reduced to despair or urged upon plots for escape which in a multitude of instances are followed by success.\* Gentlemen, it will not be the fault of the Committee if

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\* The following observations from "The Literarium," Vol. III, No. 9, are worthy of insertion here:—

"This principle of making a convict the arbiter of his own fate, is proved to be sound by the history of the State Prison at Munich, as conducted by the Councillor of State, M. OBERMAIER. The returns made annually present the following facts. In the year 1850, 132 prisoners were committed; of these, 88 (a large majority) were reformed, 26 continued doubtful, whilst only 11 relapsed. In 1851, out of 70 committals, 52 were reformed, 7 continuing doubtful, and 6 relapsing. In the year 1852, there were 36 committals, of these 23 were reformed, 9 remained doubtful, while only one relapsed. In 1853, there were only 28 committals, 18 of these were reformed, 4 continued doubtful, and 4 relapsed. In the year 1854, out of 32 prisoners, 25 were reformed, 2 continued doubtful, and 4 relapsed.

Now, if statistics are good for proving anything, the figures we have just quoted from the Appendix to the Second Report clearly establish the soundness of the principle which gives the convict the option of working out his own reformation, and regaining the position in society which he had forfeited by his criminality. This system of M. OBERMAIER is in operation in the central prison at Kaiserslautern, in Bavaria, in all the German States, and in several foreign countries. In all of which it is attended with the same satisfactory results. By the laws of Bavaria the terms of imprisonment are shortened by industry and good conduct, according to certain conditions, one of which is that a criminal sentenced to 'penal servitude for an unfixed period' may expect his pardon after 16 years' imprisonment, if, during his incarceration, he has shown continued habits of industry, and not incurred punishment for malice or insubordination.

Another gratifying proof of the benefits arising from this system of permitting men to work out their own redemption by habits of industry,

we fail to profit by this most instructive lesson. Let me read to you the conclusions at which they have arrived on this part of our subject. Their fifth resolution is—

“That every punishment by penal servitude should include, first, a certain fixed period of imprisonment and hard labour on Public

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is afforded by the returns of the average earnings of every prisoner confined in the Penitentiary at Munich from 1850 to 1855. These show that each prisoner earned in British money £1 12s. 11½d. per annum over all expences connected with his employment, and exclusive of various drawbacks, in the shape of ordinary prison work, such as washing, cooking, cutting wood, &c., and which are not taken into account in the foregoing averages.

No less assuring on this head is the evidence with regard to the prison at Valencia. By the system which Colonel MONTESINOS had established, it was found that the recommitments diminished to 2 per cent. which had previously amounted to 35 per cent. This worthy and excellent man, however, finding that his system had been entirely subverted by the new code established in Valencia, retired in despair from a post which he could no longer occupy with a quiet conscience. This code, among other severities, converted sentences for a long term of years into imprisonment for life, thus taking away from the Governor the discretionary power of alleviating the condition of a deserving convict, and depriving the unhappy prisoner of all hope that his industry or reformation would bring him any release. The promulgation of this code was like a death-knell. It killed hope in the convict's bosom. He had no longer the same desire to learn his trade. He went through his appointed task as usual, but he had no heart in the work.”

Mr. Boutwell, to whose address at the opening of the Lancaster School we have referred, thus expresses himself:—

“As the criminal staggers beneath the accumulated weight of his *sin* and its penalty, he should feel that the State is not only just in the language of its law, but merciful in its administration; that the government is in truth paternal. This feeling inspires confidence and hope, and without these there can be no reformation. And following this thought, we are led to say it is a sad and mischievous public delusion that the pardoning power is useless or pernicious. It is a *delusion*, for it is the only means by which the State mingles mercy with its justice: the means by which the better sentiments of the prison are marshalled in favor of order, of law, of progress. It is a *public delusion*, for it has infected not only the masses of society who know little of what is going on in courts and prisons, but its influence is observed upon the bench, and in the bar, especially among those who are accustomed to prosecute and try criminals. This is not strange, nor shall it be a subject of complaint; but we must not always look upon the prisoner as a criminal, and continually disregard his claims as a man. It is not often easy, nor always possible, to make the proper distinction between the *character* and *condition* of the prisoner. But the prison, strange as it may seem, follows the general law of life. It has its public sentiment, its classes, its leading minds, as well as the University or the State. It has its men of rank, either good or bad, as well as Congress or Parliament. As the family, the church, the school, is the reflection of the best face of society, so the prison is the reflection of the worst face of society. But it, nevertheless, is society, and follows its laws with as much fidelity as the world at large.”

Works to be undergone at all events; secondly, a further period which should be capable of being abridged by the good conduct of the convict himself.

"6.—That it appears from the evidence before the committee that had effects upon the discipline of convicts on the Public Works have already been caused by the regulations under which it has been made known that no tickets-of-leave or other remission of sentence would in any case be granted to men sentenced to penal servitude.

"7.—That with a view to give full effect to the principle indicated in resolution 5, the sentences of penal servitude prescribed by the act should be changed and lengthened, so as to be identical with the terms of transportation for which they are respectively substituted.

"8.—That the sentences of penal servitude now in force might be adopted with some few changes as the fixed periods recommended in resolution 5.

"9.—That the scale of secondary punishment would be more complete if a shorter period of penal servitude than any now in force were enacted, as an intermediate sentence between the present term of ordinary imprisonment now usually inflicted, and the former sentence of seven years' transportation, or its equivalent."

These resolutions may perhaps require some further explanation to enable their full bearing to be seen. You must know, gentlemen, that the bill of 1856, on its introduction into Parliament by the Lord Chancellor, was a measure which had for its object simply to enable the Courts to convert the punishment of transportation which, owing to the opposition of our colonies, could only be acted upon to a limited extent, into imprisonment in our Convict Gaols and Hulks, and labour on our Public Works, with the view of reserving transportation for heinous offences deserving a punishment all but capital. And rightly believing that the substituted punishment, which was denominated penal servitude, is for equal periods of time an infliction much more grievous than transportation, when it converted the latter punishment into the former, it greatly diminished its duration. But when the bill was passing through the House of Lords, it so happened that Earl Grey, who, when Colonial Minister, had had experience of the beneficial effect produced by tickets-of-leave in the island of Barbadoes, suggested the expediency of trying a similar experiment in England. He spoke highly of the principle of encouragement from his own observation, and he agreed with all who have a practical knowledge of prisoners, that no incitement can be held out to them which will bear any comparison for efficiency in stimulating them to good deeds, with that derived from the expectation of being restored to freedom. Listen, I pray you, to the opinion of the Rev. William Molderness, the chaplain of the Portland Prison, and a member of that exemplary body of men whose labours and sacrifices, if they do not obtain for them their well-earned promotion in the Church, will at all events ensure them respectful attention from every one competent to estimate the insight which their professional duties give them into the characters of those who enjoy the advantage of their ministrations. "As a general rule," he says, "the men sentenced to penal servitude have no hope of shortening their confinement; consequently a powerful incentive

to good conduct is lost. It is to be feared that no adequate substitute for the hope of liberty can be devised. It is the love of liberty which lies nearest to a prisoner's heart, and which will ever be the cheapest and best reward for exemplary conduct." The opinion here expressed derives additional weight from its being in conformity with that of Colonel Jebb, Captain Crofton, and Captain Whitty, Directors of the Convict Prisons, appointments of high importance, offering a wide scope for observation on the habits, manners, and ways of thinking common to the criminal class.

These views, gentlemen, prevailed, and the principle of the bill was changed. But by this time the session was rapidly drawing to an end, and the requisite alterations in the clauses to bring them into harmony with the principle of encouragement, now become the characteristic of the proposed law, was but partially made. Probably it will be obvious to you, as it certainly was to the committee, that when a power was given to the prisoner himself to shorten his term of confinement, the ground for reducing the length of his original sentence was gone; nay, that inasmuch as the period of probation after discharge ought to be protracted until it becomes manifest that the training of the prison has secured as completely as it can be secured the permanent well-doing of the liberated prisoner, so far from shortening sentences, reason would rather seem to dictate the propriety of making them longer than ever. The committee, then, by recommending that convicts sentenced to penal servitude should be brought in practice within that privilege of tickets-of-leave to which they are so clearly entitled by law, and by further recommending that the present inadequate terms of penal servitude should be lengthened, have done what in them lies towards repairing the errors, both of the statute itself, and in its administration. But their advice goes further. They desire that new terms of penal servitude should be created suitable to a class of slighter offences than those now visited with that punishment, in order to give to minor offenders the benefits of the ticket-of-leave. Let us hope, gentlemen, that the progress of opinion will not be permanently stayed even at this point. Let us hope that no inmate of a prison will be left without incentives to do right. If the imprisonment to which he is adjudged is so short as not to admit of his being made the better for reformatory treatment, may not such a consequence furnish a more cogent reason for lengthening the period of his detention than for depriving him of the moral advantages conceded to those who are worse than himself? The remaining resolutions of the committee to which I would crave your attention, are as follows:—

"13.—That there has been much of misapprehension and exaggeration with regard to the conduct of persons released upon tickets-of-leave, who have been frequently confounded (even by several witnesses on this enquiry,) under one common designation of 'ticket-of-leave men,' with convicts whose sentences had fully and absolutely expired.

"14.—That there is reason to believe that the conduct of a large proportion of the whole number of persons discharged upon tickets-of-leave has hitherto been good; and that in other cases persons so

discharged have relapsed into crime from the difficulty, arising from their former characters becoming known, of procuring or retaining honest employment in this country, a difficulty, however, which obviously applies to all persons once convicted, whether discharged upon tickets-of-leave, or absolutely at the expiration of their sentences.

"15.—That to render this system of tickets-of-leave adapted both for the reformation of offenders and the interests of the public, the conditions endorsed upon the tickets-of-leave ought to be enforced more strictly than appears to have been hitherto the case.

"16.—That every convict on his release with a ticket-of-leave, ought to be reported to the police of the town or district to which he is sent."

Gentlemen, it was to that confusion between convicts discharged on tickets of-leave, the period of whose sentences had not terminated, and convicts who had been freed absolutely, or if liberated with tickets-of-leave, had been out of prison so long that their sentences had expired, it was the confounding I say of these three descriptions of convicts and considering them all as ticket-of-leave men, which produced what I may fairly call the panic of the last winter; throwing the good people of England into a state of mind which placed in extreme danger the permanency of a measure having most assuredly the soundest foundation, whatever defects might weaken its superstructure. Happily the misapprehensions and the fears to which the committee advert have been dispelled. Our advance towards the rational treatment of criminals has been secured, and a peril has been averted, the magnitude of which we can scarcely over estimate. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that the public had very reasonable grounds for complaint and misgiving. The responsibility of the convict discharged on ticket-of-leave has been in practice little better than nominal. The rule was to send him to the town or district in which his offence had been committed, but no intimation of his return was conveyed to the police, and consequently they had no means of ascertaining whether he had come out of prison on a ticket-of-leave, or whether he had received an unconditional discharge. In the latter event he was subject to no control until he committed a fresh offence. In the former his ticket was liable to recall at the discretion of the Secretary of State, and by an endorsement on the ticket itself he was informed that "the power of revoking or altering the license of a convict will most certainly be exercised in case of his misconduct. If, therefore, he wishes to retain the privilege which, by his good behaviour under penal discipline, he has obtained, he must prove by his subsequent conduct that he is really worthy of her Majesty's clemency." Thus it appears that due notice is given to every ticket-of-leave man that any clear manifestation that he does not mean to follow a sober, honest, and industrious course of life, will consign him again to prison, such manifestation being taken as proof that when he left the gaol he was not in a fit state to be discharged.

This omission of notice to the police it is recommended by the committee, as you will have observed, should henceforth be supplied. And doubtless much will be done by acting on their advice; yet

much will still remain to be accomplished. Since the establishment of railways individuals of the predatory class have gained a very great and pernicious facility for extending the circle of their depredations by moving quickly from place to place. This renders it necessary to devise some means by which the police may be able to recognise and identify convicts, whatever towns they may choose to visit. Practical difficulties will no doubt arise in framing such a plan; but I speak from good authority when I say that they may be overcome. I should encroach most unreasonably upon your time if I were to enter into details on this part of the subject. Its importance, however, cannot be denied, since without the means of identifying ticket-of-leave men, it is obviously impossible to hold any control over them, or to ascertain what proportion relapse again into crime. Let me present to you, as an example of how difficult it now is to ascertain who are and who are not at large under tickets-of-leave, the state of things in this town. At the beginning of the present year, judging from data which I laid before the committee in my evidence, and which have never been impugned, there must have been, as I calculated, eighty ticket-of-leave men at the least resident in Birmingham. I asked your Chief Superintendent for a list of all that could be found. He and his subordinate officers exerted themselves to comply with my request. After six weeks of enquiry and observation they presented me with the names of nineteen prisoners only, stating that there were many others whom they suspected belonged to this class, but of whom they had no specific knowledge. Of the nineteen, further observation disclosed an error as to five. These had never held tickets-of-leave, but had left their prisons upon unconditional discharges. I found subsequently that the police of Bristol were in a like state of doubt with regard to the criminal population of that city. Hence it follows that released ticket-of-leave men, as well as other convicts, often succeed in passing themselves on Courts as appearing at the bar for the first time, and thus it becomes impossible to distinguish with any degree of accuracy between the numbers of those on whom training has been effectual, and those on whom it has failed. But although I am compelled to withhold my confidence from all estimates which have appeared as to the relative proportions of those ticket-of-leave men who stand fast as compared with those who again relapse into criminal courses, nevertheless I rejoice to add, as I do from a variety of facts which have come to my own knowledge, that I believe the committee was fully justified in stating that the conduct of a large number of this class has been good. I believe too that the fall of many of those who have relapsed is rightly attributed to the reluctance which employers feel to engage the services of these unhappy persons. That reluctance, however, it may be fairly hoped will be greatly diminished when the master has a reasonable assurance that the reformation of the convict, which he gained for him his ticket-of-leave, is genuine and permanent. But before such a result can be conscientiously predicated of the class, however it may be true as regards individuals, much improvement will be required in our system of training prisoners.

I have spoken, gentlemen, of the necessity for passing the criminal, or rather for enabling him to pass himself, through progressive stages

of improvement. The soundness of this principle indeed is recognised, and to a certain limited extent is now in action ; and so far as the Gaol authorities have brought it into use it is highly beneficial. But the stages are not sufficiently numerous, and what is a much greater defect, the convict does not win his way through them by dint of exertion. The right to pass onwards is gained by his remaining in each a given time. Such period it is true may be lengthened by signal misconduct on his part, but that is little to the purpose. Gentlemen, what I desire to see is that the convict should never be able to pass through a stage merely by conformity to rules for a certain number of months, weeks, or days, but that he should be held to proof that he has made a substantial advance towards reformation. Apply the proper test to his conduct, and then let him pass as quickly as he can. Give him plenty of work, and reward him according to the measure of his labour. Let him have the right to lay out some portion of his earnings in bettering his diet ; but give him a strong motive to use this right sparingly, by making his economy tell upon his progress towards freedom. Finally, let his faults, whether of omission or commission, retard his advancement, and when of sufficient magnitude let them thrust him back into a stage already passed. It is easy, gentlemen, to raise theoretic objections to this proposal. All I shall say is, that the obstacles against success, be they few or many, have been grappled with and overcome ; not in one gaol or one country, but in prisons separated by hundreds and thousands of miles from each other, and by governors acting on plans which each had framed for himself without being able to profit by the experience of his fellows. One fact, gentlemen, even if it stood alone, would suffice to show that the theory of the law is with us most imperfectly reduced to practice. It is this. Discharge on ticket-of-leave, as I have said, is given when the convict has endured a certain fraction of his punishment as measured by time, unless in excepted cases of flagrant misconduct, when he is detained for a somewhat longer period. Now it was proved before the committee that the number of such excepted cases is very small, and that the extra detention is very short. But, I put it to your common sense, gentlemen, whether such could be the operation of the measure if the convicts did in truth *work* themselves out of prison. Is it not self-evident that convicts commencing their imprisonment together, would on that supposition no more depart on the same day from the prison gates than that the horses starting together at a race will all at the same moment reach the winning post ? Here, then, is a need for improvement which demands the anxious attention of all who have the fate of the criminal class under their control. For if it be manifestly unjust to the public to permit criminals whose sentences have not expired to return into society unreformed, I hold it to be no less mischievous to the criminals themselves. Surely, gentlemen, liberty to him who will only use it to plunge himself deeper into guilt, is no blessing but a curse, whether we regard his welfare here or hereafter.

Gentlemen, I attribute the present very imperfect state of our prison discipline to no want of zeal and anxiety for good results in those to whom it is entrusted. I attribute it to their want of con-

fidence in the possibility of thoroughly reforming a convict by any treatment of which he is susceptible while confined in prison. "The reason," said the present Secretary of State for the Home Department, in the House of Commons, "why a ticket-of-leave cannot fairly be regarded as a proof of reclamation is obvious. So long as a man is immured in a prison, where he is denied the opportunity of getting drunk, and of associating with those who might lead him into temptation, he is evidently so circumstanced that it is impossible for him to afford us the means of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion as to whether his repentance is genuine or affected." Gentlemen, the proposition thus enunciated by the Right Hon. Secretary is as undeniably true as it is clearly and forcibly expressed. Yet I am not prepared to accept the Minister's practical conclusion in favour of discharging unreformed criminals; because with the information derived from the evidence taken by the committee, of the excellent results which have followed a judicious relaxation in the restraints upon convicts during the latter stages of reformatory discipline, I cannot admit it to be a necessary condition of prison life that the will of the convict should be kept in that state of slavish repression which is here assumed. Gentlemen, the question which I am now examining underlies the whole theory of reformatory discipline. Even that amendment, imperfect as it is, which the stimulus afforded by the ticket-of-leave system has effected, is wrought out by a certain small measure of free action conceded to the prisoner. The punishment which is inflicted upon him for gross misconduct in gaol shows that he is held to have had it in his power to choose between right and wrong, and it is merely a careful and well-graduated enforcement of this principle which is required to accomplish all at which we aim. Personal reformation, as the term itself implies, is the acquisition of some faculty of action or endurance not possessed before. But every one of our acquirements is made by the repetition of efforts, the large majority of which are often unsuccessful. To learn to swim we cast ourselves on the water, and are apt scholars indeed if we are not obliged to repeat the process times out of number, before we can overcome our tendency to sink to the bottom. At last, however, we plunge and struggle ourselves into the capacity for keeping our heads above the surface. A story is told of a man who fondly hoped to acquire the art in comfort and safety, by placing himself on his dining table face downwards, and then vigorously striking out his arms and legs. But he discovered in the end that swimming could only be learnt by running the chances of sinking; and, gentlemen, as certain as it is that a swimmer taught on-dry land will straightway go to the bottom the moment he ventures into the water, so sure it also is that the prisoner who returns into the world before he is in some sort inured to its dangers and its combats, will yield to the first temptation. He may, it is true, and not unfrequently does, rise again, renews the fight, and in the end is victorious. But how many, alas! become at once hopeless of their own capacity for resistance, and fall to rise no more. Gentlemen, we naturally shrink from exposing a man who has shown his weakness by the fact of his becoming a convict to any temptation while he remains under our protection and control. But this disposition, however laudable, must be overcome. We must



reflect that it is not in our power, except by imprisoning him for life, to guard him against the host of temptations, which will throng upon him the moment he sets foot beyond the prison walls. Is it not, then, more than permissible? Is it not our duty to train him to bear the shock of these temptations while we are able at once to subject him to a renewed course of preparation, if upon experiment he is found incapable of encountering his danger in the mitigated form in which it will be presented to him? But, gentlemen, I need not detain you with speculations. By Montesinos, at Valencia, by Obermaier, at Munich, by the governors of many prisons in the United States, and last, not least, by Captain Crofton the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, has this difficulty, formidable as it is justly deemed, been met and surmounted. Gentlemen, it is the deep impression wrought on my mind by reflecting on this difficulty, which has led me to appreciate so highly the value of that additional responsibility under which the prisoner is placed when his discharge may be revoked in the event of his disappointing the expectations which his good conduct had raised of his permanent reclamation. It is the opinion of some, for whose knowledge and ability I entertain the highest respect, that a prisoner once dismissed should be restored, so far as the law can restore him, to the position of those who have never offended. And assuredly if any infallible test could be discovered by which to try the genuineness and the sufficiency of the change wrought in the moral state of the prisoner who has passed through all the stages of prison discipline, to keep any further hold on such an individual would be useless, and therefore could not be justified. But having regard to the hopelessness of discovering such a test, and to the well known fact that the early days of restored liberty are those when his temptations to take the wrong course are most difficult to resist, I cannot but agree most cordially with the committee in believing that the prisoner's discharge ought to be revocable, and I cannot but think that the term of his original sentence forms the shortest period at which he should be wholly relieved from the consequences of his offence.

Let me, gentlemen, now relieve *you*, who, although you have not offended, have been long detained. But not before I ask you to accept my sincere congratulations on the different aspect which the Reformatory question now presents to that which it assumed twelve months ago. The committee has performed a great service, and has the first title to our thanks. Yet we must not undervalue the support to the principles which they have laid down, afforded by the societies for instituting Reformatory schools, which are springing up all around us. True it is they confine their labours to the young. But the benefits which they confer on juvenile criminals can only be successfully defended when attacked, as attacked they often are, upon grounds which for the most part are common to all Reformatory systems, whether for the young or the old. Nor, gentlemen, ought we to pass by the assistance which we may hope to derive from the association lately founded in Birmingham for the aid of discharged prisoners. It has already, even in its infant state, shown its ability to guide, protect. and succour the objects of its care, at their perilous

entrance on their new course of life, when the offices of Christian philanthropy, at all times precious, are more than ever needful. Gentlemen, I know you will join with me in fervent wishes that its members may hold fast to this noble work of charity, and that they may obtain the only reward they seek, by finding its utility commensurate with their labours and their benefactions.

THE GRAND JURY were dismissed about four o'clock yesterday afternoon. The Foreman, Mr. T. P. Salt, addressing the learned Recorder, said that he was desired to make a few observations on the part of the Grand Jury before they left the Court. The first remark was in reference to the very excellent charge which he had delivered to them. The Grand Jury viewed, as he did, the great importance of the subject to which their attention was attracted, and thought it becoming, in taking their discharge at his hands, to place on record their opinion in reference to it. Mr. Salt then read the presentment, which was couched in the following terms:—

"The Grand Jury, before being discharged from their duties, desire to express to the Recorder their sense of the importance of the subject brought under their notice in his charge, and to express a hope that such enlightened views upon the treatment of the criminal classes may receive that consideration from the Legislature which they demand."

**TICKET-OF-LEAVE MEN.**—Owen Owens, who was this morning convicted before the Recorder, at the General Quarter Sessions, of picking pockets, upon being called upon to say why judgment should not be passed upon him according to law, said: "I was sentenced in April, 1853, to seven years' transportation. I was first taken to the Borough Gaol at Leicester, where I was detained eleven months. I was then sent to the Defence Hulk, Woolwich, where I was kept for two years and one month. Then I received a ticket-of-leave, and was sent back to Birmingham. I found my father a cripple, and unable to support me, but I felt determined to lead a new life, and seek for employment. This I succeeded in doing, but I had only been at work a day when it became known that I was a ticket-of-leave man, and I was discharged immediately. Afterwards I procured work in two other places, but directly it was discovered I was a ticket-of-leave man I was discharged from my employment. What could I do then? I could not starve; and so I was compelled to steal to get my living. I hope your Honour will take these circumstances into consideration, and have mercy upon me." The Recorder in passing sentence, said: "Owen Owens, you have committed manifold crimes; but as you are what the law considers a great offender, you can be permitted to work yourself out of gaol by good conduct—a privilege the Legislature does not concede to the minor offender. If I was to sentence you to penal servitude you would not be allowed this privilege, therefore in mercy I sentence you to be transported for fourteen years."

**THE CHAPLAIN'S REPORT.**—The chaplain's annual report was an exceedingly comprehensive document. It commenced by showing by statistics, having reference to the number of committals to the gaols of Birmingham and other towns in the kingdom, that this

borough, in a comparative point of view, was in a highly favourable moral condition. It then went on to say that of the 1,701 prisoners entered on the register during the year, 476 either remained in the prison on the 30th September, or were discharged soon after admission, in consequence of payment of fines or from other causes, and before they came under the care of the schoolmasters or schoolmistress. Moreover, some of the prisoners who remain for long terms are employed as cooks or bakers, or in other work about the prison; and are thus kept from attending the school classes. The average daily population of the prison during the year has been 359; the average number attending school classes was 200. Of these 51 attend only twice a week, and 64 three times a week. Out of a daily population, therefore, of 359, as many as 159 have not attended the school classes at all. Of these some are absent from the causes which I have specified, and some on account of the extreme shortness of their sentences.

The prevalence of short imprisonments in this, as in every other local prison, (said the Chaplain,) obstructs so seriously the success of a chaplain's ministrations as well as the progress of education, that it has not failed to occupy my most serious consideration. As I have adverted to this subject, I beg permission to guard myself against being understood to deprecate the prevalent system of summary convictions. Long periods of imprisonment would, no doubt, afford scope for more effective religious teaching. But I cannot lose sight of the amount of human suffering by which such a result would be accompanied. If the term of imprisonment awarded is proportioned, in point of justice, to the offence proved, as a minister of a religion whose chief characteristic is mercy, I could not wish the punishment carried beyond its present limit, in order to give time for more religious instruction. My personal intercourse with the prisoners inclines me to the opinion that short sentences, in *some cases*, operate with considerable effect, not solely by deterring from pain, but by inducing reflection and remorse. Continued observation confirms me in the opinion that, with some classes of offenders, great advantage would accrue from awarding *shorter sentences* than at present, *provided the discipline were made strict in proportion*. I venture to submit that something may be done to meet the case of these short imprisonments, by the prisoners being collected in classes for moral and religious instruction exclusively, at other times besides those at which they receive secular instruction. Last year, three cases of mental disease, out of four which were developed within the prison, occurred in prisoners *in association* in the infirmary. This year, one case only has occurred; and this man had been insane before. He grew worse when placed in association, and *better when separated*.

The following interesting letter from our good friend and fellow-laborer in the Reformatory Movement, the Rev. Henry J. Barton, Wicken Rectory, Stony Stratford, will be read with pleasure and advantage by all the members of The

National Reformatory Union.—There is no more zealous and active member of the Union than Mr. Barton :—

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE SOCIETY.

*To the Editor of the Irish Quarterly Review.*

*Wicken, November 3rd. 1856.*

My dear Sir,

I send a slip from *The Northampton Herald*, containing a notice of the visit lately paid to our County Reformatory, by Mr. Baker, Sydney Turner, Bengough, &c., who came here for the purpose.\*

\* The following is the slip referred to :—

[From the *Northampton Herald*, 18th October, 1856.]

REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

[From a Correspondent]

Our county reformatory has been visited this week by some of the most zealous and influential promoters of the reformatory cause, —T. B. L. Baker, Esq., Hardwicke Court; G. H. Bengough, Esq., Kingswood; the Rev. Sydney Turner, Red Hill, the Rev. D. Melville, Woodbury; J. G. Perry, Esq., her Majesty's Inspector of Prisons; the Rev. P. W. Trevelyan; and the Rev. R. N. Russell; and G. H. Bowyer, Esq., school inspector.

On Wednesday, the party visited Lois Weedon to examine the system of farming originated and carried out with such complete success by the Rector. They derived much gratification and instruction from what they saw; and Mr Sydney Turner, whose bailiff came from Red Hill for the purposes of inspecting it, determined at once to adopt the system on his own school farm. It appeared, not only to Mr. Turner, but to the other managers, so peculiarly well suited to the purpose and requirements of reformatory schools, that there can be no doubt of its being generally adopted.

On Thursday, our own reformatory at Tiffeld, was visited by these gentlemen, and examined by her Majesty's inspector; and we have the satisfaction to learn that it met with the entire approbation of those who are so well able, from their knowledge and experience to judge of its efficiency. The buildings were considered to be commodious and well suited to the purposes for which they were intended; and high praise was given to Mr. Dunkley for the reasonable cost and workmanlike manner in which they were executed. The situation was much admired; and the conduct of the boys, considering the short time most of them had been in the school, reflected the highest credit upon Mr. Julius Benn, the superintendent. The following is a copy of the minute entered upon the books, with the inspector's permission :—"Mr. Bowyer stated to the committee that he was particularly pleased with the general tone and manner of the boys, and the intelligence displayed by their answers on religious subjects."

We cannot help observing with some satisfaction, and with every good wish for the success of the institution, that the principle upon which it has been founded, differs materially from that of other

You will see that we are still anxious to put forward the great object which our county has in view, as distinguished hitherto from that of other counties. We feel more and more strongly the importance of impressing upon all who take an interest in the subject that prevention is better than cure. And we cordially agree with the remarks which fell from Mr. Commissioner Hill, at one of the Sectional Meetings, to the effect, that, as Reformatories are now the fashion, we must guard ourselves, as in all other fashions, against extremes,—and take care that in pressing forward the Reformatory cause we do not neglect the great duty of *preventing* crime, by training up and educating the poor man's *honest* children in sound moral and religious principles.

But we do not stop here; we believe that the moral regeneration of the masses of the people depends mainly upon the middle class,—and that if the middle class are left to be educated in Schools as void of sound principles as of sound knowledge,—it is in vain to educate or to attempt to reform the poor. The thew and sinew of our country, is in the middle classes, and if you neglect them you cannot—as it has been well expressed by one who is labouring day and night in the cause—you cannot expect to have either sound legislation, peaceable parishes, or the children of the poor successfully instructed. Whilst you leave untrained and uninstructed, this, the most numerous and influential body of the community, the training of the poor must prove to a great extent unsuccessful.

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counties. The reformatory school forms a part only of the Northamptonshire Society's plan. The whole plan embraces, as some of our readers will remember, not only a reformatory, but training, middle, and what may be termed "industrial feeding schools;" and we hope that the time is not far distant, when the latter may be brought into operation in all the large towns. The subject of industrial feeding schools, we are glad to find, is now beginning to attract public attention. It is well known that the effect of these schools in Scotland, coupled with the operation of Dunlop's Act, have proved that a system of industrial education, adequately carried out, would in a great degree, cut off the sources of the criminal population, and thus *prevent* crime, to a great extent, for the future. And as the prevention of crime is a far more noble and necessary duty even than the reformation of the criminal, so we think that the Northamptonshire Society, by embracing both objects, is taking a larger and more enlightened view of the question, than those counties which are confining their efforts in the present movement to the subject of reformatories only. If it were not for this and the hope that other counties may be induced to follow the example, we confess that we should look with much misgiving upon the exertions which have been lately made, and the zealous co-operation which the reformatory cause has met with.

Highly as we think of all well-directed reformatory efforts, we trust that the great educational movement contemplated by the Northamptonshire Society will not be lost sight of, and that the zeal and liberality of its friends will be found equal to the accomplishment of their great undertaking.

With us, the children of the National and Parochial Schools remain but a short time; while with their *masters* in the middle classes, they spend a whole life; they hear their opinions on every subject, watch their habits and learn to think as they think, till at last they make common cause with them in their unfriendly feelings towards the Church, and the more sacred institutions of the State.

The education of the middle classes is after all the great question of the day;—but the public mind is not yet educated to receive it;—it is not yet the fashion. Like the Reformatory question some years ago, when the School at Stratten upon Dunsmore died an *unnatural* death from want of support, the question of Middle School is not yet taken up in earnest. But the Northamptonshire Society does not despair. The seed they believe is sown, the first step taken, and though it may require time, yet sooner or later the evil will be apparent,—“the sleeping images of things will be rolled to the light,” and some sound hearted Philanthropist will be raised up to remedy the evil of the present neglect. Though the cloud on the horizon may as yet be no bigger than a man’s hand, the Society, I am confident, will still persevere in the hope, that as Reformatory Schools *have* succeeded, so Middle Schools *will* succeed, and that it is only a question of time which earnest and untiring efforts will be sure to shorten. They have therefore embraced in their scheme for Reformatory Schools the improvement of Grammar Schools throughout the county and the establishment of additional schools for the middle classes where necessary.\*

Industrial feeding schools for the employment of children in towns is another of the Society’s objects, and to this public attention seems now to be directed as a means of *prevention*, which they hope may lead to carrying out the principle in this respect for which they contend.

With the training school, which is slowly though they believe surely progressing, the Northamptonshire Society intends to combine *Industrial*—chiefly *Agricultural*—training so as to introduce it if possible into all the rural schools.

In connection with the views of the Society, I may be allowed to quote Sir John Pakington’s words at the late meeting of the Birmingham Discharged Prisoner’s Aid Society. “He wished the British public to regard that charity which they were now advocating, not as an isolated and separate question, but as one part, perhaps not the most important part, but as one part of a great movement which they saw rising in the country, and which he hoped by God’s blessing might gain strength and grow from day to day, for the elevation and improvement of the working classes. They must not forget while advocating the reformation of offenders, that there was another far greater, far more important and glorious object—the prevention of crime. He asked the men of Birmingham and every assembly of his fellow-country to press upon their fellow citizens and their govern-

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\* It might perhaps have been better instead of middle classes, to have adopted the expression lower middle, or operative classes, as by the former, a prejudice seems to have been created in some minds against the scheme,

ment, that there should be brought home to every man's door, a sound, wholesome, liberal system of education," and so does the Northamptonshire Society ask, and earnestly hope for the same thing; not perhaps exactly in the same way that Sir John Pakington would propose, but rather in the way which has so effectually promoted the Reformatory cause :—viz. by *voluntary agency, liberally supported by Government grants in aid.*

Upon this principle, each County or each Diocese might confidently undertake the great business of education with every hope of success. As proposed in Northamptonshire, the Cathedral town would be the place for the training school; the county town or its neighbourhood, for the Reformatory, and in the large towns industrial feeding schools would be established; and grammar schools for the middle or rather for the operative classes, together with Parochial schools for the poor, would be founded. Add to this, constant supervision from Government and diocesan inspectors, and the assistance of general and special committees, consisting of an equal number of clerical and lay members, having the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and the Bishop of the diocese at their head.

I have extended this letter to an almost unpardonable length; but the subject is an important one, and believing that many great movements date their origin from small and unpretending pamphlets and letters, sanctioned by such authority as yours, rather than from long and expensive books, I venture to submit it to your consideration. I wish it might be the means of your taking up the subject; and I should then hope that the Northamptonshire plan of combining the great questions of Education and Reformation in one society under a committee of management consisting of an equal number of clerical and lay members, would be made known to the public, which is all that it requires to recommend it to their consideration, and through them to induce the Government to extend the same amount of assistance to a voluntary agency, in the matter of education generally, as they have already done in the case of Reformatory Schools.

Believe me, to be dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

HENRY J. BARTON.

The schools to which our esteemed friend refers are precisely such schools as the Christian Brothers conduct in Ireland. The religious element is mingled with the secular, but never so much as to become obtrusive. These are essentially Roman Catholic schools, just as our friend would have his Protestant schools: each religion educating its own children in its own creed, and surely Mr. Barton may not alone claim, but may command, our best efforts in support of this principle. Let the Voluntary System come to the aid of the foundation, the Voluntary aid and the Governmental aid come to the support of the school when founded; this is the system which shall have our best, most whole-hearted, and entire support, for it

at once gives fair play to all, and solves the Religious Difficulty Question. We write this for Protestants; for Catholics, for Unitarians, for each and for all, and may God help us all: but surely it is not right that we should stay the progress of Education because all creeds will not accept the religious teaching, or phases of faith, of one creed, even though it be the creed by law established. We say, give to all freedom and support, that is extend, in education to all, the principle of toleration advocated and supported by the National Reformatory Union.

With regard to the Industrial branch, as developed in Northamptonshire, we are happy to find that our friends there are working the Industrial Feeding School point. Mr. Alfred Hill's paper on this subject, and showing the success of the system in Scotland under *Dunlop's Act*, has just appeared, and in our mind it is the best contribution to the literature of our question which has appeared for some months. We thought we had gutted, or, to use a slang phrase, "taken the shine" out of Mr. Alexander Thomson's *Prevention Better than Cure*; he was one of our earliest friends in opening up this *RECORD*, and we owe him many hours of pleasant correspondence and useful communication; but Mr. Hill has shown us points, and phases, and facts, and figures connected with the question which had escaped us, or which have been thrown out into strong relief by his energy, devotion, and ability.











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